

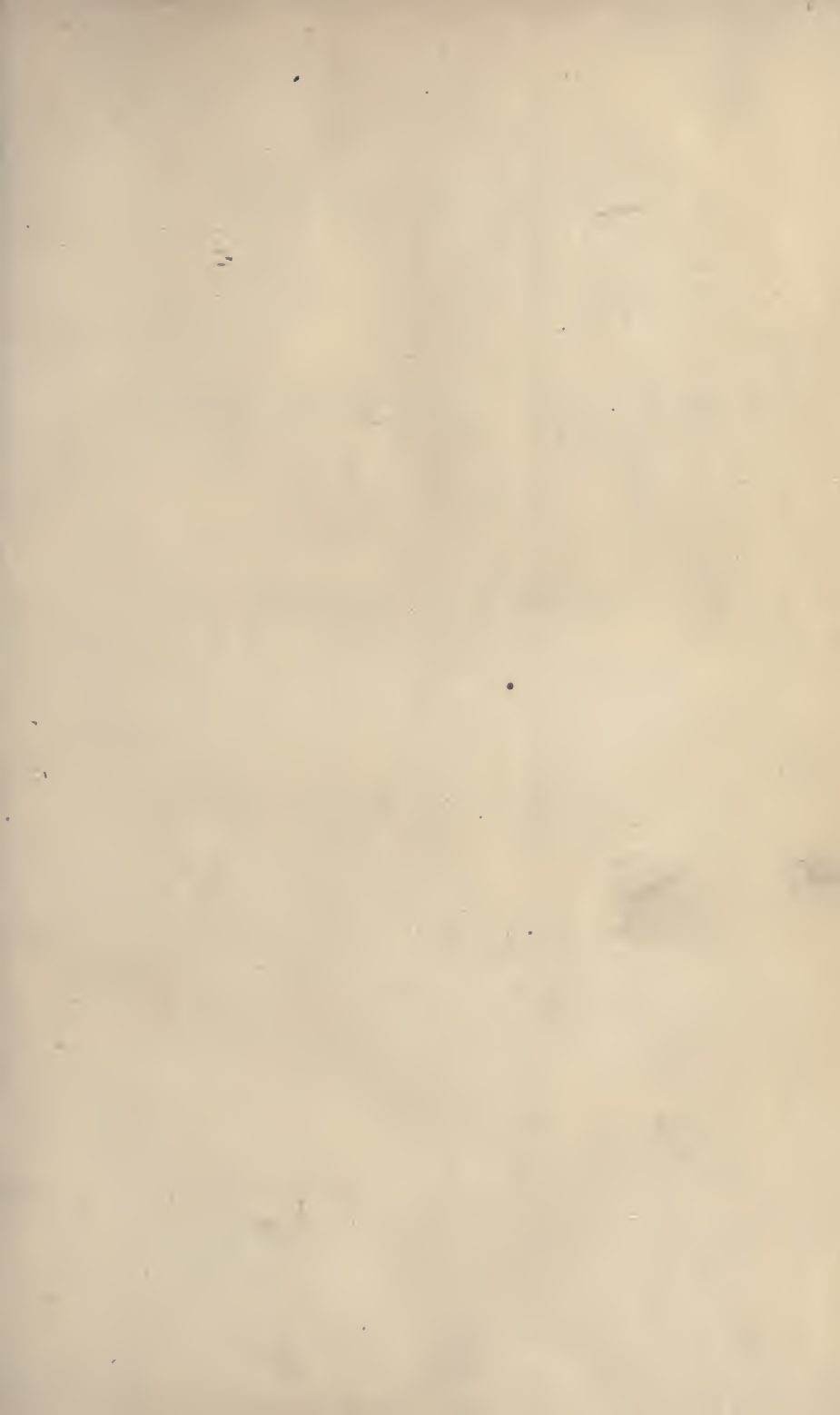
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDICINE  
AND  
MENTAL PATHOLOGY.

EDITED BY  
FORBES WINSLOW, M.D., D.C.L. OXON.

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A T R E A T I S E  
ON  
O B S C U R E  
D I S E A S E S OF THE BRAIN  
AND  
M I N D :  
THEIR INCIPIENT SYMPTOMS, PATHOLOGY,  
TREATMENT, AND PROPHYLAXIS.

By FORBES WINSLOW, M.D.

HON. D.C.L. OXON:

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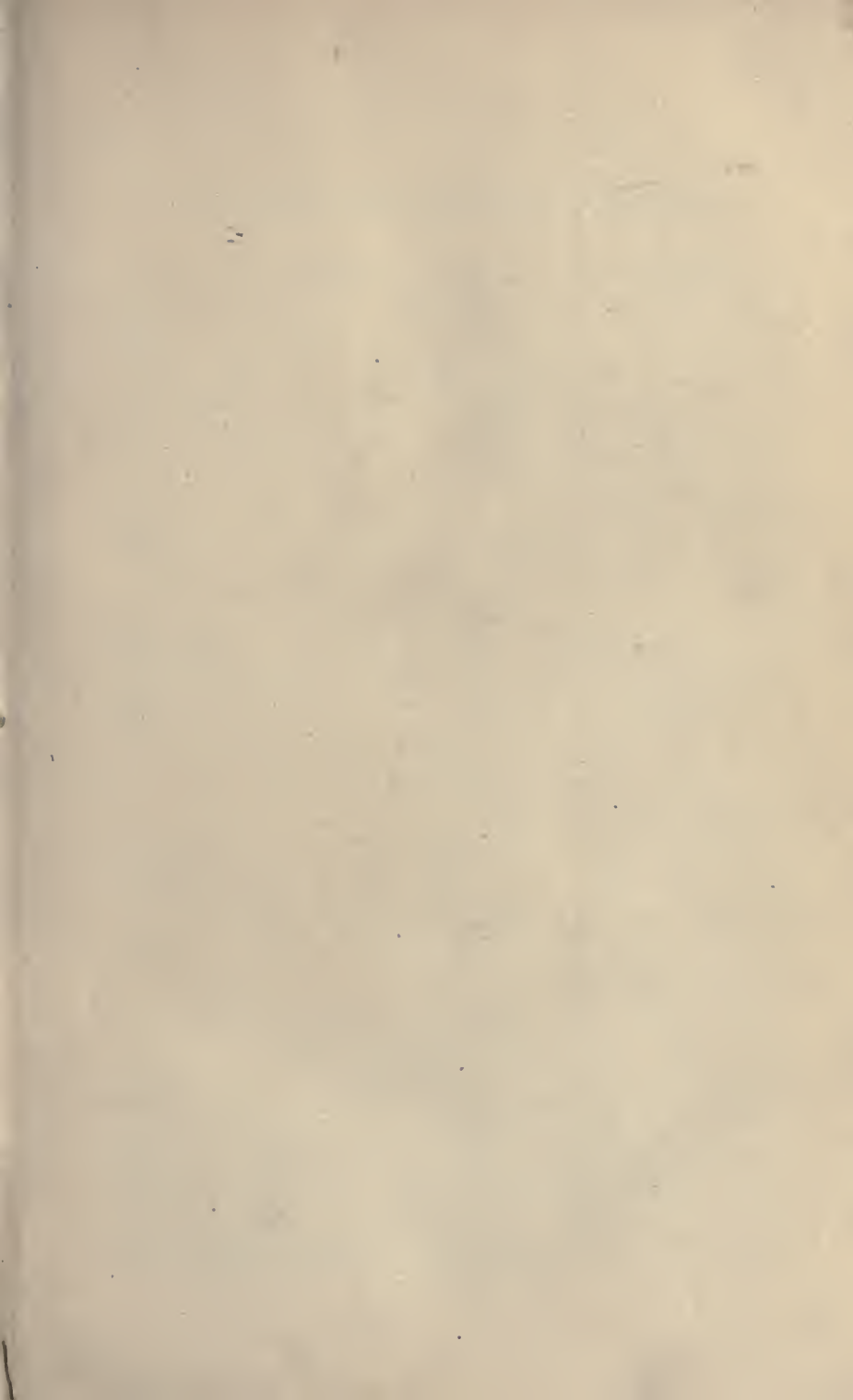
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## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

It is recorded of Heimdall, the warder of the Scandinavian gods, that the subtlety of his ear was so great that he could hear the grass growing in the meadows, and the wool on the backs of the sheep. There is a segment of society who, lacking this acuteness of sense and perception, deny or doubt the progressive intellectual and moral growth of the nation. They cannot trace this growth from day to day; nay, so far as their observation extends, the nation appears to be, if anything, deteriorating. This, it is said or implied, may be gathered from the experience of a single life-time. Whom have we now comparable with the mental giants who lived in the days of our childhood? When did society ever exhibit such signs of rottenness at the core as it now does? The policeman culls his choicest criminals freely from the most favoured classes—nay, even from the elect among them; and Sir Cresswell Cresswell enacting, as it were, the part of Asmodeus, unveils before us almost daily a picture of our domestic morality—a picture of the inner workings of the moral life of society, which is abnormal in the highest degree. These objections are about as pertinent as if a farmer were to deny the progressive development of his crops, or the thickening of the fleeces on his sheep, because he could not mark distinctly from hour to hour, or day to day, the growth of each individual blade of grass or corn, or of every lock of wool; or if, as he advanced in experience and knowledge, and became more apt in distinguishing defects or diseases in his fields and herds, he were to conclude, that therefore these defects and diseases were on the increase; or if, finally, he were to assert that the farming of his childhood and of his forefathers was more rational than the present system. The farmer knows that the splendid beeves which traverse his meadows are not the result of one generation's development; that the crop does not come to maturity coincidently with the tilling of the ground and the scattering of the seed; but that its growth and ripening are matters of time and season. And so of the moral and intellectual growth of nations. This is not a question of a life-time, but of generations. He who thinks that he may mark off the effects of mental culture on a race year by year, is in a state of ignorance as deep, but, truly, not so happy as that of the child whose imagination being warmed by the wondrous adventures of the glorious Jack surnamed of the Beanstalk, throws a bean out of the window when it goes to bed at night, expecting when it rises in the morning to see the plant grown even up to the heavens.



This is, indeed, the stamp of thinker who indulges in incredulous sneers at the various movements tending towards the mental and physical culture of the people, represented by the Social Science Association. And yet the Association itself, both in its history and objects, might have been expected to check any such immature thinking. The society is only three years old, and it constitutes the first practical attempt to give coherency of aim to the many elements which are requisite to raise man's moral and intellectual standard. It is a means to an end, and its formation was only practicable when its necessity became felt. It took many years' labour before that necessity was appreciated among even the educated classes; hence when the Association was formed, it was the sign of an important advance made. The formation, moreover, and the objects of the Association implied a want of unison, and a consequent deficiency in power, in the efforts it represented, and to facilitate and perfect the operation of which it was constituted. The Association, in short, marks the termination of the nonage of the great efforts which are being made for the physical and intellectual culture of the people, and of itself should have been a sufficient caution against hasty conclusions to those writers who have neglected history, to judge of the progress of a nation by the gauge of their individual experience.

If we would rightly estimate the moral and intellectual growth or decadence of a nation, we must turn to history, and in that of our own country we may read a story of persistent growth throughout many centuries in all that is noblest in humanity—a growth which we have just reason to believe is more vigorous now than at any previous period of the nation's existence.

At the last meeting of the Social Science Association, Sir J. K. Shuttleworth read a paper on Social Economy, in which he recounted the history of Civilization in England. By this history he endeavoured to show that the progress of nations, like that of nature, is characterized by successive eras of development. "Each era," he said, "is marked by the operation of some new force on our domestic and social habits, internal organization, civil or religious policy—all tending to produce that form of civilization which we now enjoy." He supported this thesis to demonstration by a masterly and invaluable epitome of the history of social economy in the kingdom. It is impossible to give any abstract of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth's paper, but we quote a portion of his account of the last stage of social growth which the nation has manifested :—

"Two strong tendencies have accompanied the growth of the population from 6,000,000 in 1700 in England and Wales to upwards of 20,000,000 at the present time. The first has been the growth of great towns (some of which



have increased their population six or eightfold), the aggregation of the people on the coal-fields, by migration from the agricultural and moorland districts and from Ireland, as well as by the extraordinary stimulus given to natural increase by higher wages, early employment, and early marriages. The second has been that hitherto the sudden checks in commercial prosperity caused by wars, by defective harvests, by the errors of our commercial legislation, by the very eagerness of enterprise, blindly glutting foreign markets, have all been met by the silent influence of colonization, which in dangerous crises have enriched our colonies and the United States with the transiently surplus labour of the United Kingdom. There is scarcely a more touching incident in our national history than the fact that the Irish emigrants to North America have, since the failure of the potato crop and the famine of 1846, sent 9,000,000*l.* sterling to their relations in Ireland to enable them to follow. The migration, immigration, and vast increase in the numbers of the people—their gathering from comparative isolation in rural districts to close aggregation on the coal-fields under the stimulus of higher wages—began at a period when the schooling of the common people had been uncared for. Raikes commenced his Sunday school in Gloucester in the latter end of the last century. The people, during fifty years of the last, and twenty of the present century, were chiefly educated in the workshop. To the training of skilled work was superadded, with the growth of the factory system, that organization for the division of labour requiring a subordination of ranks in every mill according to capacity and skill. Hence grew habits of punctuality, order, the economy of time, the strict care of property, and exact obedience to discipline. Every factory has resembled in those respects a regiment; but it has included more gradations of rank, and a still more complicated system of submission to authority. The hand, the eye, the mind, have been trained to the most rapid manipulations; the character of the people has been gradually moulded by the great institutions of industry. This in part explains the comparative order with which such vast social changes have occurred among an otherwise rude and uninstructed people. The Legislature was ignorant of the true principles of finance and of commercial legislation to such an extent that, but a century ago, it prohibited by sumptuary laws the wearing of printed calicoes; and, with a limited area of culture, until a very recent period, deprived our vast mechanical force of the opportunity to purchase cheap bread. We should not, then, wonder at those outbursts of the fury of a population whom we had neglected to instruct, and who met each severe though transient embarrassment in the labour market by the “Luddite” riots of Yorkshire, and the successive efforts to destroy the spinning-jenny, the carding-machine, and the power-loom in Lancashire. Our workpeople, taught rather by the press, by the influence of public opinion, and by personal experience, than as yet acquainted with any abstract principles, are ready now to protect the machines which they formerly destroyed. In like manner, the attempt to regulate wages by associations of workmen has, under similar influences, undergone successive forms of amelioration. Secret associations, bound by terrible oaths, and issuing orders of assassination, are apparently not extinct, if the recently reported attempts in Sheffield are to be received as evidence of the existence of these ruthless gangs. But the recent strikes in Preston and other parts of Lancashire have passed off without tumult and without the picketing of mills. There remain forms of interference with personal freedom of workmen almost as effectual. Moral intimidation has succeeded to violence, the isolation of the ‘knobstick’ or ‘black sheep’ who will not join the union, is substituted for personal assaults; the Trades Unions attempt to dominate in their own class by refusing to work with ‘knobsticks’ or ‘black sheep,’ and thus to subordinate the whole body of the workmen in any trade to the orders of the directing committee. If the representative system of such associations were perfect; if the committee were always disinterested and pure; and if they had a more con-

prehensive knowledge of general principles than they have ever shown, it is clear that this social control of individual action would constitute at best that tyranny of the majority which De Tocqueville has conclusively shown to be the fatal crime against public and private liberty of any purely democratic constitution. But I have not only an unwavering confidence that these are transient forms of evil, they are even signs of an advancing civilization. They are irregular and disturbing movements of a great social force, slowly, but with the certainty which marks the great operations of nature, adjusting the relations of labour and capital, so as to be consistent with that partnership between the free and intelligent workman and his employer for which step by step our whole history has been a preparation. Nevertheless, great evils remain to be corrected. The first effect of a rise of wages among a rude people has commonly been the increase of the coarser forms of sensual enjoyment. Thus, Mr. Porter, some years ago, estimated the amount of beer, spirits, and tobacco consumed by working men in the United Kingdom at 53,411,615*l.*; the spirits amounting to 20,810,208*l.*, the beer and porter to 25,383,165*l.*, and the tobacco and snuff to 7,218,242*l.* 'Now,' says Mr. C. Morrison, 'without going the same length as those who would proscribe stimulants altogether, it may be assumed without much contradiction that nine-tenths of the spirits stated in this estimate, one half the beer and porter, and half the tobacco and snuff, were either actually pernicious in the use, or, at least, superfluous.' (p. 43.) The evidences of the amount of crime and pauperism fluctuate so much with the state of the law and its administration, that probably no standard of the moral and intellectual condition of our population is so sure as this inordinate and unnecessary use of intoxicating drinks and tobacco. This is fatal proof that, though the pauper bound by the law of settlement is our last actual slave, some of the worst consequences of serfdom remain. The workman is free to emigrate from the moorland cottage, or the hut in the fens, or the mud hovel in a stagnating agricultural district, or from an Irish bog. He may settle in the midst of the vigorous life of the English coalfields. He may be trained gradually with better food, lodging, and clothing, by the discipline of toil, till he has a muscular, energetic frame for outdoor work, or has gained a wiry, highly nervous organization for the skilled manipulation of the factory. He may submit his will to the regulated system of the division of labour and to the influence of opinion on society. He may combine with perfect respect to the law to adjust the relations of labour and capital. But, though in all this there is gain, the animal nature of the ancient serf reappears. Ages ago his progenitor was a beast of burden, sold as a chattel of his owner, when life was subject even to his caprice. He has not risen to real freedom until he has acquired self-control. Emancipated from the *mund* of his lord, he has become his own master without the power to control his appetites. In his new life the mind of the workman is mainly developed by his industrial and social training. The workshop and the press have done more for him than any other agency, and, next to these, the Sunday School. But it is to be confessed that that portion of the workmen who spend their evenings in sensual excesses have not yet become freemen. The tendencies to democratic changes are so obvious, and are so strongly indicated by the origin, history, and theory of our constitution, that they are in some form ultimately irresistible. We have, therefore, to determine for ourselves whether we value the personal liberty of opinion and action which we enjoy under the mixed political power of this country, and whether we cannot preserve it, while we proceed to fulfil the apparent destiny of our race, by completing the freedom of the mass of our countrymen, by raising them to the dignity of freemen in the power of self-control, and to the intelligent exercise of the rights of freemen by the recognition of their claim as a class to a more direct influence in our representative



system. Something has been done towards this result. The cities, towns, and villages of our coalfields into which in the last century the population have migrated, were irregularly constructed, unpaved, unsewered, the houses often rude and unhealthy. There was bad scavenging, little lighting, no sufficient water supply. Though we had suffered from the warnings of typhus and of an excessive infantile mortality, we needed to be aroused by the visitation of cholera to the condition of our towns. That disease shocks by the appalling mystery which shrouds its advance, the rapidity of its action, and by the suddenness with which it ravages the population. The singular manner with which it marks by its path where the foulest squalor, the thickest miasm from filth attacks the frame wasted with want, and the deepest moral degradation, combined with the lowest physical condition, herd together, attracted public attention to the sanitary regulation of our towns. Great advance has been made during the last twenty years in these forms of improvement both in town and country. The physical condition of the people has also been greatly ameliorated by the cheapening of food and clothing and all the other necessities of life, while their habitations and wages have improved. The protection of women and children under thirteen from excessive hours of labour, the prohibition of the employment of women in mines, have had a practical effect beyond the mere letter of the law. Excessive hours of work for men are discountenanced by public opinion; factories and mines are subject to regulations for the protection of life and health; and what the law does not require, an intelligent sense of Christian duty often effects. The new hamlets, villages, and towns have in the last half century, and especially in the last twenty-five years, been organized as centres of Christian influence by the building of churches, and chapels, and schools. We have spent many millions on these buildings. We probably now expend about 2,600,000*l.* annually on the education of the people. In the last quarter of a century literature has been cheapened for the use of the masses by such societies as that for diffusing useful knowledge, over which Lord Brougham has presided since its origin. The press has become the great instructor of the people in all social and political topics. An earnest practical effort has been within the same period made to foster in the working population habits of prudence by savings-banks, in which 30,000,000*l.* are accumulated; by building and benefit societies, in which large funds have been accumulated; by the possession of cottages and small freeholds; by temperance leagues; by societies of mutual improvement and mechanics' institutions; by advice, remonstrance, and example. The chief object of this brief review of the social history of the most numerous class of our fellow-countrymen will have been attained if it tend to inspire a lively faith in their destiny; if it teach us to recognise in our history how all the elements of our social state inevitably react on each other; how each advance in order, in peace, in social polity, in civil and religious freedom, in the power of mind over matter, and especially in the divine influence of Christian charity, has slowly but surely emancipated our humblest classes from serfdom, from villenage, from pauperism, and now tends to lift them up to the enjoyment of all the privileges of intelligent freemen. Nor have I been without hope that while such a review may thus strengthen our faith in the beneficent tendency of all providential laws, we may in contemplating their operation learn to restrain a short-sighted impatience. 1500 years have elapsed in our history, and yet the theory of our Saxon constitution is only partially realized. The schools of Edward VI. and Elizabeth only partially educate our middle class. Some generations must pass before home education in the cottage will generally worthily co-operate with the elementary school. How long a time will be required before the vast annual waste on intemperance is converted either into a means of rational enjoyment, domestic

comfort, or into capital for the elevation of those who work with their hands ! Whatever be the time required, we have to maintain our faith in the beneficent tendency of all great providential laws, whether in the great eras of material forces and animal life, or in the epochs of social change. All history teaches us that as the earth was in the vast ages of geological development slowly prepared by one great design for the habitation of man, so in the history of our race whatever have been the catastrophes which have overwhelmed empires—the internal ferments which have appeared for a time to cause a social chaos—slowly but surely, in the eye of Him with whom a thousand years are but as one day, man has been making a conquest of nature, asserting and exercising the dominion of mind over matter, emancipating himself from debasing animal instincts, raising class after class from serfdom, ignorance, and brutishness, and preparing for that reign of Christ in the hearts and institutions of mankind, when every man shall sit under his own vine and his own figtree, none daring to make him afraid."

The comments of the *Times* (October 19th) upon Sir J. K. Shuttleworth's paper form too instructive a pendant to be omitted in our *Retrospect*.

"It must be remarked that history has the infallible result of making a nation self-contemplative. The kind of retrospect which we have in this paper is the act of a nation thinking of itself, reviewing its own career, estimating its own success, and drawing its own character. What is the difference, then, between this self-estimating stage in Great Britain in 1859 and the same stage in the Athens of Pericles or the Rome of Augustus ? There comes in the history of every nation, after a long course of *action*, in which it has done wonderful feats of all kinds, a *reflective* epoch, when it begins to be conscious that it has done all these great things, and to repose with self-congratulation on the sense of its own greatness. When Nebuchadnezzar looked down from the loftiest walls of the habitable world, and said, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built ?" that was a national reflective act, for the monarch probably represented the pride of a nation, as Louis XIV. did. So Rome in the age of Virgil and Horace is always talking about herself, always indulging in historical vistas and the sense of her own majesty, always prophesying her own eternity. But this self-contemplative epoch in nations has generally been the sign of ebbing action—the fatal mark of corruption, effeminacy, and weakness having set in, of a nation being quite satisfied with what it *has* done, thinking it has done enough, and resting on its oars till some strong race that has yet to win its way pounces down upon it. What is the difference in our own case if, as we trust we may say, this is not the result with us—if the self-contemplative stage with us is not an effeminate one, but as active as any stage before it—if the self-congratulating look on the past is no omen of a feeble future ?

"The difference is, that the civilization of these nations of the Old World was a very imperfect civilization, and, in fact, very little better than a mask for barbarism. It was founded on one single narrow virtue, and that is military virtue. The civilization that rose upon such a basis simply meant that a nation, having robbed every one about it right and left, and heaped up a huge mass of splendour and magnificence as the fruit of its spoil, began to indulge in gold vessels and marble baths, and to form some new experiences and tastes of a more delicate kind, such as the possession of wealth and leisure leads to. Such a civilization as this in its very formation totters upon a precipice, and becomes in the very next age what the historian calls 'luxury,'—that is, a corruption of the national spirit. When conquest is over, no other stimulus to exertion is left, and the monster, gorged with prey and soothed by repose, is ready for the



dart. But the great characteristic of modern, at any rate of English civilization—and it is one which Sir J. Shuttleworth's paper exhibits strikingly—is the variety in its basis—that it has so many strings to its bow—conquest, freedom, labour—which have all contributed to produce our national progress. Conquest has united and concentrated us; freedom has organized us; labour has given us our wealth, and our leisure, so necessary to intellectual advancement. But the cardinal distinction lies in the last of these three—that our civilization has been a civilization of *labour*, and that is the great moral of Sir J. Shuttleworth's paper. He describes a triumphal march of labour, taking advantage of every opening, and never allowing itself to be absorbed in military show. Here is a natural principle, then, for civilization to rise upon, an ordinance of Providence, and not a mere stimulus of vanity, like the pursuit of conquest for its own sake. And the advantage of such a principle is that it supplies a *permanent* motive to human exertion. The love of work never loses its strength and charm as a motive: it has no natural limit, as conquest has; it goes on after it has built up the most enormous national capital, to found fresh and fresh capital; it is an indomitable motive, and it is a motive which always has a field for its gratification.

That is the reason, then, why our modern civilization does not verge upon national decay, as ancient civilization always did, and that we Englishmen in this year 1859 can indulge the self-reflective act, not as an idle triumph and effeminate repose in the past, but as the pledge of a future of action. Our civilization is one of natural labour, and there is no reason why we should ever leave off natural work. The field we have chosen is inexhaustible; it can occupy industrial Alexanders and Cæsars *ad infinitum*. There is not the slightest fear that we shall have more suns than we can do with, and that when conquest wants to go on worlds will stop. We have indeed some depressing mementos even in the midst of these cheerful and active prospects; the prophet's eye sees some clouds in the horizon, and some melancholy notes escape from his instrument while he is in the very process of encouraging and congratulating us. It would seem such a civilization as ours has its difficulties, and that the principle of labour, judging from the actual facts attending the trial of it, has not shown itself hitherto adequate to the task of producing a perfect civilization of the whole mass. It puts a great obstruction in the way of education, absorbing the youth of the country, and carrying them off from the school before they have fully mastered even the rudiments of knowledge. Sir J. Shuttleworth evidently looks forward to a long struggle of education with labour when he says "Some generations must pass away before home education in the cottage will worthily co-operate with the elementary school." But labour has a worse defect even than this. It does not tame the coarse sensuality of man, but leaves him too often a barbarian in the sense of living a prey to gross vices. "The operative," says Sir James, "may submit his will to the regulated system of division of labour; he may combine with perfect respect to the law to adjust the relations of labour and capital; but though in all this there is gain, the animal nature of the ancient serf reappears." Drinking is the curse of the working man. We may reasonably hope, however, that as the idea of education and of its necessity spreads in the lower classes, which it is now gradually doing, both education itself will advance and a powerful moral auxiliary will be gained against low sensuality; and that thus two additional triumphs, which are unhappily at present wanting to it, will be gained for English civilization."

Notwithstanding this hopeful, and we think truthful view of future triumphs of English civilization, the *Times* itself, bewildered with the complex details with which it is requisite to pave the way to, or to secure

the prospective successes, has not altogether avoided the error which we commented on at the beginning of the retrospect. The mist of the present will at times becloud the light of history. But a few days after the article we have just quoted, the *Times* (October 27) wrote thus, respecting the charge of the Recorder of Birmingham.

"The charge of Mr. M. D. Hill to the Grand Jury at Birmingham will be found in another portion of our columns this day. There are many excellent and highly competent persons in this country who devote their attention to the culture of criminals, exactly as Dutch horticulturists give themselves up to the cultivation of tulips. The tulip fanciers as yet have had the best of it, although they have not succeeded in producing that black specimen which is the chief object of their desires. Still they have had the best of it, although, from the days of the illustrious Howard to our own, England can show a bright list of philanthropists who have devoted every energy of their lives and every faculty of their minds to this sacred cause. The good they have effected is great; the mischief not inconsiderable, perhaps, but unavoidable. When we burst loose from the old theory, so dear to the heart of the late Lord Ellenborough, that the only method of dealing with crimes was to hang, banish, flog, or imprison the criminal, our course was a very simple one. The old cry was "More crime, more hemp—more hemp, more crime!" That was the good old system of the hanging Lords, who were never in want of the fag end of a verse from *Leviticus* to justify their wholesale strangulations. The whole system was so dreadful, so entirely calculated to defeat its own ends, that men of this generation can only wonder that no one rose up before Romilly to protest against it. It became evident at last that we were dealing with the symptom,—not with the disease itself. The more we strangled our fellow-countrymen, the more they would filch pocket-handkerchiefs; it was very astonishing, but so it was. What wonder, after the wholesale executions which disgraced the practice of our fathers, if the wheel in our hands has flown too much round in the opposite direction? Where they tortured and slaughtered persons who had been guilty of some very trifling offence, we have taken atrocious criminals, and dealt with them as though they were little lambkins who had gone astray; we have endeavoured to work upon their sensibilities and pampered them in comfortable lodgings which had nothing about them of a prison but the name. So great and so deplorable was the reaction against the course pursued by the judges of the Ellenborough school. It would, however, be too much to say that the criminal population have been entirely the gainers, considering the commission of crime only as a matter calculated to promote their own immediate comfort. When it became clear that neither Draco nor Jean Marie Farina was the right person to deal with our criminals, we handed them over to one experimentalist after another, who engaged to wash our Ethiops white, and to conjure the spots from the backs of our social leopards. In many of these attempts—well and humanely intended as they, no doubt, were—they have inflicted greater misery upon their patients than the old practitioners, who knew but one remedy—the sudden infliction of physical pain, and the deprivation of life. We have tried silent systems, solitary systems, systems with instruction, systems with premiums for good conduct, and systems where cant was at a premium. We have endeavoured to keep the old and the young apart, to separate the novice from the hardened offender. Except in very extreme cases, we now retain our criminals at home, and make them the subject of one experiment after another. For all this the principles of the science are as yet scarcely established.

Among the gentlemen who have honourably distinguished themselves in these humane and praiseworthy attempts to deal scientifically with our great



social plague, Mr. M. D. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, occupies a very prominent place. We know of no one who has shown greater patience and perseverance in this cause, and who has more entirely devoted his life to it, than Mr. Hill. Now, let any one read his charge carefully—we print it to-day—and he will find that after all the experiments that have been tried, all the efforts that have been made, and with all the advantages of long experience to guide him, Mr. Hill arrives at the conclusion which was already familiar to simpler men. Just as the preacher at the end of his career wrote "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity," so Mr. Hill tells us, as the result of his mature reflections upon this subject, "Drunkenness, drunkenness, all is drunkenness." Keep the poorer classes from the abuse of intoxicating liquors, and you will cheat the hangman of half his work, and be enabled to diminish your gaols by about eighty per cent. When Model Prisons and Reformatories and what not have done all that could be expected from them, and every philanthropist has tried his favourite panacea, we have this great black fact staring us in the face—that drunkenness is still the great "*causa causans*" of English crime. Mr. Hill besides this, adverted to another point well worthy of the attention of all persons who are investigating this painful subject. It is undoubtedly a truth that in certain respects crime and destitution go hand in hand. In hard times with low wages and scanty employment, certain crimes proportionately increase. The law appears to be as fixed as any natural one. There is a large portion of our population just oscillating between destitution and a bare sufficiency. When they have this bare sufficiency they remain honest; when they are stricken with destitution they pilfer and steal. So it was twenty years ago, so it was ten years ago, so it was one year ago, and so it is now. While we are discussing the subject of crime and the treatment of criminals we must, then, never lose sight of these two cardinal points—that he is the best criminal reformer who can do aught to promote sobriety among the humbler classes, and in any way help forward the general prosperity of the country. The gentlemen who assisted in the repeal of the restrictive laws upon food were great criminal reformers—the persons who have led our poor misguided artisans into this wretched system of Strikes frightfully the reverse.

We would, then, impress these two points upon the attention of our criminal reformers as the alpha and the omega of the science they have taken in hand. Deal with these, and you deal with the roots of the evil. Other measures may be very useful and very necessary, but they are merely palliatives. We are glad to hear from Mr. Hill's lips that reformatories have effected all the good that could be expected from them, and we hope that it is so. He tells us, also, that the magistrates in the manufacturing districts have found out by practical experience that the system of short sentences is more calculated to promote than to check crime. The inference is, that long sentences are found to check the commission of crime, and so far the result is satisfactory enough. When we add to this that Mr. Hill's practical experience has shown him that there must be a liberal scale for payment to witnesses and others engaged in criminal prosecutions, we have pretty well exhausted the leading points of his charge. He deals, indeed, with a few minor matters, and gives some recommendations which may be considered the stereotyped formulæ in use among criminal judges when the occasion arises for their use. Mr. Hill, however, in the course of his charge mentions that in his district—Birmingham—and, indeed, throughout the country, there is a diminution of fifteen per cent. in the convictions. All necessary allowances being made for confusion between the number of convictions obtained and of crimes committed, Mr. Hill has satisfied himself that there is an actual diminution of crime in his district. This he thinks due to improved methods of dealing with the criminal population, and not merely to transitory causes. It would seem at last, after all the noise which has been made about the treatment of our criminals, that we

have arrived at a sound principle or two. Such a result was much wanted, for there was a growing spirit of disbelief in the value of exertions which had been so long continued without any apparent effect.

Has our experience in these things been so long that it justifies a serious doubt? Has not our anxiety to witness the results we hope for rather led our anticipations beyond legitimate bounds? Have we not too often confounded the reformation of criminals with the reformation of the sources from which they come? We may congratulate ourselves, we think, that our efforts are beginning to tell effectively upon the actual criminal, and to restrain the criminal population within certain bounds. This we learn from our judicial statistics, and what more could be anticipated from our prisons and police, which act only upon overt crime and not, except indirectly, upon the substratum from which it springs. We now see our way more clearly to act directly upon this. We learn from every trustworthy source that intemperance is one of the most important fertilizing causes of crime. Here there is one spring to be stopped up, but we have already been told by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth that this will probably be a labour of generations, not of the moment. We must learn, as he has admirably said, to restrain a short-sighted impatience. It will be long before we can control intemperance, but "whatever be the time required, we have to maintain our faith in the beneficial tendency of all great providential laws, whether in the great eras of material forces and animal life, or in the epochs of social change."

It is an easier task to note the changes which occur, and the circumstances which induce them, in isolated segments of, than in an entire nation. The questions presented are less complex but not less important, because their solution affords those fundamental data without which our attempts to solve the vaster problems of social changes would be futile. We have now lying before us a recent work\* on the asserted decadence of Quakerism which is of considerable interest from this point of view. The work is of a controversial rather than of a scientific character, but the sources to which the decay of the society is attributed by the author are of considerable interest to the psychologist. These are as follows:—

"1. The visionary, inappreciable, and yet dangerous, character of the fundamental doctrine of the society, which gives precedence to the 'inward testimony of the Spirit,' and not to the 'revealed scriptures.'

"2. The rejection of an organized and paid ministry; and the recognition of the immediate inspiration of male and female preachers, for the various occasions of devotional assembling.

<sup>1</sup> "A Fallen Faith, being a Historical, Religious, and Socio-Political Sketch of the Society of Friends." By Edgar Sheppard, M.D. London. 1859.

"3. The unsatisfying and unsubstantial character of the society's form of worship.

"4. An absolute physical, mental, and moral deterioration, arising from the combined effects of frequent intermarriages, morbid 'seriousness,' and a too emotional and introverting religion.

"5. The singularly obstructive character of the society's socio-political relationship to the world—comprising the questions of the lawfulness of oaths, of war, and of ecclesiastical imposts; the peculiarities of dress, language, and deportment; the prohibition of sports and amusements; the non-recognition of distinctive social inequalities, and the prohibitions placed upon trade.

"6. A general recognition on the part of the best Friends of the necessity of a higher educational standard, adapted to the requirements and the progressive spirit of the age; this recognition involving, as a matter of course, a repudiation of their 'ancient principles,' a fraternization with the world, and a consequent separation from themselves.

"7. The exclusive character of the society, and the system of disowning members for breach of discipline; and its non-proselytism.

"8. A growing conviction on the part of the most educated and enlightened Quakers, that the notorious material prosperity of the society does not accord with its exalted spiritual profession, though it does not absolutely militate against the moral character of individual members."

Dr. Sheppard lays considerable stress upon the mental deterioration of the Quakers and the insanity resulting from it; and although his remarks are chiefly based on *à priori* reasoning, they are very suggestive. Whether or not they may prompt the society, which holds so honourable a position in the history of the non-restraint system of treating lunatics, to test their accuracy or not, we cannot say. We know too well from harsh experience how difficult a task it is to determine any body of individuals, as well as the public at large, to look at these matters with common practical good sense. It usually requires something of a cataclysmal nature to provoke a large society of individuals or a people to self-reflection upon subjects which are not immediately within the reach of all apprehensions. We would fain hope that certain recent grave events will have the good effect of rousing the press and the public to more sober reasoning and conclusions respecting insanity at least.

In our last *Retrospect* we recorded the horrible murder of a young girl by a gentleman named Pownall, who had been a few days before the event discharged from a private asylum. In our present retrospect we have to record another murder which was perpetrated under somewhat similar circumstances. On the 28th November



last, an operative named James Moore, murdered his wife (in Finsbury), and defaced the body in a most frightful manner. On his trial it was deposed that he had been discharged from a lunatic asylum about a fortnight or three weeks before the deed. The following medical evidence was given during the trial.

Mr. Dixon, the medical attendant of Hoxton Lunatic Asylum, deposed that the prisoner was under his care from August, 1858, until November, 1859, when he was discharged as cured, and, in his opinion, at that time the prisoner was perfectly sane. The prisoner, when he first saw him, was labouring under mania and had several delusions, one of which was that he had a steam-engine in his inside. For a considerable time he was prone to violence, quarrelsome, and easily excited. He began to get better in September, and was very anxious to be discharged, in order that he might work for the support of his wife and family. The deceased used to visit the prisoner once or twice a week while he was confined in the asylum, and he appeared very kind and affectionate to her, and seemed very anxious to be discharged, in order that he might work for her support.

Mr. Gibson, the surgeon of Newgate, was then examined, and he stated that the prisoner had been under his observation for more than a fortnight, and the opinion he had formed of him was that he was of unsound mind when he was brought into the prison, and had remained so ever since. He had some conversation with the prisoner relating to his crime, and in the course of it he asked him if he did not regret what had occurred. He replied that he did not, and he said he believed it was only part of a plan to get him back into the lunatic asylum.

In answer to a question put by Mr. Sleigh,

Mr. Gibson said that from what he had seen of the prisoner and the other facts in the case, he had formed the conclusion that when the prisoner committed this act he was not of sound mind.

The conclusion of the case is thus stated:—

The prisoner, having insisted upon addressing the jury, made a long rambling and incoherent statement, the principal object of which appeared to be to show that he was of perfectly sound mind. He said that when he was originally sentenced to nine months' imprisonment he was healthy and strong, and able to bear the punishment; and nobody had a right to send him to a lunatic asylum. As to the crime of which he was accused, he said that no one saw him do it, and with regard to the evidence as to the blood on his clothes, they were second-hand clothes, and the blood might have been on them when they were purchased.

Mr. Baron Watson having summed up,

The jury retired for a few minutes to deliberate upon their verdict, and on their return into court they gave a verdict of *Not Guilty*, on the ground of insanity.

The learned Judge ordered the prisoner to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure. He was evidently very much displeased at the result, and seemed anxious again to address the jury, when he was removed from the bar.

The early history of Mr. Pownall's case, as made known during his trial, and related by the *Times*, was as follows:—

The prisoner at the time of the unfortunate occurrence was residing in the house of Mr. Leete, a surgeon at Lydney. He had only been recently liberated from the lunatic asylum at Northwoods as "cured," and, as our readers may recollect, he got up early one morning and cut

the throat of one of the maid servants with a razor, and so caused her death within two or three minutes. As the main question now was as to the state of the prisoner's mind at the time he did the act, we give only a brief narrative of the facts as proved by the evidence, beginning with the early history of the prisoner, as detailed by the witnesses called for the defence. It was stated that the prisoner had been several times in lunatic asylums, but it was thought necessary to trace his history only from the month of March last. The prisoner was then residing at Wroughton, near Swindon, with his wife and sister, and wife's mother, an old lady between eighty and ninety years of age. In that month he was seized with what the doctors called homicidal and suicidal mania. He attacked his aged mother-in-law, and beat her about the head with a poker, till he had nearly killed her, and then attempted to destroy himself. Dr. Morris, a physician at Swindon, was called in, and found the prisoner, Dr. Pownall, sitting in a chair in the kitchen in a state of insensibility, and suffering from the effects of some narcotic poison, which, from a bottle which was shown to him, the witness believed to be chloroform. External and internal stimulants were used, and the prisoner became sensible. The same day Dr. Morris saw him again, when the prisoner said he was better, and that, unfortunately, he had taken chloroform, but he was sorry for what he had done, and wished it not to be mentioned. He said he had been annoyed by Mrs. Pownall and had met with pecuniary losses, and his object was to destroy himself. He also said they excited and upset him, and he hit the old woman on the head. From what the witness saw and was told by Mrs. Pownall, he signed a certificate for his admission into Dr. Davey's asylum at Northwoods. This witness, in answer to questions from the learned judge, explained that in homicidal and suicidal mania the impulses are sudden, and are often followed by tranquillity as soon as the impulse has been gratified. The other medical man who signed the certificate was a Mr. Gay, but he was not called as a witness. Charles Bonham said, he was called in and saw the cuts on the head of the old lady, and arranged to sit up at night with the prisoner. One night he was sitting up with him, with Dr. Davey's son and a keeper, and it appeared the prisoner overheard some conversation which had taken place, and observed that he saw through the trick. He then went into a long statement, complaining of the conduct of his family to him, and continually complained of his food being drugged. He became much excited when he knew that Dr. Davey's son and the keeper had come, and managed to get out of the room, under pretence of calling for some water, and returned with a double-barrelled gun behind his back, and rushed with it to the room where his wife, sister, and mother-in-law were, and pointed the gun at them. His sister seized the gun by the muzzle and lifted it up, and the keepers laying hold of him behind, the gun, which was loaded, was taken from him without any injury being done. The next day the prisoner was taken away to Dr. Davey's asylum, at Northwoods. Dr. Davey was examined, and said he received the prisoner with a certificate, which stated that he was labouring under homicidal mania, and he treated him accordingly. In about three weeks he appeared considerably improved, so much so that on the 17th of May Dr. Davey wrote a letter, in which he said he thought he was in that state of mind in which he would be improved if he were restored to his liberty, but he (Dr. Davey) found an unwillingness on the part of the prisoner's family to his being restored to liberty. Some correspondence ensued with her Majesty's Lunacy Commissioners, who wrote a letter to Dr. Davey, which he had destroyed, but in which, he said, the Commissioners required that the prisoner should be restored only, under leave of absence, under a keeper. The family wished the prisoner to be removed to the asylum at Coton Hill, near Stafford, but Dr. Davey said he could not give a certificate of insanity for him to go there. The prisoner was detained at Northwoods till a suitable attendant could be engaged to go with him; but this



difficulty being at length got over, the prisoner was taken by his new keeper, named Richard Pook, to the house of Mr. Leete, at Lydney. When Dr. Davey discharged the prisoner, he gave him a certificate in the following form:—

“ ‘Northwoods, near Bristol, 10th of August, 1859.

“ ‘I hereby certify that Dr. Pownall has been under my care here for some four months, that he is now quite recovered, and is this day discharged cured.

“ ‘J. G. DAVEY, M.D.’

“Dr. Davey said he had no doubt that the prisoner, when in his asylum, had been suffering from homicidal mania, and that when he committed the act now in question he was suffering from a paroxysm of that disease, and was unable at the time to distinguish right from wrong. He said he gave the certificate above referred to to the prisoner, in order to influence his mind hopefully and cheerfully, and so to put him in the best possible state for recovery. He never allowed the prisoner to have razors, and he did not think it necessary to give Mr. Leete any caution on that point, as he supposed the prisoner was going to be placed under the care of a gentleman conversant with cases of insanity, who would not allow his patient to have razors. Dr. Davey also said that at the same time that he gave the prisoner the certificate that he was ‘quite recovered’ and ‘cured,’ he also gave him a letter of introduction to Mr. Leete, containing certain hints ‘to put Mr. Leete on his guard.’ Instead, however, of sending this letter by the post, Dr. Davey gave it to the prisoner, who produced the certificate to Mr. Leete, but said nothing about the letter of introduction, and nothing more was seen of it till it was found among the prisoner’s papers in his bedroom, after the dreadful tragedy had been enacted. The prisoner arrived at Mr. Leete’s, at Lydney, on the 10th of August, and soon gave Mr. Leete to understand that as he had got a certificate of cure he was a free agent, and would not be under control, and, on the 23rd of August, he dismissed his keeper, telling Mr. Leete that he did not want him (the keeper), and that he himself was going to London in a few days to settle some business. The prisoner had always borrowed a razor of his keeper, who used to lock it up immediately it was done with, but after the prisoner had discharged his keeper, his razors were given to him. The prisoner’s friends, when applied to on the subject, objected to his having them; but on the 8th of August Mr. Leete wrote them a letter, in which he said, ‘I consider all the precautions requested to be taken with respect to Mr. Pownall to be perfectly unnecessary.’ The razors were accordingly given him, and, as he had money, the prisoner was allowed to go in and out, and to conduct himself entirely as if he were a free man and in his perfect senses.”

The subsequent history of the case we gave in our last *Retrospect*. Mr. Pownall was acquitted on the ground of insanity.

Now we confess that we are not much surprised at the occurrence of these murders. The tone of public opinion in reference to the detention of lunatics in private asylums, and the mode in which that opinion has been manifested once or twice in courts of law during the last three or four years, has been well calculated to bring about such results as those witnessed in the cases of James Moore and Mr. Pownall. It was hardly to be anticipated that the anathemas which have been again and again launched by the press of late, against the supposed unjust detention or unrighteous admission of individuals into private asylums; the persistent vilification of medical men practising in insanity and of the proprietors of



asylums; and the manifest influence which this popular clamour exercised upon the pleadings at the bar in cases where the question of lunacy was raised, upon juries, and even upon the bench, would not have a greater or less influence upon the conduct of medical men and of the proprietors of asylums. It might have been expected, as a natural result of the tendency of public feeling, that the proprietors of asylums would become very chary of detaining a lunatic one moment longer under care than was absolutely necessary; and that a medical man would not be in haste to give a certificate of insanity unless there were symptoms present which might satisfy a jury. This latter course of action became, indeed, almost a necessity after the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Chairman of the Lunacy Board, had authoritatively stated before a Parliamentary Committee, a few months ago, that the opinion of a man of ordinary observation was better than that of a medical man in determining the question of insanity. Under these circumstances, if a professional man would keep clear of a sharp lawyer and the possibility of being sued for damages for illegal detention of an individual, or for signing a certificate unjustifiably, it was necessary that he should adapt any public manifestation of his knowledge of insanity to the level of information possessed by the bulk of the people, and that he should detain no case under care in which symptoms were not present that could not be readily made apparent to a jury, and which did not approximate to the popular notions of insanity. This has in reality come to pass. Medical men and the proprietors of asylums have been obliged to give way for the moment to the popular clamour; and as a result we know that, for the necessary security of the proprietor, it has been requisite to dismiss from asylums and from superintendence, cases of insanity accompanied with dangerous and destructive tendencies, but which cases have been characterized by long fits of intermission. James Moore's case constitutes the third instance of murder committed by individuals recently discharged from asylums, within a period of eighteen months in this kingdom. In the first of these cases the dismissal of the lunatic arose solely from the necessity occasioned by the popular feeling. The man was dismissed, and although he had been several months in the asylum previous to dismissal without manifesting any sign of insanity (his detention resting solely upon the fact of the known dangerous nature of his delirious paroxysms when they occurred), within fourteen days after dismissal he had stabbed a man mortally in the public street. We cannot help regarding the dismissal of Moore and Pownall from the asylums where they had been under care, as having been brought about in no small degree by the influence of the popular outcry to which we have referred. But, alas! murder is one only, and the rarest, of the

evils induced by a too early dismissal of a lunatic from charge. Who can tell the domestic misery and ruin which have been too often occasioned by the revengeful or extravagant lunatic, who, *quasi-rational* and harmless within the walls of an asylum, has at once manifested his insane fancies and feelings when restored again to his family and to self-control? The indiscriminate reprobation which has of late been heaped upon private asylums, so far from tending to remove such evils as may still belong to them, has, we believe, given rise to several additional and even graver evils.

Accustomed as we have been to the animadversions of the public, and the sneers of the bench upon the so-called crotchets of medical men, who, from time to time, have come forward in order to rescue a lunatic from the scaffold, it is refreshing to find a judge publicly admitting that an attempt to save a man from being hanged on the ground of insanity may really arise from a most worthy motive. The instance perhaps smacks somewhat of the principle—

“That in the captain’s but a choleric word,  
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.”

A short time ago a Portuguese sailor named Charles Annois committed a diabolical and most inexplicable murder in a British ship on the high seas. He was tried at the Central Criminal Court, and sentenced to death. The motiveless character of the deed, and almost entire ignorance of the man’s history previous to his joining the ship at Lisbon, which was but a very short time before the murder, led, however, to the suspicion that he might be a lunatic. Apart from the circumstances attending the deed, no traces of insanity could be detected, but there was some reason to believe that the man had been confined as a lunatic at Lisbon. *After* the trial and sentence, the prosecuting advocate, Mr. Sleigh, waited upon Mr. Justice Williams, and submitted to him certain doubts, “and asked him if he considered it would be acting in any way unbecoming his position, if he were to wait upon the Home Secretary, and have some communication with him in reference to the fate of the unhappy prisoner. Mr. Justice Williams stated that it appeared to him that, so far from the interference of the learned counsel being in any way unbecoming or improper, he considered that the interest he took in the fate of the unfortunate prisoner was highly creditable to his humanity, and honourable to him in his position as an advocate; and that *if he felt that the prisoner’s life should be spared, it was his duty* to put the Secretary of State in possession of every information that would justify him in coming to that conclusion.” When shall we hear a judge address such language to the medical man who, as a matter of duty,

comes forward to testify to such things as, in his opinion, prove the criminal irresponsibility of a person who may have been guilty of an illegal deed? Mr. Sleight had an interview with the Secretary of State, and the murderer is now under respite until some account of his life previous to his being shipped on board the British barque can be obtained.

The legal progress of this case, and the popular estimate of it have been altogether curious. The *Times* (Oct. 28) had the following comments upon it:—

“A Portuguese seaman was convicted the day before yesterday at the Central Criminal Court of the wilful murder of his captain. The murder occurred on board a British ship called the *Margaret*; she was eleven days out, on her way from Lisbon to a port in North America, when the crime was committed. The facts of the case are very simple, and we will presently give a brief recapitulation of them. The only noteworthy point in the trial, beyond the interest necessarily inseparable from the details of so atrocious an act, turned upon the question of the sanity or insanity of the prisoner at the time. The act was the act of an insane person, but for all that appeared in evidence the prisoner's antecedents were in no wise tainted with insanity. Argue from the prisoner's life until the moment when he committed the crime, and he was sane enough; argue from the act itself, and he was as clearly insane as any lunatic prisoner now confined in Bedlam. The history of his previous life was certainly not known in a satisfactory manner, for he appears only to have come on board the ship on the 28th of July last, and on the 21st of August he committed the crime for which he was condemned. Under what circumstances his previous life had been passed, whether or not tokens of insanity had cropped out during his youth and early manhood—he is but twenty-five years of age,—there was nothing to show. The jury under these circumstances took the common-sense view of the case, overruled the plea of insanity, and found him guilty of murder. It would, of course, have been more satisfactory if we could have obtained some knowledge of the details of his previous life; but the criminal is a native of Rio Janeiro, and we presume there were insuperable difficulties in the way, or this line would have been taken for the defence. We cannot but regard the finding of the jury with satisfaction; for there has been of late years far too much of maudlin sympathy with heinous offenders, far too great a tendency in jurymen to shirk the responsibilities of their position, far too great a readiness to compromise between their feelings and their judgment, by bringing in a verdict which, at the same time that it spares them the necessity of consigning a human being to the scaffold, will, as they suppose, preserve society from any repetition of offences committed, at least, by that one hand.

“—Of course, the only doubt could be as to the condition of Annois' mind at the time the murder was committed. The ancient rule of English law is, that a man is not criminally answerable for any act he commits if he be not capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. More than this, any delusion entertained by a prisoner must be proved to influence the act, or it is not material. The defence appears to have been that the crime was of so atrocious a character that the prisoner must have been mad when he committed it. This, however, would be a most dangerous precedent, for the bare atrocity of an offence would then carry impunity with it. Now, there is not one word of evidence to show that the prisoner was not aware of the difference between right and wrong, or innocence and guilt. When questioned, the day after the crime, what motive had induced him to



commit it, he stated it as his reason that the captain had given him too much work. All the witnesses most distinctly swore that they had not observed in him any indication of insanity previous to the murder of Captain Barker. Equally important perhaps is it to remark that the prisoner's counsel did not pretend that he was of insane mind at the time of his trial, or that he had given proof of insanity in the interval between the murder and the trial. If the man was mad, he was mad on the night of the 21st of August last—neither before nor since. The jury, happily, would not listen to such a plea; their sympathies were of a more wholesome kind than those which too commonly have influence with the jury-box. Their pity was not for the murderer, but for the innocent victim of his revenge."

The question of sympathy with the murderer, or the murdered, is a matter of feeling which need not trouble us here, as we have simply to deal with the matter of fact. Was the murderer a lunatic or not? It is an axiom in law and in physic, that the act of murder or suicide, *per se*, cannot be received as a proof of mental unsoundness. But it is not the less true that the character of the act—the mode of its perpetration—may lead one to suspect insanity. This was manifestly the case in Annois' case, as shown by Mr. Sleigh's subsequent conduct. When the suspicion arises, it would appear to be plain that we should inquire carefully into the antecedents of the murderer, in order that the doubt should be solved. This seems to be a simple common-sense proceeding enough, but who can fathom the profundities of the law? Annois was brought to trial, tried, and condemned to death; advocate, judge, and jury being alike totally ignorant of the history of the man previous to the murder! This is startling enough, but what follows would be supreme in its whimsical eccentricity if the subject were not so serious. The leading journal sings an *Io Pæan* over the case, as a crucial instance of justice; and as a climax the advocate who had successfully prosecuted the case, and secured the conviction and sentence of the murderer, immediately afterwards seeks a respite for him lest he should be a lunatic! Would not the law have had a more decent aspect, and have borne a greater similitude to justice, if the trial had been postponed, and information necessary to determine the question of lunacy obtained first?

## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

THREE questions of MORAL HYGIENE, of exceptional interest to the practical psychologist, have during the quarter been brought prominently before the attention of the public. We refer (1) to the probable influence of the Divorce Court upon the morality of the nation ; (2), to the attempt made to introduce some knowledge of godliness among the nether classes of the Metropolis by holding religious services in the theatres ; and (3), to the extraordinary efforts which have been made, also in London, in the form of midnight prayer-meetings, to work good among those unfortunate women whose calling has been characterized, by way of pre-eminence, as *the* "Social Evil."

Each of these questions may well be the subject of particular notice, and it is a notable fact that the two first-named have been submitted to grave discussion in our Houses of Parliament, than which, we think, nothing could more thoroughly testify to the soundness and vitality of the interest which the representatives of the nation take in its moral well-being.

The subject of the Divorce Court was brought before the House of Commons on the 7th of February, when Lord J. Manners moved for leave to bring in a Bill to enable the Court to sit with closed doors, and the remarks which he then made will best show the nature of the question involved in the discussion which followed. He said :—

"It was not his intention to re-open the discussions which preceded the establishment of the Court, or to say a word in connexion with the question how far it had an effect upon the public morality and domestic purity of the country. The evil for which he wished to provide a remedy was purely accidental, and quite unnecessary as a concomitant to the new law. Great stress had been laid upon the advantage of avoiding the indecent details which used occasionally to transpire in actions for *crim. con.* and in divorce cases before the House of Lords. But, he asked, had any change for the better really taken place? The reverse was the case, and the question had now come to this, that a man must either discontinue taking in the daily papers during the sitting of the Divorce Court, or he must consent to place in the hands of his family details of the most indecent and abominable character. It was the saying of an heathen poet of corrupted Rome, '*Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*,' and, acting on this maxim, the Legislature two or three years ago, on the suggestion of the present Lord Chancellor, passed a law to put a stop to the sale of indecent publications. But the evil which had resulted from the indecent publications of Holywell-street was far less extensive than that caused by the compulsory publication of the proceedings in the Divorce Court, because when a man went into a shop to purchase one of those publications it was with his eyes open—he knew perfectly well what it was he was going to get ; but, in the other case, wherever the English language was read, details equally

corrupt and disagreeable were by a sort of unfortunate fatality spread broadcast. Hence it was that the feeling had been produced in the public mind to which he now asked the House to pay respectful deference. The Attorney-General in the discussion last year painted in strong, but not too strong, language the evils which would result from compelling the Court to sit with open doors. He pointed out how a young, innocent, and pure-minded woman might be compelled to give evidence of the most exasperating nature in that Court, crowded as it notoriously was with the most abandoned of both sexes, before the recording pens of the representatives of the public press, and suggested whether, rather than submit to such a terrible ordeal, many women might not shrink from asking for that relief and justice to which they were entitled. He left it to those who presided over and practised in this Court to say whether that anticipation had been realized. He was informed that it had been, and if that were so, to the argument of decency and morality he added this further motive of doing justice to unfortunate individuals. It was not his intention to quote any cases from the proceedings of the Court. He rested his case entirely on the notoriety of the facts, and if they were not thoroughly known to all the members of the House, he would not ask them to legislate. The remedy which he proposed to apply was that suggested by the able judge who presided over the Court, and sanctioned by the highest authorities in the House of Lords and the law officers in the Lower House. It was simply to give the Court the power of sitting with closed doors whenever it was deemed expedient—a power which was possessed by the Ecclesiastical Court and the House of Lords when between them they managed the divorce business—a power possessed by the Court of Chancery and by the analogous Courts in Scotland, France, and other countries, and which by universal testimony might be safely entrusted to the eminent judges who presided in that Court. He was at a loss to see how his proposal could be so objectionable as to procure for it the unusual honour of being opposed at that stage. He might be told that it was an old adage, ‘Publicity is the soul of justice,’ to which he would reply by another adage, ‘No rule without an exception,’ and the exception in this case was in the paramount interest of decency and morality. Nine-tenths of our statute law were exceptions from some general rule. The House was waiting with great anxiety the speedy restoration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to health, in order to hear from him what had induced the Government to depart from the well-known received rule of political economy by negotiating a commercial treaty with the Emperor of the French. On the notice-paper for to-night there were no less than three notices, which were in direct violation of some received principle of political economy, and the Act to which he had already referred, for putting down the sale of indecent publications, was in direct violation of the principle—‘An Englishman’s house is his castle.’ Perhaps it might be said that the remedy was unnecessary, since it was already in the power of the Court to close the doors; but whatever might have been the case previously, that argument could no longer be used after the introduction of the Bill of last year, which showed that the presiding judge, the legal authorities of the House of Lords, and the law officers were of opinion that he did not possess the power of closing the doors of the Court until the Legislature gave it by statute. No one, he thought, would contend that this power might not be exercised as advantageously for the public interests by the judges of this Court as it had heretofore been exercised in the Courts of Chancery; and if such a discretion were permitted, to whom could its exercise more properly be entrusted than to that distinguished man who presided over the Court of Probate and Divorce? In bringing forward this Bill he was actuated by no indirect wish either to damage or to prop up the new system of divorce by law. He scorned the motives which had been imputed to him, and he attributed no unworthy objects to others. The evil, he contended, was fatal, flagrant, and



increasing; the remedy was simple, obvious, and innocuous; and it came before them recommended by the heads of the law, and by the very founders and framers of that Court in which he proposed that it should be put into operation. If there were those who believed that any other remedy was capable of being applied to this admitted evil, let them propose their plan, and he would most cheerfully support it; but, meanwhile, he entreated the House not to withhold its sanction from the introduction of a measure directed to such a desirable end, and recommended by so great a weight of authority."

It was unfortunate that several of Lord J. Manners's observations were open to the satirical remarks which Mr. Roebuck immediately attached to them. But the speech of this last-named gentleman throws too great a light upon the whole subject not to be quoted in full. He said :—

"A remark had once been made by Swift, which the present motion of the noble lord fully verified. This was, that 'the nicest persons had the nastiest ideas.' The proposition of the noble lord he believed to have originated in the same state of feeling that possessed the American lady whose sentiments of modesty were wonderfully offended by the naked legs of her pianoforte. If the noble lord had taken into account the end which was sought to be attained by the Divorce Court, he would, he thought, have arrived at a different conclusion. That Court had been created for a mixed object: it affected not merely private rights and obligations, but also public obligations. It not only determined whether a man should be divorced from his wife, but it went further, and declared why he should be divorced, and by that means it affected public morality. If the Court was shut up, one of these great means of influencing the public would be utterly taken away. He was aware that the English notion of morality was confined to picking a pocket and seducing another man's wife. But there were other things which he read daily in the papers by which he was much more affected. He constantly saw in the reports of the Police Courts that men were brought up for threshing their wives, almost beating out their eyes and nearly taking away their lives. These things went on from day to day, and disgraced the people of England in the eyes of Europe and of the world. Another great object which had been effected by the publicity of proceedings in the Divorce Court was the dispelling of the idea that immoral practices were confined to the upper and lowest classes of society; and it had been shown that among the middle class what was particularly recognised by Englishmen as immorality was as rife as in any other, and he thought this a very great benefit; he hated shams, and he believed the morality of the middle class to be as great a sham as had ever existed. There ought, then, to be a degree of healthy hardihood in a man's character which would enable him to bear this exposure. The noble lord had stated that it was impossible to put a newspaper into the hands of one's wife or daughter. This statement he denied altogether; and he maintained that nothing had been more creditable than the conduct of the public press on this question. They had the most filthy details before them—ay, and from the middle class too, and they had not shocked any decent man's or woman's mind by what they had disclosed. But let the truth be told; was it right that the middle class should continue to appear as models of angelic purity, when they were as earthly and immoral as any other class? The noble lord stated that the judges of the criminal courts had the power of shutting out women and children. Yes; but how was it done? In a criminal case, the judge has the depositions before him, and knows what is going to be proved is of a character that women and children had better not hear. The Judge of the Divorce Court could not do this; and as a judge would act only on his

individual caprice, he would ask the House whether it could expect from a court of justice the advantages it was intended to produce, if it was left to the caprice of the judge to decide what was fit to be made public. Each judge would act on his own opinion: one might exclude the public, the next might take a different view of the case. Then they might have a prurient judge—there were such things—who might delight to make jokes before his Court that he would not dare to utter if the press was present. Even now, with the control of the press, he could put his finger on judges whose jokes did no honour to an English court of justice. One great use of a court of justice is to serve as a guide to the morality of the people. If the proceedings were secret, they would seem to be a thousand times worse than anything the public was likely to read. The motion of the noble lord, therefore, though made with the best possible intentions—hell was paved with them—would do the greatest possible mischief, and he should oppose it.”

Little can be added of weight to these observations of Mr. Roebuck's, but we would insist on the importance of the view which he so clearly set forth, that the published proceedings of the Divorce Court were a great gain to the kingdom, because they made us aware of a huge moral evil festering among the middle classes, of which it may be said we had before but imperfect ideas. Our readers will perhaps remember that we had previously adopted this view of the question in assigning (with all due respect be it said) to Sir Cresswell Cresswell the part of Asmodeus, and that we had pointed out his court as one in which could be seen unveiled some of the innermost workings of the moral life of our society.<sup>1</sup> Those who had not been startled into a conviction, by the huge trade frauds which have of late been so common among us, that no small amount of the seemingly high moral polish of the middle classes was but a veneer of sanctimonious theory,<sup>2</sup> can scarcely resist the conclusion that such is the case, as it is forced home to them by the revelations of our Divorce Court. It is disclosures like these which so effectually aid in scraping off the whitewash with which we have bedecked our civilized sepulchres, and so doing enables us more effectually to bring to bear upon the moral evils which work among us that healthy appetite for doing good, which we fully believe to exist in no small degree in this land, and of which the very discussion in question is a happy instance, although it may have gone a little astray.

This, however, does not touch the core of Lord J. Manners's objections. For it would avail little if, while gathering good on the one hand, we should be scattering evil broad-cast on the other. Now he classes the reports of trial in the Divorce Court, which appear in the daily papers, and the indecent literature of Holywell-street together, as being of an equally injurious character as affecting morality;

<sup>1</sup> See *Retrospect*, January, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> “Veneered by sanctimonious theory.”—*Tennyson*.

but the reports of the Divorce Court have a more extended influence for evil on account of the more widely-spread diffusion of the medium through which they are made public. We are entirely at issue with Lord J. Manners on the essential point of this opinion.

We have, from our literary duties, to keep a tolerably sharp eye upon the reports of divorce proceedings, and in no single instance can we call to mind any details made public which could be supposed to exercise an injurious effect upon the morality of an individual, *unless that individual's morals had been previously tainted*. There must have existed, first, a capacity for and a sensitiveness to appreciate the filthy facts hinted at, rarely, if ever, specified in the reports of cases. It may be true, as Lord J. Manners states, that the Divorce Court is a favourite haunt of prurient individuals; but this assertion has no weight as indicative of a probability that the reports of the courts are effective as *initial* causes of immorality. We should have supposed that any pure-minded male or female would rather learn another lesson from the perusal of these records—a lesson taught by the terrible destruction of domestic happiness, and of all the holy ties of domestic life there exhibited—a lesson, to wit, of which the first manifestation is a sound-minded terror of immorality, the second, a strengthened resolve to avoid even the faintest shadow of it.

Again: we know nothing personally of the Holywell-street literature referred to, but we were so astonished at its being classed by Lord J. Manners as of a like character with the reports of the Divorce Court, and we entertained such very different views of it, that we have taken the trouble to make some inquiries respecting it. It was merely necessary to listen to the titles of the chief books coming under this denomination, to ascertain how greatly Lord J. Manners had erred in comparing them with the reports of the Divorce Court. The indecent literature of Holywell-street *has for its sole object to create and foster licentiousness, and it is specifically written and published for this end*.

It is not to the transactions of our law courts that we must look for active agents in spreading and aiding immorality. We must look somewhat deeper. The efficient causes of vice do not usually thrust themselves boldly upon the surface of society. Alluding to the Holywell-street literature recalls to our mind that a short time ago, while in one of the chief libraries in the metropolis—one as much frequented by ladies as gentlemen—we espied upon the table a new French work, of somewhat tempting promise as a book for a lazy hour. The title was *Romans Parisiens*, the first and chief one being headed *La Vertu de Rosine*. The story was written with charming crispness and elegance; but the subject was simply the apotheosis of an example of illicit but ungratified love, which was wound up by suicide of the



most artistic description. Books of this class are by no means tabooed, it is to be feared, in many English houses and English libraries; and the unswerving object of these works is to throw a guise of respectability and *virtue* (as the tale we have just referred to) and right over those very immoralities which choke our Divorce Court with cases; these books, in short, are neither more nor less than the *recherché* varieties of the indecent literature for which Holywell-street is so infamously renowned.

Lord J. Manners's Bill was rejected, and the more general reasons which justified this rejection are thus expressed by the *Times* (February 6th), in an article written the day preceding the introduction of the Bill:—

"Lord John Manners proposes to introduce a Bill to-morrow giving the Judges of the Divorce Court the power of directing that any particular cause shall be heard with closed doors. Such a measure will, no doubt, attract the sympathies of a great number of people. It is at first sight an effort in favour of morality and purity, and it is easy enough to stigmatize those who oppose it as partisans of indecency and epicures in scandalous details. But it will become the House of Commons to decide the question on reasonable and constitutional grounds, unmoved either by prejudices or sneers. That there is a good deal to be said on both sides we freely admit; but, on the whole, we are in favour of upholding the decision of the House last year, and making no change in the law.

"The arguments of those who would confer an exceptional power on the Judges of the Divorce Court will, of course, be based on the recent narratives of domestic unhappiness which have been given to the world. But we may be allowed to say that the gentlemen who would make these cases the ground for an amendment of the law are mostly like Lord John Manners himself, persons of impulse rather than judgment, and entirely unacquainted with the working of our tribunals. He has, we feel sure, no clear notion of the scope of his own proposition, and those disposed to vote with him are only actuated by a feeling that the trials in the Divorce Court contain very improper details, and that it is very wrong in the newspapers to publish them. It is for the House, however, to look deeper, and to decide the question like statesmen and jurists. The actual state of things may be soon described. It has always been thought necessary that trials in this country should be conducted openly, with free access to as many of the public as the court will hold. That publicity is the best safeguard against unfairness has passed into a truism. So continually has this doctrine been acted upon, that in our criminal courts matters of the most revolting kind are inquired into publicly. Details worse than anything which can possibly be brought before the Divorce Court are given in evidence at the Old Bailey or the Assizes, and no power of excluding the public has ever been assumed by the judges. A girl must come forward in the presence of one or two hundred men to testify to her own violation, and to stand the cross-examination of the prisoner's counsel. Other matters of a grosser kind, which are unreported in newspapers, also occupy the Court, in the presence of a throng of loungers. All that the judges assert their right of doing is to direct that women and boys shall leave the court. This being the state of things with regard to all the Courts in the kingdom, the question is whether there is anything in the causes tried in the Divorce Court which calls for an exceptional power. We think there is not. Undoubtedly much that passes there

is unfit for the public eye, but that is a question between the press and the public, and not to be solved by any clumsy legislation about sitting with closed doors.

"When the Court was first established the Judges did certainly on one or two occasions exclude the public. But when these cases are examined they furnish the most conclusive argument against Lord John Manners's Bill. The subject is not an attractive one, but still in a matter like this it is necessary to throw aside false delicacy, and point out facts which amateur legislators forget. It may be said, then, that the causes which the Court ordered to be heard privately were not mere histories of matrimonial infidelity or quarrelling. There is a class of cases of so melancholy a nature, and involving details so harrowing and humiliating, that it has been thought but a proper concession to human feelings to screen them from the public ear. Such cases have been heard in private, and could they be always distinguished from others where the passions or perversity of the parties are the cause of the suit, no one would refuse to give the Judges a discretion. But it will be seen at once that narratives which have moved Lord John Manners to introduce his Bill have nothing to do with the class of cases in which the Judges have asserted the right to close the doors of the court. People have been shocked by the disputes of the Allens, the Rowleys, and others; but, supposing Sir C. Creswell to have the power of hearing causes in private, does any one think that the learned Judge would have excluded the public on any of these trials? There is nothing to distinguish them generically from the every-day causes brought before the Court. A counsel cannot move to have a petition heard privately on the ground that the evidence is likely to be interesting or laughable, or that the lady or the gentleman is known in London society, or that the letters are written in a style of absurd sentimentality. And yet it is these things which make people read the trial! If more harm is done by one story than by another, it is only that the one is, if we may call it so, more picturesque than the other. Here, then, lies the weakness of Lord John Manners's proposition. He would give the Judges a discretion in excluding the public. But it is certain the Judges must either hear every cause in private, and so make the Court a perfectly secret tribunal, or they must continue to hear publicly the very kind of causes which are the occasion of the present scandal. The Judges would never consider it consistent with their duty to hear any matters in private, except those to which we formerly alluded. Now, as these are always omitted from newspaper reports, the public would gain nothing by the change in the law. The usual run of divorce trials would be heard with open doors, as before, and the details would be spread abroad just as they have been within the last few months. Lord John Manners's Bill must therefore either be nugatory, or authorise a system of secret trial, which the country would not submit to for a month.

"We cannot think that the House will assent to the measure of Lord John Manners, but there is no doubt that the feelings which have induced him to bring it forward are shared by a large number of well-meaning persons. The Court of Divorce, by cheapening a process which formerly could only be resorted to by the rich, has roused a number of persons throughout the country to seek for relief from the burdens of an unhappy marriage. The stories are no worse than those which used to be told in the Ecclesiastical Court, in trials for criminal conversation, and before Committees of the House of Lords; the only difference is that there are more of them, and that, the Divorce Court being new, and having been discussed with great earnestness by two parties in the country, the reports of the trials are eagerly read. Our advice is to leave things alone, and trust to the good sense and moral feeling of society. Undoubtedly, the newspapers have a great responsibility in this matter, and any one of them pandering to the grosser tastes of its readers will deserve and receive public reprobation. But it must be remembered that the task of the



press is no easy one. To omit all notice of the proceedings of the Court would be to encourage the very evil which sensible men most fear—namely, collusion. Where a couple could go quietly into court and get divorced without the world knowing anything about it, the Judges would indeed have need of all their vigilance. Reported, then, the cases must be, and the only question is whether the report should be a brief or a full one. Whatever be its length, it must, however, present a fair view of the case. In justice to the judges and the jury a newspaper has no right to omit important matter on the ground of its indelicacy, when the omission makes the verdict or the judgment seem grossly unjust. The public justly takes upon itself to review the decisions of our Courts of Law, and, accordingly, it must not object that the newspaper reports on which its opinions are to be grounded sometimes contain what is unpleasing to a delicate mind. But this is a question to be settled by time and good sense; the press will be bound by its own interest to conform to the laws of decency, and then the presence of a few loungers in Sir C. Cresswell's court will be a matter of little importance."

Several most important hints on the effect of legislation as an agent expressive of certain forms of immorality may be obtained from the recently published French criminal statistics. The points to which we refer have been so ably set forth in a leading article of the *Daily Telegraph* (March 16th), that we shall content ourselves with quoting this, merely observing, that we are not to be understood as assenting to all the opinions which the writer expresses:—

"A well-known English judge once boldly asserted that the cause of every crime upon which he had to adjudicate could be traced directly or indirectly to the prevalence of intemperance. Unfortunately for the acceptance of this rash dictum, and within a few months of its delivery, a perfect epidemic of financial crime set in among the educated classes. Staid and pious bankers pawned their customers' securities; barristers and solicitors absconded; dilettante transfer clerks and philanthropist railway officials committed gigantic forgeries; and trusted servants made off with boxes of gold-dust. It was evident that the tavern or the beershop could have been little instrumental in inducing the commission of these misdeeds. A year after this the Indian rebellion broke out, and the "mild Hindoos" who never ate flesh, and never drank ardent spirits, plunged into a saturnalia of outrage, plunder, and slaughter. The judge's proposition was *primâ facie* so evidently untenable, that it were scarcely worth while to combat his fallacies, or even to notice them, save in so far as to express a regret that he had not been discriminating enough to point out the fact which must be acknowledged by all thinking men: that certain classes of crimes in England, notably assaults on women, poaching, onslaughts on the police, and ill-usage of children, were mainly caused by habits of intoxication. Crimes against life and against morality may be always, without dogmatism, ascribed to the ineffaceable existence of a principle of evil in the human heart. Crimes against property, petty larceny, and vagrancy, are almost entirely attributable to the want of schools and to the paucity of soap and water. When the very humblest members of the community are taught to read and write, and to wash themselves thoroughly, no English judge will go circuit without being presented in at least one assize town with a pair of white gloves.

"We yesterday published, in our Paris correspondence, some very interesting statistics relative to crime in France, which we gathered from the official report of the administration of criminal justice in 1858, and were then compared with former years. Were there anything valid in the irrational reference



of all criminality to intoxication, the French criminal calendar should be almost a *tabula rasa*. Our neighbours are even better off than teetotallers, for they have self-command enough to be cheerfully abstemious, to preserve a highly cultivated taste for generous wines and good cognac, but to indulge in every description of fermented liquor only in strict moderation. As the French are, however, great consumers of tobacco, it might be assumed, *ceteris paribus*, that the innumerable cigars and pipesful of *caporal* they puff in the faces of the passers-by may have something to do with their offences against the law; indeed, we have Mrs. Partington's dictum that 'smoking, where there's curtains, is next to manslaughter.' At all events it cannot be denied that a drunken man in France is next to a monstrosity, and that, as a nation, the French are eminently sober in their habits. Unfortunately, when we come to examine the statistics we have mentioned, we find that, with all their moderation in the use of cakes and ale, the liege subjects of the Emperor Napoleon are by no means so virtuous as might be expected. It is true that the aggregate of accusations against individuals has decreased since 1854, when it amounted to 5525, to 4302 in 1858. The decrease seems generally to have been in petty thefts, mendicity, and vagabondage. But, on the other hand, there is a marked and ghastly increase in serious offences. Assassination has risen from 184 to 196; murder—we think that the crime of *meurtre*, answering to our manslaughter, is hereby meant—from 99 to 114; parricide—a crime almost unknown in England—from 12 to 17; wounding followed by death from 61 to 82; other serious wounding from 54 to 65; and violence in families from 50 to 57. Thus, while we find a diminution in those comparatively trifling delicts brought on by poverty and destitution, a frightful aggravation has taken place in crimes springing from the worst passions of humanity. The criminal has now a full belly, and no longer steals; but, in lieu of purloining a loaf or picking a pocket, he sharpens a knife and stabs his neighbour. A still larger proportion of increase is visible in another and repulsive class of crimes. There were 238 cases of outrage upon women in 1858, against 188 in 1854. There were 784 cases of criminal assaults on *children*, against 617. As regards both women and children, the outrages are understood to mean that which in England is known as the capital offence.

"While coining, uttering base money, arson, and miscellaneous crimes have decreased, perjury, subornation, and fraudulent bankruptcy have risen in number. Infanticide has regularly increased since 1851, when the total of *discovered* cases was 164. It is now 224. In fact, crimes of immorality seem to have made gigantic strides since Louis Napoleon, with a tardy puritanism, gave greater powers to priests and confessors; enjoined the police to enforce with greater rigour the disciplinary control over prostitutes; forbade the most trivial pamphlet or almanack to be sold without the police seal of colportage, lest it should contain matter dangerous to religion or morality, and compelled the *étalagistes* of the Quays and the Palais Royal to pull down the naughty lithographs that garnished their walls. Would that his Imperial Majesty could put a stop to the importation into this country of the abominable French photographs and stereoscopic slides which, glued up in the pockets of portfolios, or forming the false bottoms of trunks, still continue to baffle the vigilance of the officers of the English Customs! There is matter also for grave reflection in the fact that in the country where these hideous outrages on women and children take place, the publication of reports of certain trials in courts of justice is invariably prohibited; that the ravisher is arraigned *à huis clos*, in the strictest privacy, and that in domestic life the youth of both sexes are kept apart with almost conventual strictness. Nor should it be forgotten that a *bureau de mœurs* forms an important section of the prefecture of police; that public women are not allowed to be seen on the Boulevards, in the gardens of the Tuileries, or in the Champs Elysées; that they cannot exercise their sad

vocation without a regular licence and permit, revocable at the pleasure of the police, and that after eleven o'clock at night they are confined, under heavy penalties, to their habitations.

"The perceptible increase of criminality in France cannot be chargeable to the severity of the criminal code. When its provisions are legally administered, that code is the most lenient in Europe. Anterior to the first revolution, it was comparatively Draconic, and the gibbet, the stake, the wheel, the pillory, the scourge, and the branding-iron alternately plied their functions on the Place de Grève. Torture was a recognised part of the judicial system. Far different doctrines now prevail. The guillotine is the *ultima ratio*, but its ministrations are resorted to with the extremest rarity. 'Extenuating circumstances' are admitted in cases of deliberate murder, and many a wretch who in England would swing gets off in France with a term of hard labour in the penal settlements. The average punishment for commercial forgery (*faux en écritures priocé*) is five years at Toulon, often only *réclusion* in a *maison centrale*. Corporal punishments, save on refractory convicts, are unknown to the French law. Only the worst of criminals are fettered. And yet with this mild and equitable code crime has increased and continues to increase in France. May it not be somewhat feasible that, in a country where every canon of public morality has been successively overthrown, and where the memory of a great political crime, begun in perjury, fructified by bloodshed, culminating in despotism, is yet fresh in the memories of the population, faith in and respect for the dictates of morality in private life should have sustained a heavy blow, should have fallen into contempt and neglect? A people who have no means of expressing their opinions, who are not allowed to listen to the counsels of those qualified to instruct them; who are not permitted to meet, to write, to speak together in freedom, become, for all their 'material prosperity,' arrant slaves, and are apt to acquire servile vices. When the Roman people, in the decadence of their empire, were most enslaved and most civilized, they were most corrupt and most depraved. Freedom flourishes best in a pure soil."

We may add, as a note to this article, that our contemporary's conceit of the self-command of our neighbours, and the generous wines they consume, is very pretty, and may, to some extent, apply to the educated classes; but in other respects it is a formidable error. Count de Montalembert, addressing the National Assembly, said in 1850 that "Where there is a *wine-shop*, there are the elements of disease, and the frightful source of all that is at enmity with the interests of the workman;" and Quetelet states in his work *Sur l'Homme*, that "of 1129 murders committed in France during the space of four years, 446 have been in consequence of quarrels and contentions in taverns."

The establishment of religious worship in many of our metropolitan theatres is certainly one of the most extraordinary manifestations of the philanthropical activity of the day. At the first glance there is something so repulsive in the step that we are apt to pay slight heed to the motives which have led to it. Yet these are such, as set forth in Lord Shaftesbury's most noble speech upon the subject in the House of Lords (February 24th), that we must perforce admit a justifi-

cation of the movement. It is undoubted that there is a vast mass of the London population who are relatively in darker heathenism than even the Fejee islanders were in their primitive state; it is certain that the means at command for carrying civilization into this mass were entirely insufficient, if not wholly unfitted; and there can be no doubt that the present novel method had recourse to, may have, if it has not already had, the effect of breaking up the harsh, unyielding soil, prolific of little else than crime, and thus exposing it to higher fertilizing influences. It was not a question of what Lord Shaftesbury and his coadjutors would like to have done, but what they could do, under what they rightly regarded as an imperative necessity, which had been too long left in abeyance. Of course, there are many who would have left the sheep struggling in the ditch until the presumed orthodox engineering apparatus had arrived, by which the animal could be extricated; but we would fain believe that the animal and its Proprietor will be more gratified when, thinking solely of the good, some one or other jumps at once into the ditch, and raises or attempts to raise the fallen creature once more to the enamelled surface of the meadows.

It may be, moreover, that these services will react on the theatres themselves, and so, at one and the same time, elevate the character and standing of the people to whom we are indebted for a chief amusement, and the people who constitute one of the most powerful causes of the moral deterioration of a nation. We have had occasion before to insist upon the conclusion, that the vices of each class of society act upon every other class, however remote—a truth which, if it were appreciated more sensitively, would perhaps excite a more earnest attention among the mass of the people to the moral renovation of the nether-classes. We cannot detach ourselves from the evil influences which emanate from the uttermost sections of the population; we are inextricably linked to them by our trade and domestic relations.

The raid against the *Social Evil* existing in the metropolis is even more remarkable than the religious services in the theatres, and it constitutes so novel an infraction of the routine usually adopted in dealing with the subject that we shall not hesitate to devote a little space to the matter. The question involved is one of the vexed ones of moral therapeutics, and hence of high interest to the practical psychologist.

The new method which has been had recourse to for the purpose of effecting some good among the unhappy "street-walkers," consists in the institution of midnight prayer-meetings in the immediate vicinity



of their chief haunt. The nature of the first meeting (the type of those which have succeeded) is thus narrated in the *Times* :—

“One of the most extraordinary meetings for years past took place yesterday morning (or rather the proceedings were to have commenced at midnight, on Tuesday), at the St. James’s Restaurant, St. James’s Hall, 69, Regent-street, in connexion with the important question of the great social evil.

“The meeting was none other than one of ‘fallen women,’ for the purposes of hearing prayer and addresses, and originated in this manner :—Some gentlemen connected with the Country Towns’ Missions, English Monthly Tract Society, Female Aid Society, London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution, the Trinity House, and other institutions, feeling anxious for the welfare of the multitude of fallen women who congregate every night in the Haymarket, Regent-street, and the principal casinos and cafés in the neighbourhood, resolved, after mature consideration, to attempt to convene some of those unhappy persons in a suitable place near those localities, where judicious addresses might be given, to be followed by prayer. The mode which to the conveners appeared most likely to succeed was to invite them to tea and coffee; and a neat card, enclosed in an envelope, was distributed among them at the casinos, cafés, and in the streets, indited as follows :—‘The favour of your company is requested by several friends, who will meet at the St. James’s Restaurant, 69, Regent-street, to take tea and coffee together, on Wednesday night, February 8, at 12 o’clock precisely.’ Some hundreds of these were distributed during the past few days, and, as will be seen, the experiment met with a great amount of success, notwithstanding that many treated the matter with ridicule, while numerous others thought the whole affair a hoax. Such, however, it did not turn out to be; for shortly before midnight a large number of these unfortunate creatures arrived at the entrance of the St. James’s Restaurant. Here they were shown into the large dining room of the hall, capable of holding some hundreds of persons. There was an abundant supply of tea and coffee, with bread and butter, toast, and cake, to which the strange assembly did good justice, at the various tables about the room, and round which they clustered in small parties of six or eight, chattering over the peculiarity of the meeting, and wondering what was to be the course of proceeding. The number gradually increased till there must have been at least 250 persons present, and these were solely composed of the unfortunate creatures whose moral and social condition the meeting had been convened to ameliorate, excepting some thirty or thirty-five clergymen and gentlemen who had been instrumental in calling the meeting. Of course, the meeting was not allowed to be a public one so far as regarded the admission of the other sex; for, had it been so, no doubt a very large number would have assembled out of curiosity, if not for any worse motive. While the repast was going on the principal gentlemen present mustered together at a conspicuous spot for the purpose of addresses being delivered to the meeting. Among them were the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, the Rev. W. Brock, the Rev. W. O’Neill, the Rev. — Houghton, Mr. Latouche (the banker), Mr. W. J. Maxwell, Mr. Theophilus Smith, and others.

“Shortly after one o’clock the Rev. W. Brock stepped forward and briefly opened the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting.

“The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel then addressed those assembled in an eloquent, yet pathetic and affectionate discourse, alluding to his hearers as his ‘dear young friends.’ He commenced by drawing a picture of the history of a virtuous woman from her childhood, pointing out the unspeakable love of the father and mother for the child, the association with sisters and brothers, the affection of the husband, and at last the love which she herself bears her own children; and then he compared that picture with the position of those who had erred from the paths of virtue. It was quite possible, however, he



assured his hearers, that some of them might yet be happy; they might ask him how, and say it was difficult to become so—and so it was, he admitted, but it was not impossible, for they had a friend who was even more tender than the mother, and stronger in his love than the father; and One who would never desert them. He was a friend who would rescue them if they trusted in His boundless confidence. That friend was Jesus their Saviour, who had died for them; He was with them in that room, as certain as possible, and just ready to be their friend; therefore he entreated them to turn to their Saviour. Their whole future depended upon whether they would have Him or not; He could take them to glory from a life which must end in perdition, could cleanse them of their sins, and carry them to God. If they asked him when to do it he should say at once, and they would be happy for the rest of their lives; if they believed in Him they would be saved. The Saviour himself said, ‘God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ Would they accept the offer or not? He entreated them to accept it at once and be happy for ever, their cheeks never fading, their conscience would sleep in peace, and they would live long to enjoy the esteem of those who were good. Let them take the resolution at once, and they would never regret it. The hon. and rev. gentleman then read letters from several girls who had been reclaimed, stating the happiness they felt, and then he went on to say that his young friends might ask how could they follow the course he pointed out. Of course, it would require some sacrifice to be made, but they must expect that, and help each other, and it would not be a matter of regret ultimately that they had made the sacrifice. They might think they would never be loved again, but he told them they would. Therefore, let them say like others, “Let us make the sacrifice;” for was it not better to be happy for ever than to walk on to the end which was perdition? In conclusion, he exhorted them not to depart without heeding what he had said. Might the Lord accept his prayers, and might He also accept those unfortunate young creatures he was addressing, and to them he said, ‘Give up that which is contrary to the will of Jesus and say, “I will take heart and be a child of God.”’

“The Rev. W. Brock, Rev. Mr. Haughton, Rev. W. O'Neill, and others then offered up prayers, and the effect produced by the earnest and touching appeal of the first-named gentleman, delivered in a deep tone of voice, was most touching.

“It was announced that any present who repented their sins would be received into the London Reformatory or the Trinity Home, and that further arrangements would be made for the reception of others elsewhere if funds could be provided.

“The meeting broke up about three o'clock.

“The conduct of those present was highly creditable, and quite void of levity or contumely, and we may safely say that the experiment so far has been successful.”

The following comments of the *Daily Telegraph* (Feb. 11) may be regarded as pretty well exhausting the stock objections to this movement:—

“Nothing could be more attractive to benevolent minds than a rational project for reclaiming and restoring to society those poor fallen women who crowd our streets at night. Once show how this object may be effected, and the entire community would be carried away by impulses of sympathy. But is the great social evil to be obliterated by midnight meetings of unfortunates, by cards distributed in casinos and other places, by tea and coffee, bread and butter, toast and cake? We give the gentlemen who assembled on Thursday

morning at St. James's Restaurant, St. James's Hall, credit for the best intentions, but, at the same time, we think they understand nothing whatever of the world. What was the purpose of their strange convention? To pray with the outcasts, to speak of redemption to sinners, to reform the wicked. They set about this laudable effort in a most singular manner. They invited the wanton sisterhood to an entertainment combining the spirit of a conventicle with the attractions of an evening party. There were to be speeches and refreshments, touching appeals and buttered toast, offers of pardon and muffins. Who can say how many went to the meeting as to a tea party, who thought of it seriously, and who carried away its reminiscence as a jest? We remember what happened when Mr. Henry Mayhew, prompted by kindly feelings, summoned the ticket-of-leave men to be lectured. They came, heard, dispersed, and no one ever knew of one black sheep in that grotesque congregation as having been bleached into a sense of propriety. So, we fear, will it be with the pitiable frail ones who met at St. James's Hall early on Thursday morning. About two hundred and fifty of them were gathered together; they were entirely in the dark as to the meaning of the summons which had been addressed to them. A neat card, enclosed in an envelope, had been circulated, setting forth that 'The favour of your company is requested by several friends who will meet in the St. James's Restaurant, 69, Regent-street, on Wednesday night, Feb. 8, at twelve o'clock precisely.' What could this polite invitation imply? Perhaps an extraordinary revel; not impossibility—the tea and coffee being introduced to veil the dramatic surprise—a champagne supper. Might it not be a regular carnival? At all events the guests mustered, wondering how the mystery might be revealed, and numbers of them, no doubt, were disappointed when they saw Mr. William Brock, Mr. Baptist Noel, and Mr. Theophilus Smith doing the honours. Thither had they come, says the report, very fashionably dressed, in a blaze of trinkets and jewels, the tinsel gewgaws that conceal the dust and ashes of their lives; and what was the festival? Tea, coffee, bread, butter, toast, cake, and sermons, to the substantial elements of which they rendered 'ample justice.'

"But it must not be supposed that the preaching was thrown away so far as the emotions of that particular evening were concerned. Many of the unhappy creatures buried their faces in their handkerchiefs and sobbed aloud. More than one had to be removed from the room in an unconscious condition. The spiritual drug, following upon the carnal refreshments, had been adroitly administered. But was it legitimate to make the experiment, and can we hope that one jot or tittle of good will be effected by it? Here was an invitation anonymously distributed in the streets and casinos, inviting the prostitutes of London to a sort of conversation; they congregated long after midnight, decked out in all their gauds; they partook of the refreshments provided, while 'wondering what was to be the course of proceeding.' Wondering, indeed! What else could they do at that unseemly hour, in that conspicuous room, two hundred and fifty of them face to face, mutually acknowledging and thereby aggravating their degradation, with the streams of London vice and infamy flowing past the door? At three o'clock in the morning, excited and bewildered, they were let loose upon the pavement in throngs which must have astonished the late wayfarer. Do the reverend gentlemen who got up this eccentric demonstration believe that one of these poor things is less a harlot now than she was on Wednesday evening? What religious or moral purpose did Mr. Noel serve when he drew the portrait of a woman virtuous from her cradle? The creatures present fell not within that category. Many of them wept, no doubt; some fainted; but all returned straight into the world of paint, and lace, and silk, of glitter, immodesty, and excitement; and we may be sure that it will be long before the assemblage will be forgotten as a burlesque and a mockery. Not that we deem these unhappy wanderers irre-



claimable; not that we rebuke a Christian preacher for calling them his 'dear young friends.' Would that public philanthropy exerted itself even more persistently than now to redeem them from the perdition of their shameful careers! Their pretended gaiety is wretchedness; their laughter is cynicism; their finery conceals the skeleton of the pauper. More than most evil-doers are they to be pitied, and even at the worst shall it not be tolerable to pardon and bring back within the human fold a weak one whose errors Heaven, more merciful than the world, would forgive? Therefore it is not because we thus characterise the effort to reclaim a certain proportion of these girls that we deprecate such exhibitions as those of Thursday morning. Receive them, by all means, into the London Reformatory or the Trinity House; but refrain from melodramatic appeals, from midnight celebrations in the neighbourhood of the Haymarket, from mysterious proposals of tea and coffee, which bring together two hundred and fifty prostitutes, proclaiming their humiliation in a multitude 'most fashionably attired, and displaying large quantities of jewellery.' Two or three who remember their homes and families may sob, and some may swoon upon the recollection of their guilt; but the gin palace is at hand, the throng will burst upon the streets, the hour passes, the figure of the preacher vanishes, his voice is no longer audible; some profane Pompadour or Dubarry of the *pavé* insinuates a jeer, and instantly the whole effect of the exhortation is dissipated. It is very likely that, as is stated, there was no levity or contumely so long as the proceedings lasted; but does any one imagine that the dawn of Thursday saw one of Mr. Noel's penitents stripping off the tawdry badges of her disgrace, and resolving henceforth to lead a life of morality and indigence?

"We will anticipate the answer in the sense most favourable to the philanthropists of St. James's Hall. Perhaps two or three girls have applied to the reformatories; they have, we assume, been admitted; and they will, we hope, be reformed. But might not a far better result ensue from the working of benevolent schemes more judicious and less obtrusive? There is a smack of quackery about the Regent-street congress which we find it difficult to pass without observation. It is very fine to talk of snatching brands from the burning, of clearing casinos and depopulating coffee-houses; it sounds highly creditable to give the fallen a last chance; but charity and religion have found other and better means of doing their work. The noiseless steps of the apostle, the unostentatious voice of the cottage or attic visitor, the melting pleading of the quiet missionary, have told upon the consciences of the wicked, the desperate, and the abandoned; but what benefit ever arose from philanthropic tea-meetings, at which hundreds of sinners, after being duly petted with earthly refreshments, were adjured to reflect upon the responsibilities of their souls? The spectacle reminds us of those Jesuit propagandists in the East, who invariably commenced their Catholic ceremonies by bowing down to an idol. They first conciliated the native Pagans and then denounced idolatry. Thus, Mr. Brock and Mr. Noel laid a strong foundation of bread and butter before they ventured to speak of chastity, and sugared the coffee half an hour in advance of the perorations which threw several congenial subjects of their spiritualism into ephemeral convulsions. We repeat that their enthusiasm was probably meritorious; but, like gunpowder, benevolence is a very destructive element in the hands of those who misunderstand its application."

We shall not discuss the objections advanced by our contemporary. The movement has been carried into effect, and many "unfortunates" have been persuaded to attempt to save themselves. This is so far well; but we think that the remote results of the movement will in all probability be more truly important than the immediate.

An immense and hitherto insuperable obstacle to working any permanent good in the *Social Evil* has been the determined opposition of the bulk of the people to acquiring any information about it, and consequently a very general neglect of it. Those who listen with rapt attention to tales of revolting immorality and vice among heathen nations, when told from the "Foreign Missionary platform," or recounted in Foreign Missionary works, and who, so appealed to, will open their purses as wide as their ears, are too apt not only to close both the one and the other when appealed to on account of the *Social Evil*, but are even too much disposed to regard in an unfavourable light those who venture to offend their ears with the subject. Pity it is that there are so many good people who, to use Uranie's happy expression, in *La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*, "Etoient plus chastes des oreilles que de tout le reste du corps."

Now the midnight-meetings, and the character of the gentlemen and ladies who have conducted them, will, we hope, have the good effect of breaking down, in no small degree, the injurious barrier of mistaken modesty which has driven the subject of the *Social Evil* into the shade. In this way a re-action on the male sinners may be brought about, by inducing a less heedless tone of feeling among society towards the active agent in the unhappy woman's fall. On the other hand, the greater interest excited may induce greater attention and greater pecuniary liberality towards the subject, and thus make feasible the establishment in greater number of the more permanent agencies for the relief of the evil; such agencies as we possess in our admirable town-missionaries, and as we ought to possess in *matrons*, who would devote themselves to a mission of peace and love to their erring sisters,—their efforts being rightly supported by the establishment of temporary or permanent refuges where needful.

While the three questions that we have just considered stand most prominent among the matters of the quarter which more immediately concern us, there have not been wanting other events which serve to mark the steady progress of that active, right-minded philanthropy of which these questions are so marked an illustration. We may refer, for example, to the Bill which has recently passed for limiting the hours of labour of women and children in bleaching and dyeing works, and which will doubtless exercise as beneficial an influence on the moral and physical condition of the females and young persons engaged in those occupations, as was effected by the Short-Time Bill affecting the same classes of individuals working in woollen manufactures. *Apropos* of the first-named Bill, the *Times* (March 23, 1860) has well remarked that—



"The people of England have solemnly proclaimed that the principle of *Laissez-faire* shall not apply to the using up of human flesh and blood. That women and children are not free agents, and that society in its corporate capacity has a right to interfere for their protection, is a principle which it is now too late to combat. Indeed, the Legislature has gone much further, as in the acts for the regulation of shipping, where seamen and emigrants are placed under the special protection of Government, and the doctrine of non-interference in private contracts utterly repudiated. Far above the advantage to society of material gain is the advantage of a vigorous and healthy people, and if a cancerous growth of dwarfishness and imbecility is allowed to come into existence in any part of the island, no one can tell what may be the consequences in the next age. In spite of all the care of Parliament and all the labours of sensible and right-minded employers, the population of a Lancashire town cannot be contemplated without a certain misgiving. Watch them as they pour along the streets to dinner, observe their pale faces, their stoop, their thin hands, and their somewhat unsteady gait, and it will glance across your mind that the first place in the commerce of the world may be too dearly purchased. But, whatever they may be, it is the universal testimony of the Factory Inspectors that the evil would have been far worse without Government interference. Mr. Horner, in his report for the half-year ending the 31st of October, 1859, says, 'The experience of twenty-six years convinces me that the legislative interference for the regulation of the labour of children, young persons, and women, in factories, is now viewed by the great majority of the occupiers as having done, and as continuing to do, a great amount of good without any interference with the prosperity of their trade.' Mr. Horner is sanguine respecting the employment of children. He thinks that under the present law they are not overworked, that the three hours they get in school daily give them the rudiments of education, while their employment sharpens their faculties and gives them independence at an early age. Mr. Baker says, 'I think I can show that the Factory Acts have put an end to the premature decrepitude of the former long-hour workers; that they have enlarged their social and intellectual privileges; that by making them masters of their own time they have given them a moral energy which is directing them to the eventual possession of political power, and that they have lifted them up high in the scale of rational beings, compared with that which they had attained in 1833.' So much for the right of Parliament to interfere with the labour in factories, and for the consequences which this interference has produced.

"Turn now to the Bleaching-works. Nothing in the annals of Manchester or Stockport, in the days when Lord Ashley carried on his campaign against the mill-owners, can be compared with the revelations which have been lately made respecting the condition of these abodes of misery. Mr. Roebuck only quoted a few of a whole series of heart-rending narratives. We may give some further extracts. One youth says, 'At times, if a sudden order has come, we have not been in bed more than sixteen or eighteen hours a-week.' Another says, 'At my commencement' (when he was a child of eleven) 'I began at twelve o'clock on Sunday night, and worked till eight o'clock on Monday night. Then we started at six o'clock on Tuesday morning, and worked till twelve at night; and we did this for two or three months without stopping.' Wright Mather says, 'I am foreman of the clamping-room. In summer I have seen the room at 130 degs.; in winter it is generally about 80 to 100 degs. We have come at six a.m. and worked till nine p.m. all last week. . . . There are four clamping-rooms, and when they are all a-gate there are sixteen females at work in them. In the other drying-place there are five boys; they work very often sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen hours a-day. The heat is very great in that room—from 100 to 150 degrees, and that is under the mark.' James Thomson, of Mr. Wallace's works, Burnbank, Glasgow, says, 'We employ about ten men

and forty females; in summer, some of the hands work occasionally from six a.m. to twelve p.m. the whole week through; we did this last summer several times. Three days we worked twenty hours each day. The *ages of most of our girls are from ten to eighteen.* . . . I feel when I am urging the females to work these long hours that I am doing what is not right, but I have been urged to do it to get a lot of goods finished. Sometimes they stay here all night, and then we make a place for them to lie down upon in a store-room, upon the pieces of goods unfinished. Sometimes fourteen or more girls will pass the night in this manner after working nineteen hours, and coming out of those hot places dripping wet with perspiration, and their clothes wet through with it.' We feel that we need add nothing to this horrible picture. If such revelations do not rouse society to rescue these girls and these children from their living death, then do we as a nation deserve the worst that the world can say of us, and an hour of just punishment will inevitably arrive."

Conspicuous among the events of the quarter have been the recurrence of several most brutal outrages on board American ships in British waters. Events of this class are sufficiently common in our own mercantile navy to justify an inquiry into the causes which lead to their repetition, and some portion of the active philanthropical spirit which we have seen conspicuous in the subjects that have already occupied our attention, might, perhaps, with advantage be devoted to such an inquiry. It would seem, however, as if outrages of the character referred to were far more common in American ships than our own. This fact is of considerable interest in connexion with others which appear to point to a growing *fashion* for deeds of violence among an influential section of the Americans. The sources of this peculiar tendency would form a curious and instructive psychological study, for which, however, we do not possess the materials. Such facts as do from time to time come to the knowledge of the English reader are not without considerable interest as bearing upon this question. The account and comment of the *Times* (January 17, 1860) upon one of the most serious recent examples of barbarity in the American marine, may be quoted with advantage:—

"There must be some hidden cause acting on the American people and producing in them a certain savageness of temper, which, increasing year by year, threatens to become the most marked feature of their character. Their forefathers in the first days of the Republic do not seem to have possessed it, nor had it a few years ago risen to the height which it has now attained. Feroocious duels and assassinations at home and deeds of still more revolting violence on helpless subordinates at sea are ever being recounted of Americans who seem to be taken as a fair specimen of their countrymen, and, however accounted for, there seems, unhappily, little doubt of the fact that a people sprung mainly from the same stock as ourselves are becoming singularly addicted to violence and cruelty.

"No more horrible story has ever been told, even of the American mercantile marine, than that which we published yesterday. Two Americans, the mates of the bark 'Anna,' an American vessel, were brought before the magistrates of the Isle of Wight on the charge of causing the deaths of six coloured men by a series of the most atrocious cruelties. We may say at once it was asserted that yellow fever had prevailed on board the ship, and that possibly the death



of more than one of the men was due to this disease. But, if the evidence is to be believed, the deaths of at least two of them were directly due to the acts of the accused. The first part of the statement made by John Thomas, one of the surviving coloured men, relates to the murder of James Armstrong. Lane, the chief mate, gave an order to this unhappy creature. He did not attend to it as quickly as the mate wished, and Lane, taking up a mallet, struck him with it over the eye. The man 'jumped up, fell on the main deck with his head forward, and then leaned over the chain. I went to his assistance, put my hand on his head, and pulled it back, and I saw that his left eye was running out.' Armstrong was then sent half insensible 'down on the martingale under the bowsprit to clean the earring.' He was washed off the martingale and towed along in the water by the earring, which his arm was coiled round. As Abraham Rock, another coloured seaman, was about to haul him in, the chief mate said, 'Don't haul that nigger in; cut the earring, and let him go!' About two minutes after Armstrong let go his hold, and was lost. Another man, John Turtle, was dragged down by Hires, the second mate, who stamped on his head with his sea-boots. Turtle died, and the witness swears that he found the bone of the forehead broken in the centre. A youth named Johnson and a man named Frank also died after being ill-treated in the most frightful manner by the mates, and, though the deaths may not have been immediately the result of the beating and the choking, yet, supposing the negroes to have been in a weakly state from fever, there can be little doubt that such usage must have tended to produce fatal consequences. In all six coloured men perished, and their deaths were all charged to the mates by the surviving seamen.

"As the offences were committed on board an American vessel and on the high seas, the American Minister in this country sent a protest against the jurisdiction of the Court, and nothing remained for the magistrates but to dismiss the charge. This protest was accompanied with a request that the magistrates would detain the defendants until the matter could be inquired into by the American Consul, so that they might be remitted to their own country for trial under the Extradition Treaty. The magistrates, however, considered that they could not hold them in custody until the formal requisition had been made, and so they were discharged, and will probably take care to put themselves out of the power of any English authority. In this the magistrates had no discretion; but we cannot think that they acted wisely or humanely in sending the witnesses back on board the American vessel, into the power of their persecutors, who may at any time set sail from Cowes and gratify their vengeance on the men who have endeavoured to bring them to justice. Whatever agreement may have been entered into by the seamen, the proceedings on board during the voyage are quite sufficient to justify them in refusing to fulfil it, and it is not the duty of an English bench of magistrates to force men to expose themselves to such treatment as caused the deaths of Armstrong and Turtle.

"We know not what view the American authorities take of such outrages as those we have detailed. It is quite possible that, should the two mates be sent to the United States under the Extradition Treaty, they will be acquitted, their victims being only 'niggers.' But these crimes for which the American merchant service has become justly infamous, demand the serious attention of a civilized people. Deeds of violence cannot be perpetrated with impunity without quickly demoralizing the community which suffers them. The barbarous practices which have sprung up within the last few years will, if not checked, rear up in every port of the Republic a set of desperadoes such as has not been seen in Europe since the days of buccaniers and pirates. In a few years an American merchantman will be a floating hell. Every boy who goes on board will learn the horrible lesson, and by the time he has strength to use marlingspikes and 'knuckle-dusters' he will be too bad for anything but

the gallows. Nor let the Americans suppose that it is only 'niggers' who will be the victims of these savage instincts. The ruffian Moody, who was sentenced a few weeks since by an English Court to penal servitude for life, had tortured to death a brother American against whom he conceived a dislike, and there is ample evidence to show that in the madness of cruelty the petty despots of a merchantman are no respecters of persons. The authorities of this country have fully made up their minds on the subject. Every man who commits a murder on board a British ship, or on board any ship in British waters, will be prosecuted and hanged or otherwise punished. As a Christian people, as a people who believe in the sacredness of human life, we shall put the law in force, and protect the helpless seaman against those who so abuse the power they are intrusted with."

We have linked the prevalence of violence in the mercantile marine of America with those extraordinary scenes of violence which from time to time disfigure the social life of some of the most important cities of the States. For example, a little while ago we read a horrible scene which occurred in one of the hotels of New Orleans. Two gentlemen, who had had a previous disagreement, came accidentally into contact one day after dinner, whereupon both drew pistols from their breasts, and at once commenced to fire at each other. The account runs:—

"The firing having commenced, Harris retreated, and finally dodged into the door of the small bar and cigar-room, and shielding himself partly behind the glass door, looked out and fired from time to time. Peck, while Harris retreated, stepped out from the office and fired several shots—three of which took effect upon the person of Harris—and was in that position when he was fired at from the room. Exhausting his pistol, Peck drew his bowie-knife and advanced deliberately toward the door of the cigar shop, from behind which Harris had shot, and seemed to hesitate a moment whether to enter. The next moment Harris fired at the open doorway, the ball of his pistol entering the side or jamb of the door. After firing the last shot, Harris ran back just as Peck entered the door and got over the marble counter of the bar, and into a corner among the bottles. Peck following, sprang over after him, and grasping hold of him, inflicted upon his person four stab wounds with the bowie-knife. Harris was picked up and placed on the floor for a few moments, and then carried to his room near by, expiring almost the moment he was placed upon his bed. The excitement was very intense, and most of the crowd got out of the way at the first firing. Some got behind pillars, others ran into the passages leading to the dining-room and ladies' parlour, and not a few, thinking it too late to fly, made shields of the chairs. A group of gentlemen were standing conversing immediately in a line with the shot from Harris, which lodged in the wall a few feet above their heads. Harris received the following wounds:—One shot wound in the right shoulder, two stab wounds in the left shoulder, one stab wound in the left arm, one stab wound in the left side, between the fifth and sixth ribs, penetrating the lungs; one shot wound in the right side, between the seventh and eighth ribs, penetrating the liver. The two wounds last above-mentioned were the immediate cause of death. One shot wound in the breast, between the first and second ribs. Peck was arrested immediately after the murder."

Certain remarks of Dr. George Cook, of Brigham Hall, Canandaigua,



N.Y., in an admirable article on Mental Hygiene,<sup>3</sup> may, perhaps, serve to throw some light on the peculiar psychical phenomena indicated by the murderous instances which we have briefly recorded. After speaking strongly of the too prevalent weakening in the States of domestic ties between parents and children, and the unhappy effects which this exercises upon the moral tone of the latter, he makes the following observations:—

"We proceed to speak of the theory and practice of our boasted republican civilization, whereby the healthy rule in regard to the influence of parental and other example, upon the formation and development of mental and moral character, though recognised theoretically, is, in numberless instances, nullified in all its practical operations. In this connexion we would call especial attention to the importance of faith as an element of mental and moral health and power; faith in the good and true in man; faith in the goodness, truth, justice, and daily guidance of a Heavenly parent, to whom we owe reverence and obedience. The great minds that have arisen in the world's history; that have influenced and controlled the destinies of untold millions of their fellow-men; given form to their social, political, and religious institutions; contributed in the highest degree to the development of the arts and sciences, and to the progressive welfare of the human race, have derived no inconsiderable portion of their power and influence over other minds, from the faith which infused their own. If such a faith be an important element in strong and healthy character, it follows that a social life, which scatters widely the seeds of distrust and doubt, which develops precocious ideas of independence and freedom, instead of dependence and obedience, and allows the youthful mind to become familiar with evil in some of its most alluring forms before it is prepared to judge intelligently, cannot exert other than a vicious, unhealthy influence upon the physical, moral, and intellectual well-being of the present and future generations. That very many of our youth are exposed to such malign influences, at a period of their lives when they should be most carefully shielded from them by parental example and care, is but too plainly exemplified in the prominent traits of character peculiar to 'young America,' and in the steadily increasing stream of youthful depravity, crime, and disease. Later in life we may trace the evil through our whole social fabric, everywhere a prolific source of unhappiness, suffering, wrong-doing, and disease, both physical and mental.

"There are some, but they compose a small and scattered minority in many communities, who correctly appreciate the importance of a stable foundation, on which to rear the superstructure of physical, moral, and intellectual manhood. They are worthy of all honour for their steadfastness of purpose and adherence to the right, in the midst of the general laxity which so universally prevails."

Before terminating our Retrospect, we cannot avoid directing attention to a case which occurred early in the quarter, in the Westminster Police Court, and which is a singular illustration of popular information concerning lunacy.

A middle-aged man, who believed that he was Oliver Cromwell, occupied lodgings in Westminster. He was supposed to be under a sort of surveillance by the landlord, although it appeared that he had

<sup>3</sup> *American Journal of Insanity*, January, 1859.

almost uncontrolled command of his actions in going in and out of the house. It further appeared that the lunatic had certain warlike propensities, and that he was permitted, in the indulgence of these propensities, to arm himself with sundry murderous steel weapons, made and even ornamented to his own pattern. One morning he quietly entered the room where his landlord was seated, and, going behind him, felled him to the earth with a tremendous blow, given by a heavy steel bar, one of the warlike implements referred to. The landlord was much hurt, but fortunately for him the blow did not prove fatal. In due time the lunatic was arraigned before the magistrate for assault, and the instructive portion of the business was this; the landlord asserted that until he was struck down he had never for a moment thought that the lunatic was dangerous. Notwithstanding that the lunatic had a fancy for offensive weapons, and expected every moment to be called upon to defend his rights or assail the rights of others, still it had not occurred to his keeper that he was dangerous!

This was an exceedingly narrow escape from another horrible butchery by a homicidal maniac at large, and it ought to teach the press, who are too apt to cavil with the alienist who is desirous of placing lunatics of this species under durance or strict watch, that it is only by sequestration or constant surveillance that the public can be protected from their dangerous tendencies.

## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

WE should either have been more or less than man if we had escaped the infectious enthusiasm of that glorious movement which may be said to have attained maturity in the VOLUNTEER REVIEW, before HER MAJESTY, on the 23rd ult. We refer to the movement here, not that we propose to discuss its ethical or æsthetical aspects. These are sufficiently impressed upon the feelings of every true Englishman. But there is an incidental circumstance connected with the growth of the Volunteer Rifle Corps, which is worthy of being called to mind, as being amusingly illustrative of the little change which man's habits of thought undergo in the course of ages. "My good sir," exclaims *Paterfamilias*, seizing us warmly by the arm, if we happen to stray into the drill-ground, or to be his neighbour at the dinner-table, or to come across him in the Park—"My good sir," he exclaims, "now isn't this truly excellent for our young men; this drill, this rifle exercise, this so forth." Of course *Paterfamilias* never touches upon the great moral and political significations of the Rifle movement. He knows that to be useless. He feels that he and I are of the fullest accord in all that relates to its greatness, its goodness, and its significant meaning across the water. He knows very well that if he and I could get over the impertinent simper of our tailor if we alluded to the matter, and the tale-telling of our bare-faced cheval-glass, we should both endue our very civilian-like bodies in the grey or the green of a Volunteer Corps before sunset, and amble into the goose-step with the most serious gravity. He knows all this, and consequently he keeps to other and by no means uninteresting matter. "What can be better," he proceeds, "than this constant drill, this wielding a ponderous rifle (that is, as you of course understand, comparatively speaking), for strengthening the frame, developing the brawn, my dear sir; giving a firmer, a nobler, an altogether better gait, sir; weaning the unsophisticated youth from more dangerous pleasures—yes, sir, pleasures: I mean what I say, and I assert that every volunteer ranks his duty among his greatest pleasures. Now, sir, you are a medical man, and I should like to hear what you think of this view of the question." Thus *Paterfamilias*; and we assent most warmly to his opinions, and confirm them by showing to him that they possess all the respectability, all the stability which may be derived from hoar antiquity.

Turn for a moment to Plato's dialogue concerning Courage—the



LACHES. Lysimachus and Melesias, two of the interlocutors, are country gentlemen. They are anxious about the education of their sons, and have been recommended to let them learn a certain sword-exercise. They consult Nicias and Laches, two eminent military men at Athens, and it is in this fashion (to quote Dr. Whewell's summary<sup>1</sup>) that Nicias gives his opinion in favour of the sword-exercise :—

“It keeps young men out of worse employments of their leisure, gives them strength and agility, is a preparation for actual war, both in the rank and single affrays ; and is likely to set young men upon learning other parts of the art of war.” It would also, he says, make a man braver and bolder than he would otherwise be ; and a thing, he says, not to be despised, would give him a military carriage which would inspire awe. “So that,” he says, in conclusion, “I think, and for these reasons, that it is a good thing to teach the young men this exercise.”

And so it is, also, we echo, and with truth, in no small degree, of the drill and discipline of our Volunteer Corps, and we doubt not that these will, henceforth, play a not unimportant part in the moral and physical education of our youth ; and this without putting to flight the more sober civilian virtues upon which we are apt to pride ourselves as a nation.

And now, if we would learn another lesson from the passing events of the quarter, let us turn to Mr. Gladstone's address upon his installation as Rector of the University of Edinburgh. Comment would be almost impertinent upon the noble language and nobler thoughts of the trumpet-tongued speaker :—

“You have chosen, gentlemen, as your own representative in the University Court one widely enough separated from you in the scale of years ; one to whom much of that is past which to you is as yet future. It is fitting, then, that he should speak to you on such an occasion of that which unites us together—namely, the work of the University, as a great organ of preparation for after life ; and that, in treating of what constitutes the great bond between us, he should desire and endeavour to assist in arming you, as far as he may, for the efforts and trials of your career. Subject to certain cycles of partial revolution, it is true that, as in the material so in the moral world, every generation of man is a labourer for that which succeeds it, and makes an addition to that great sum total of achieved results which may, in commercial phrase, be called the capital of the race. Of all the conditions of existence in which man differs from the brutes there is not one of greater moment than this, that each one of them commences life as if he were the first of a species, whereas man inherits largely from those who have gone before. How largely, none of us can say ; but my belief is that, as years gather more and more upon you, you will estimate more and more highly your debt to preceding ages. If, on the one hand, that debt is capable of being exaggerated or misapprehended, if arguments are sometimes strangely used which would imply that, because they have done much, we ought to do nothing more ; yet, on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> *The Platonic Dialogues*, Vol. I., p. 20.

it is no less true that the obligation is one so vast and manifold that it can never as a whole be adequately measured. It is not only in possession available for use, enjoyment, and security; it is not only in language, laws, institutions, arts, religion; it is not only in what we have, but in what we are. For, as character is formed by the action and reaction of the human being and the circumstances in which he lives, it follows that as those circumstances vary he alters too, and he transmits a modified—it ought to be also an enlarged and expanding—nature onwards in his turn to his posterity, under that mysterious law which establishes between every generation and its predecessors a moral as well as a physical association. In what degree this process is marred, on the one hand, by the perversity and by the infirmity of man, or restored and extended, on the other, by the remedial provisions of the Divine mercy, this is not the place to inquire. The progress of mankind is, upon the whole, a chequered and an intercepted progress; and even where it is full-formed, still, just as in the individual, youth has charms that maturity under an inexorable law must lose, so the earlier ages of the world will ever continue to delight and instruct us by beauties that are exclusively or peculiarly their own. Again, it would seem as though this progress (and here is a chastening and a humbling thought) were a progress of mankind and not of the individual man, for it seems to be quite clear that, whatever be the comparative greatness of the race now and in its infant or early stages, what may be called the normal specimens, so far as they have been made known to us either through external form or through the works of the intellect, have tended rather to dwindle, or at least to diminish, than to grow in the highest elements of greatness. But the exceptions at which these remarks have glanced neither destroy nor materially weaken the profound moment of the broad and universal canon, that every generation of men, as they traverse the vale of life, are bound to accumulate, and in divers manners do accumulate, new treasures for the race, and leave the world richer, on their departure, for the advantage of their descendants, than, on their entrance, they themselves have found it. Of the mental portion of this treasure no small part is stored; and of the continuous work I have described no small part is performed by Universities, which have been, I venture to say, entitled to rank among the greater lights and glories of Christendom.” (Applause.)

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to describe the idea and work of an University somewhat in detail, and he concluded his address in these words:—

“And now, my younger friends, you to whom I owe the distinction of the office which enables and requires me to address you, if I have dwelt thus at length upon the character and scope of Universities and their place in the scheme of Christian civilization, it is in order that, setting before you the dignity that belongs to them, and that is reflected on their members, and the great opportunities which they offer both of advancement and of improvement, I might chiefly suggest and impress by facts, which may be more eloquent than precepts, the responsibilities that are laid upon you by the enjoyment of these gifts and blessings. Much, however, might be said to you on the acquisition of the knowledge which will be directly serviceable to you in your several professions; much on the immense value of that kind of training in which the subjects learned have for their chief aim not to inure the hand (so to speak) to the use of its tools in some particular art, but to operate on the mind itself, and, by making it flexible, manifold, and strong, to endow it with a general aptitude for the duties and exigencies of life; much, lastly, on the frame of mind in which you should pursue your work. Of these three branches, the topics



belonging to the first are the most obvious and simple, for it requires no argument to persuade the workman that he must be duly furnished with his tools and must know how to handle them. The means are less directly palpable which have made it the habit of our country to spend, where means permit, many precious years upon studies void in a great degree of immediate bearing upon the intended occupations of our after life. Those may, however, be the means of showing, first, that even the direct uses of the studies which you include under the general designation of humanity are more considerable when they are collected into one view than might have been supposed; and, secondly, that the most distinguished professional men bear witness with an overflowing authority in favour of a course of education in which to train the mind shall be the first object, and to stock it the second. Man is to be trained chiefly by studying and knowing man; and we are prepared for knowing man in life by learning him first in books, much as we are taught to draw from drawings before we draw from nature. But if man is to be studied in books, he will best be studied in such books as present him to us in the largest, strongest, simplest—in a word, the most typical forms. These forms are principally found among the ancients. Nor can the study of the ancients be dissociated from the study of their languages. There is a profound relation between thought and the investiture which it chooses for itself; and it is as a general rule most true that we cannot know men or nations unless we know their tongue. Diversity of language is, like labour, a temporal penalty inflicted on our race for sin; but, being like labour originally penal, like labour it becomes by the ordinance of God a fertile source of blessing to those who use it aright. It is the instrument of thought, but it is not a blind or dead instrument; it is like the works in metal that Dædalus and Vulcan were fabled to produce, and even as the limping deity was supported in his walk by his nymphs of so-called brass, in like manner language reacts upon and bears up the thoughts from which it springs, and comes to take rank among the most effective powers for the discipline of the mind. But more important than the quest of professional knowledge, more vital than the most effective intellectual training, is the remaining question of the temper and aim with which the youth prosecutes his work. It is my privilege to be the first person who has ever thus addressed you in the capacity of Rector. (Loud applause.) But without doubt your ears have caught the echo of those affectionate and weighty counsels which the most eminent men of the age have not thought it beneath them to address to the students of a sister Scottish University. Let me remind you how one of European fame, who is now your and my academical superior—how the great jurist, orator, philosopher, and legislator, who is our Chancellor—how Lord Brougham besought the youth of Glasgow, as I, in his words, would more feebly, but not less earnestly pray you, ‘to believe how incomparably the present season is verily and indeed the most precious of your whole lives,’ and how ‘every hour you squander here will,’ in other days, ‘rise up against you, and be paid for by years of bitter but unavailing regrets.’ Let me recall to you how another Lord Rector of Glasgow, whose name is cherished in every cottage of his country, and whose strong sagacity, vast range of experience, and energy of will were not one whit more eminent than the tenderness of his conscience and his ever-wakeful and wearing sense of public duty—let me recall to you how Sir Robert Peel, choosing from his quiver with a congenial forethought that shaft which was most likely to strike home, averred before the same academic audience, what may as safely be declared to you, that ‘there is a presumption, amounting almost to certainty, that if any one of you will determine to be eminent, in whatever profession you may choose, and will act with unvarying steadiness in pursuance of that determination, you will, if health and strength be given to you, infallibly succeed.’ The mountain-tops of Scotland behold on every side of them the



witness, and many a one of what were once her morasses and her moorlands, now blossoming as the rose, carries on its face the proof that it is in man and not in his circumstances that the secret of his destiny resides. For most of you that destiny will take its final bent towards evil or towards good, not from the information you imbibe, but from the habits of mind, thought, and life that you shall acquire during your academical career. Could you with the bodily eye see the moments of it as they fly, you would see them all pass by you, as the bee that has rifled the heather bears its honey through the air, charged with the promise, or it may be with the menace, of the future. In many things it is wise to believe before experience until you may know, and in order that you may know; and believe me when I tell you that the thrift of time will repay you in after life with an usury of profit beyond your most sanguine dreams, and that the waste of it will make you dwindle, alike in intellectual and in moral stature, beyond your darkest reckonings. I am Scotchman enough to know, that among you there are always many who are already, even in their tender years, fighting with a mature and manful courage the battle of life. When they feel themselves lonely amidst the crowd—when they are for a moment disheartened by that difficulty which is the rude and rocking-cradle of every kind of excellence—when they are conscious of the pinch of poverty and self-denial, let them be conscious, too, that a sleepless eye is watching them from above, that their honest efforts are assisted, their humble prayers are heard, and all things are working together for their good. Is not this the life of faith which walks by your side from your rising in the morning to your lying down at night—which lights up for you the cheerless world, and transfigures all that you encounter, whatever be its outward form, with hues brought down from heaven? These considerations are applicable to all of you. You are all in training here for educated life, for the higher forms of mental experience, for circles limited, perhaps, but yet circles of social influence and leadership. Some of you may be chosen to greater distinctions and heavier trials, and may enter into that class of which each member while he lives is envied or admired—

‘And when he dies, he bears a lofty name,  
A light, a landmark on the cliffs of fame.’

And, gentlemen, the hope of an enduring fame is, without doubt, a powerful incentive to virtuous action, and you may suffer it to float before you as a vision of refreshment, second always, and second with long interval, to your conscience and the will of God. For an enduring fame is one stamped by the judgment of the future, that future which dispels illusions and smashes idols into dust. Little of what is criminal, little of what is idle, can endure even the first touch of the ordeal; it seems as though this purging power following at the heels of man and trying his work were a witness and a harbinger of the great and final account. So, then, the thirst of an enduring fame is near akin to the love of true excellence. But the fame of the moment is a dangerous possession and a bastard motive; and he who does his acts in order that the echo of them may come back as a soft music in his ears plays false to his noble destiny as a Christian man, places himself in continual danger of dallying with wrong, and taints even his virtuous actions at their source. Not the sublime words alone of the Son of God and His apostles, but heathenism too, even while its vision was limited to this passing scene, testifies with an hundred tongues that the passing scene itself presents to us virtue as an object and a moral law, graven deeply in our whole nature, as a guide. But now, when the screens that so bounded human vision have been removed, it were sad, indeed, and not more sad than shameful, if that being should be content to live for the opinion of the moment who has immortality for his inheritance. He that never dies, can he not afford to wait patiently awhile? And can he

not let faith, which interprets the present, also guarantee the future? Nor are there any two habits of mind more distinct than that which chooses success for its aim and covets after popularity, and that, on the other hand, which values and defers to the judgments of our fellow-men as helps in the attainment of truth. But I would not confound with the sordid worship of popularity in after life the graceful and instinctive love of praise in the uncritical period of youth. On the contrary, I say, avail yourselves of that stimulus to good deeds, and, when it proceeds from worthy sources and lights upon worthy conduct, yield yourselves to the warm satisfaction it inspires; but yet, even while young, and even amid the glow of that delight, keep a vigilant eye upon yourselves; refer the honour to Him from whom all honour comes, and ever be inwardly ashamed for not being worthier of His gifts. But, gentlemen, if you let yourselves enjoy the praise of your teachers, let me beseech you to repay their care, and to help their arduous work by entering into it with them, and by showing that you meet their exertions neither with a churlish mistrust nor with a passive indifference; but with free and ready gratitude. Rely upon it they require your sympathy, and they require it more in proportion as they are worthy of their work. The faithful and able teacher, says an old adage, is *in loco parentis*. His charge certainly resembles the mother's care in this, that, if he be devoted to his task, you can measure neither the cost to him of the efforts which he makes, nor the debt of gratitude you owe him. The great poet of Italy—the profound and lofty Dante—had had for an instructor one whom, for a miserable vice, his poem places in the regions of the damned; and yet this lord of song—this prophet of all the knowledge of his time—this master of every gift that can adorn the human mind—when in those dreary regions he sees the known image of his tutor, avows, in language of a magnificence all his own, that he cannot, even now, withhold his sympathy and sorrow from his unhappy teacher, for he recollects how, in the upper world, with a father's tender care, that teacher had pointed to him the way, by which man becomes immortal. Gentlemen, I have detained you long. Perhaps I have not had time to be brief; certainly I could have wished for much larger opportunities of maturing and verifying what I have addressed to you upon subjects which have always possessed a hold on my heart, and have long had public and palpable claims on my attention. Such as I have I give; and now, finally, in bidding you farewell, let me invoke every blessing upon your venerable University in its new career; upon the youth, by whom its halls are gladdened, and upon the distinguished head and able teachers by whom its places of authority are adorned.

Turning now to other events of the quarter which come within the scope of our Retrospect, we would note, first, a remarkable article of the *Times* (May 3) upon the persistency of the Irish emigration. The psychological aspects of the subject, as indicated by the writer, are of singular and grave interest, and while reading we seem as if we were looking forwards into the probable future of a race:—

“The Irish emigration still continues, at a rate which threatens results far beyond the calculations of the economist, perhaps even the wishes of the statesman. It is no longer the overflow of a vessel full to repletion, but the operation of a syphon which drains to the very bottom. If that syphon may be regarded in any visible form it is the railway system, which in the eyes of every Irishman appears to have one common terminus across the Atlantic. He sees trains of hopeful, if not happy, faces going off to the Land of Promise, from which relations and friends have sent not only invitations but the means of accepting them. A train starts to catch an emigrant-vessel as regularly as



in England to catch a steamer across the Channel. The emigrant-ships have no longer to peep into every little port to pick up their passengers. They assemble at Cork, and pass in a continuous stream, if it may be so called, across that ocean, which, wide as it be, is easier to an Irishman than the gulf which divides him from England. At present it cannot be said that there leaves Ireland as much as the natural increase, but the causes in operation are not unlikely to make it exceed that rate. As the small holdings are thrown into larger, and the farms grow to the English scale, there must be numbers everywhere bred to the occupation of land, and with all the ideas adapted to it, but unable to get holdings that will require little or no capital. They go across the Atlantic as a matter of course. Brothers, uncles, and neighbours have gone long before, and send, not only good news, but the substantial pledge of its truth in the shape of orders on Irish banks. In Ireland the remark is that these are welcome to go. They are the Irish surplus. They constitute the store-house of independent enterprise which Providence would seem to have prepared through long ages for the peopling of the New World. But there is a class who are not bid "God speed" quite so cheerfully. Labourers—that is, men with strong sinews and thews, who can do a good day's work, and are content to receive wages, are, as they always have been, the chief want of Ireland. The new race of farmers do not like to see them go. But who can pick and choose in human affairs? There are good, easy souls, who enter life with this speculation, who expect in everything the fruit without the husk, the meat without the bone, the sweet without the sour, the harvest without the tillage. In Ireland they expect a good farm, a good house, a good landlord, and some good labourers, who shall come when wanted and do a good day's work. But the postman knocks at all doors, and brings to these, as well as their prouder neighbours, letters and remittances, and good accounts from the Western States; so off they go, leaving the new tenant farmers to manage as well as they can.

"If this goes on long, as it is likely to go on, Ireland will become very English and the United States very Irish. When an English agriculturist takes a farm in Galway or Kerry he will take English labourers with him. This we shall come to at last, strange as it may now seem. The days may, indeed, come when Ireland will be no more Celtic than the Scotch Lowlands are Saxon, the Eastern Counties Danish, Cornwall even Phenician, and Ireland itself Milesian or Spanish. But several millions more undiluted Celts cannot be poured into the United States without leavening them even more strongly with that very marked element. There will be more poetry, more eloquence, more fanaticism, more faction, more conspiracy, more resentment, more bloodshed, more insubordination, more of the narrow politics that take their origin from race and stop short of society, that ever account the whole less than the part, and think the best use of government is to do convenient ill. So an Ireland there will still be, but on a colossal scale, and in a new world. We shall only have pushed the Celt Westwards. Then, no longer cooped up between the Liffey and the Shannon, he will spread from New York to San Francisco, and keep up the ancient feud at an unforeseen vantage. We must gird our loins to encounter the Nemesis of seven centuries' misgovernment. To the end of time a hundred million people spread over the largest habitable area in the world, and confronting us everywhere by sea and by land, will remember that their forefathers paid tithe to the Protestant clergy, rent to absentee landlords, and a forced obedience to the laws which these had made. Possibly a darker and more turbulent era at home may intervene to efface these Old World recollections. But, even though the vengeful Celt should forgive and forget, that will not prevent the surer development of an intractable race and untoward circumstances in the character of the great American nation. It will be more than half Celtic. Saxon, Dane,



Gael, French, German, African, and other races will be there, but the preponderating element will be that which has risen to its perfection and glory on the banks of the Seine, and fallen to its depth and despair on the western promontories of Ireland. As 'the child is father of the man,' so have we seen nursed and educated by our side at home the power that will dominate over the New World, show its influence over either ocean, and be the lord of a whole hemisphere. This is the true and final home of the Celtic race. It is for this that it has wandered and suffered these two thousand years; for this, that it has never planted the firm foot of civilization on the soil that was not to be its resting-place, but has dwelt in tents and hovels, and not possessed the soil under the soles of its feet. We have been owners and masters of Ireland that its inhabitants might one day have elsewhere a grander possession and rule.

"But what will be the reaction upon us that remain behind? The present natural rate of increase in these isles would take three times the present rate of emigration to bring it to a sandstill. We have to suppose, what, indeed, is not unlikely, that with the growth of the United States and the British colonies, and with the increased and more rapid means of communication, more and more of our people will leave these shores. But wealth and opportunities will still increase at home. Machinery will supply the working power which ever requires the hand of man to guide it; and, while multitudes leave, iron feet and iron fingers will multiply at home. These are servants that rebel not and love not; fit for cold masters; that will not fly, and need neither love nor justice. So we shall have, perhaps, in these islands that peace which we have long desired, if indeed our neighbours will but leave us alone. Most probably, too, as the Englishman supersedes the Irishman in the open market of labour, in our fields and our streets, there will be more order and more subordination to the rights of the proprietor and the employer. But it cannot be expected that we should escape the inconveniences of a household from which the stronger sex, the stronger age, the stronger hands, and the stronger will are ever flying. The community left behind will suffer, probably, more than now, the disparity of the sexes, the burden of the weak and improvident, and the incubus of those who sit on society and demand to be supported. We are an old and burdened State, but we shall be older and shall have heavier burdens still before we have done. There are other encumbrances besides armies and navies, and civil services, and church establishments, that accumulate upon old States, devour their substance, and hamper their movements. There is the universal depredator; the consumer, and nothing else; the race for whom institutions were founded of old by pious fools, and for whom benevolence is this day besotted. Who is there that stands but within speaking distance of the avenues of preferment who does not know the monster evil of an old and wealthy State? There are, indeed, such 'unclean birds,' we dispute not with Mr. Bright, that settle on the branches of the social tree, and devour or spoil the fruits of industry and virtue. But we need not go within the walls of Parliament to learn what and where they are. They are everywhere; they infest all classes; they devour, they invade, they molest; they paralyze, they exhaust. This is the parasite at the table of the rich man which constitutes the chief bane of a high civilization and a fixed state of society. We are throwing off Agitators and Repealers, Socialists, and perhaps Reformers; old England turns itself on its bed and expects another slumber. But its own morbid growth of idleness, luxury, pride, and vice it cannot so easily get rid of. They must grow upon it, all the more from the absence of the more violent annoyances that but lately formed the staple of its domestic annals.

Of different, but not less, and perhaps more immediate interest than the possible results, psychological and general, of the Irish Exodus,

are those events of the quarter which may serve to throw light upon the groundwork of popular credulity and superstition. Standing head and shoulders above all events of this kind, during the tri-mestral period, is the history of the doings at the notorious Agapemone, in Somersetshire. Certain proceedings in one of our courts of law have brought the inner-workings of the so-called "Abode of Love" once more before the public. We had intended to have reprinted in this number of our Journal the evidence tendered in court, this being of no small importance to the psychological physician. The judgment, however, not having been delivered we are compelled to postpone our report of the trial. In the meantime, the following summary of the history of the Agapemone, will be read with interest:—

"It is now some twelve or thirteen years ago that a quiet parish in Somersetshire was astonished by the arrival of a clergyman who professed strange doctrines, and was accompanied by strange disciples. According to the chief of this new sect a fresh religious epoch had opened on the world. We were to live under a new dispensation, which, if it did not contradict, was at least to supersede, the forms of belief in which we had all been trained. The keystone of the new system was this:—Various covenants have been at different times offered to man by his Creator. At first Adam was the Divine witness; then the Patriarchs, as Noah and Abraham; then a far greater One than these. But each 'dispensation' was closed whenever any one was found perfect under it. Now, in Brother Prince was found perfection under the Christian dispensation, and, consequently, a new religious epoch commenced, with this man as its witness. Is Prince a religious enthusiast, a lunatic, or an adventurer? It seems probable that he has passed through the first two phases of mental aberration, but we should be not a little curious to know at the present time if Brother Prince believes in himself. The course of his dealing with the property of the dupes whose reason he has perverted certainly affords tolerably strong evidence that he may lay claim to the third character named. If Brother Prince is mad, he has lucid intervals when he can thoroughly well distinguish between a hawk and a handsaw. If at one moment he is the raving leader of a set of religious lunatics, we find him immediately afterwards discussing the intricacies of the share-market with all the acumen of an accomplished stockbroker, and tying up the discretion of his victims in a way which would have won for him the approval of a Lincoln's-inn conveyancer. Brother Prince under one aspect may be a blasphemous buffoon, but under another he is certainly a capital man of business. Being, then, such as we have described, he arrived about the year 1847 at the Castle Inn, at Taunton, with his portmanteaus and his prophetic pretensions. He had been educated originally at Lampeter College, in Wales, and had been ordained Deacon and Priest about twenty years ago. The method of his ministrations, however, does not seem to have earned for him the favour of his spiritual chiefs, for he was successively deprived of his licence, first in Somersetshire by the Bishop of the Diocese, and subsequently by the Bishop of Ely. Being thus an outcast from the regular ministry, in the year 1843 he repaired to Brighton, and there opened a chapel of his own, which he called Adullam, and probably the name was well chosen. In the four following years the ruin of his wits was complete, or his schemes for securing to himself a luxurious and idle existence at the expense of his dupes were sufficiently matured. The scene of his earliest pastoral labours was chosen as the apt spot for the development of his more splendid fortunes; so to Somersetshire he repaired once more with his first followers, among whom four half-witted



sisters—the Misses Nottidge—occupied a conspicuous place. With the money he procured from them and others, or, as he would say, with their free-will offerings, he purchased a little property of about two hundred acres. On this he either found a house or built one—we know not how this matter stands—which has since obtained sufficient notoriety under the name of the Agapemone. It was calculated to accommodate some fifty or sixty inmates. There were around it extensive pleasure-grounds, and gardens, and conservatories, and hothouses, and all the appliances of a comfortable country-house. The fee-simple was in Brother Prince—he was not so absorbed in spiritual considerations but that he guarded his private interests carefully upon so capital a point. There was, however, more than this. By some strange mental twist the Prophet had a great fancy for horses and fine equipages. In the Agapemone were to be found horses of great value, both for riding and driving. Brother Prince himself seems to have taken huge delight in driving about the country in a carriage drawn by four horses. The privilege of using this vehicle was occasionally conceded to the disciples, and seems to have been held forth conspicuously as one of the great temporal advantages to be enjoyed by the faithful who had cast in their lot with the High Priest of the New Dispensation.

“Meanwhile strange stories got abroad. Many ladies were received into the Agapemone, and the neighbours believed that the practices of Mormonism might in many particulars be advantageously compared with those of the Agapemonists. There was a public trial some few years ago in which it appeared in evidence, rightly or wrongly, that the Prophet selected female disciples in a manner in which it would be difficult to say whether the ludicrous or the horrible more prevailed. It is hard indeed to believe that Brother Prince was merely a religious fanatic. He instructed his wretched dupes that the judgment had arrived, and that the day of prayer and supplication was over; self-humiliation and self-denial had lost their virtue, and nothing remained but the necessity for pure enjoyment. Men made perfect were to play at hockey. Now, among the earliest of Prince’s followers were the four ladies already named. He had known the Misses Nottidge at the second curacy he held, at Stoke, in Suffolk; and when he was driven to his Adullam from that place by the persecution of the Bishop of Ely these ladies went with him. Their names were respectively Louisa Jane, Harriet, Clara, and Agnes. Their father was dead; and he had left to each of them a sum of 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* In 1845, when Prince returned to Charlwich, in Somersetshire, he went by way of Taunton, the Misses Nottidge being of his party, and defraying all the expenses of the journey. When at Taunton, Prince sent for Miss Harriet Nottidge, and informed her that she would be ‘giving great glory’ &c., by marrying his friend Mr. Lewis Price. Her consent was obtained. Miss Agnes Nottidge was next summoned, and informed that the Spirit had in store for her a great blessing—she was to be married in a few days to Brother Thomas. The wretched lady talked about a settlement in favour of any children she might have by this marriage. Her objections were overruled, and the letter written to her by Brother Thomas on the subject, who signed himself ‘her’s affectionately in the everlasting covenant,’ may stand as one of the most remarkable documents for its unblushing impudence ever known even in the annals of religious imposture. Two days afterwards Prince extorted from the third sister, Miss Clara Nottidge, a promise to marry his follower, one William Cobbe. Thomas and Price were in indigent circumstances at the time, and Cobbe was entitled to a sum of money of his own of about 1000*l.* No settlement was made of the property of any of the three sisters. It was revealed to Prince that the marriages were to take place on the same day, at Swansea, and, what will, no doubt, prove truly appalling to any lady who may read this story, the three brides were to be dressed in black. In July, 1845, the marriages were solemnized at Swansea. Poor Mrs. Thomas seems to have had



even at that period some suspicion of the Prophet's true character. She endeavoured to dissuade her husband from obeying a summons which he received from him at Ilfracombe, and which ran thus:—'Brother Thomas, I command you to arise and come to Weymouth. Amen!' The struggle against Prince's influence was continued for a short time, but, as might have been anticipated, was wholly unavailing, and the end of it was that Mrs. Thomas was not allowed to reside with her husband at the Agapemone. In 1846 a child was born to her, and after a sharp struggle Mrs. Thomas and her mother were in 1850 appointed by the then Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce guardians of the child. Meanwhile Prince had drawn the eldest sister, Louisa Jane, into his toils. In 1846, however, this unfortunate lady, who had evinced symptoms of insanity, was placed in confinement, from which she was released in 1848 by the Lunacy Commissioners. On the very day of her release Brother Thomas was waiting for her, and took her down to the City to Prince's broker, to execute a transfer to the Prophet of the stock then standing in her name. There was a momentary difficulty about the precise amount, but very shortly afterwards the transfer was executed. In 1858 Miss Louisa Jane Nottidge died intestate. The question which has been for several days discussed before Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Stuart was as to the validity of this transfer.

The case for the defendant, as very ably stated by the counsel engaged, amounted to this,—that you could not accept any divergence from the religious opinions which are accepted by the majority as positive evidence of insanity. In 1848 Miss Louisa Jane Nottidge, after due investigation, had been released from confinement by order of the Lunacy Commissioners, a competent tribunal for inquiring into and adjudicating upon the matter. She subsequently brought an action against her relatives for false imprisonment in the asylum, and recovered damages against them; therefore, if any weight is to be attached to the previous decisions of judges of sufficient jurisdiction, Miss Louisa Jane Nottidge was not of insane mind at the time of the execution of the transfer. Furthermore, she had every reason—it must be understood that we are but recapitulating the arguments used for the defence—to disinherit those of her own relatives who had been instrumental in locking her up, and in constituting Brother Prince the object of her bounty, inasmuch as he was not only the object of her religious reverence, but he was to provide, and actually did provide her, with all the comforts and luxuries of life. She was then not of insane mind,—she was deeply exasperated against her own family, as deeply interested in favour of Prince,—she was anxious to spend the remainder of her days in the Agapemone, in the society of her sisters Harriet and Clara, Mrs. Price and Mrs. Cobbe, and she was to receive as a *quid pro quo* sustenance and support in this establishment during the remainder of her days. We have given the arguments with full force, because it is earnestly to be hoped, in the interest of public morality, that the Court of Chancery may find it consistent with a due and impartial administration of the law to annul this transfer. It would be a most unhappy conclusion if we were to be told upon the authority of a Vice-Chancellor that as English law stands a religious imposter—a conscientious fanatic, if you will—might legitimately exercise his spiritual influence over his female devotees so as to induce them to denude themselves and their natural heirs and kinsfolk of their property in his behalf. We will drop the question of religious imposture altogether, but what if Dr. Paul Cullen—what if our own Archbishop of Canterbury, had extracted a gift or transfer by religious pressure from a half-witted woman,—ought the validity of such an act to be maintained? Surely not. The weakest point of Prince's case was the one in which he endeavoured to make out that he had personally nothing to do with the transfer—it was Miss Nottidge's free-will offering. Now, when the wretched lady was let out of the asylum whom did she find on the threshold? The chosen disciple of Prince. What did he do with her? He took her straightway

down to Prince's broker in the City of London, to execute the transfer of the stock standing in her name to Prince. When the transaction was completed whither did he conduct her, and to whom? To the Agapemone and to Prince—and she lived with him, and under his influence, from the date of her liberation from the asylum until the date of her decease. Yet it was gravely argued that Prince could not be held to be cognizant of the transaction. The last thirteen or fourteen years of Miss Nottidge's life, in short, were spent between the Agapemone and the asylum—many will question if she was ever out of a lunatic asylum at all. We do not, of course, affect to discuss this question with the technical knowledge of those gentlemen who have spent their lives in the study and the administration of equity; but as a matter of common sense it will be most deplorable if the silliest and weakest minds of the community are left at the mercy of such men as Prince, and if the Court of Chancery holds that they may apply the religious screw to such women as the Nottidges, and pocket the plunder.—(*Times*, June 12th.)

The introduction, in May, of a Bill into Parliament for the removal of certain restrictions upon the sale of wine in refreshment houses, gave rise to much discussion as to the influence which greater facility of access to wine might have upon intemperance in the country. The moral question is one of no small moment; but in its political aspect, by some strange freaks of partizanship, the question became so warped, that little respect was shown to those who contended against the Bill from a conviction that it would have the effect of promoting still greater intemperance in the land. On the opposite side it was argued that the substitution of a more innocent liquor like wine for a more highly stimulating and heady fluid like spirit or beer, could not but be advantageous to the community. A similar argument in respect to beer as compared with spirits, if we mistake not, was urged with great effect when the Bill authorizing the establishment of beer-houses throughout the land was debated in Parliament several years ago. Now, in 1854, a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that—"The beer-shop system was a failure. It was established under the belief that it would give the public their beer cheap and pure; would dissociate beer-drinking from drunkenness, and lead to the establishment, throughout the country, of a class of houses of refreshment altogether free from the disorders supposed to attend exclusively on the sale of spirits." This does not look very promising for the argument on the moral advantages which some suppose may arise from facilitating access to wines. But let us listen to Mr. Gladstone's remarks on the question. (Debate, May 7th.) He said:—

"It is a question whether this Bill will tend to promote and increase intemperance. Who is it that tells us such will be the case? Who are they who combine to form the opposition to this Bill upon the ground that it is likely to increase drunkenness? It is the same proposition, but it proceeds from parties who are singularly united in a sort of concordant discord. There is an old fable, called, I believe, the 'Vision of Hercules,' which is in point.



When Hercules was young he dreamt that he came to a certain point of the road, where he was met by two figures—one the figure of Virtue, and the other the figure of Vice. He was solicited by Virtue to go one way and by Vice to go another. We are in the position of Hercules, as we are encountered by two figures of Virtue and Vice. But, instead of Virtue soliciting us to go one way and Vice pressing us to go another, we have both Virtue and Vice leagued against us, both standing across the road and refusing to allow us to proceed. I know the virtuous motives of those who support the temperance movement, which the hon. member for Marylebone (Mr. James) has manfully thrown overboard in his speech. The arguments used are a group of assumptions fastened together, which it is difficult to separate and to deal with. We are told that the use of wine is to be considered exactly as that of ardent spirits. These practical philosophers will not condescend to draw any distinction; they have invented phrases, 'alcoholic liquids,' 'intoxicating liquids,' and such like; but my right hon. friend the member for Oxfordshire could readily show them the fallacy of mixing up things which are so distinct. There is a difference between the lighter wines of Northern Europe and the gin which is consumed in rivers in our great towns. Some one has given us a deplorable description of the drunkenness that prevails in France, and I begin to think that no English traveller could have made a proper use of his eyes. However, I have found a testimony which is entitled to great weight, coming from a man pledged by his sacred profession, eminent for his eloquence, distinguished and beloved for all his virtues—Dr. Guthrie. That gentleman before he devoted himself to his present calling resided for some time on the Continent, and in one of his sermons he says that he was in Brussels and Paris during periods of great national festivity, and that he did not see in seven weeks as much drunkenness in those capitals as he would meet with in seven short hours in London, Edinburgh, or any other of our large towns. That, Sir, is the testimony of an impartial witness. I have spoken of the fable of Virtue and Vice; and I appeal from them to what I call the common sense of the House of Commons and of the country at large. I have heard references made to the number of petitions presented against this Bill; but I deny that this Bill is disapproved by the public opinion of England. We all know that wherever there is an organization the numbers which it commands are easily available for the purpose of signing petitions; but in this case we have the strongest evidence, from the press, from various authorities, and even from several distinguished prelates, in favour of the principle of the measure. The real question is this—Will you attempt to modify or improve the present system? I grant that this Bill is so far inconsistent with the report of the committee that it falls short of that report, but I hold that it is in harmony both with the spirit and even with the letter of that report. It is insisted by some that you should treat the use of wine, and even of the lightest wine, as you do the use of brandy, for instance. It is also insisted that you have nothing to look at except the number of houses for the sale of liquors in order to ascertain the measure of drunkenness that prevails. The case of Liverpool has been referred to, and I will show the House how untrue that is in the case of Liverpool. It is true there is a large number of publichouses in Liverpool, but I think the hon. member for Leominster (Mr. Hardy) when he was dealing with this subject, and when he was referring to the case of Liverpool and Manchester, did great injustice even to those beer-houses with respect to which so much has been said. He adverted to the great difference in point of sobriety in favour of Manchester against Liverpool, but he omitted to notice that the characteristic of Manchester was that there was a greater number of public houses with a smaller number of beer-houses, and that the characteristic of Liverpool was the reverse. I have got before me the number of persons brought before the magistrates in Liverpool for drunkenness in a series of years, and also the number of licenses



granted. I find that in 1846 the magistrates gave seventeen new licenses to public houses; and in 1847 there was a diminution of 256 in the number of persons brought up for drunkenness. In 1852 the magistrates gave no new licenses; and in 1853 there was an increase of 1,144 in the number of persons brought up for drunkenness. In 1854 the magistrates gave two new licenses; and in 1855 there was an increase of 1,018 in the persons taken up for drunkenness. Lastly, in 1857 the magistrates gave the immense number of thirty-two new licenses in Liverpool; and in 1858 there was a decrease of 1,259 in the persons brought up for drunkenness. That shows you how loosely and how widely these doctrines are thrown out. Some hon. members may have seen a small tract in which a great number of eminent medical men in this country are made to declare that all strong liquors are extremely mischievous, and that total and universal abstinence from alcoholic drinks and intoxicating beverages of all kinds would greatly contribute to the health and prosperity of the human race. Naturally enough, I looked among the list of names for that of the gentleman of whose professional assistance I had availed myself, and by whom I have been recently advised. I found his signature appended to the document, at which I was not a little surprised, seeing I remembered that he recommended me, as a means of recovering my strength, not illiberal potations. I afterwards asked him whether he had signed that document or not; he replied that he had, and on expressing my surprise at his having done so, he assured me that in signing it he meant nothing more than that excess of water was less injurious than excess of wine. That was the opinion of a very eminent medical man, Dr. Ferguson; and I believe it is a gross error to suppose that the testimony of those who study the health of mankind is against the moderate use of spirituous liquors. It is said by some that there can be no such thing as a moderate use of them. But is not the love of money, for example, as prevalent and as universal as the love of wine? I never heard that those who denounced the use of alcoholic liquors carried their own principles with consistency into effect; and if they did so, the end of it ought to be that they should go, like the Anchorites of old and people the deserts of Egypt. But the doctrine, that the use of wine is to be treated as an unqualified mischief, and almost as a sin, is incompatible with the usages and necessities of society. That, however, is at the root of the opposition made by one portion of the opponents to this Bill."

This is not very satisfactory; but the question is now submitted to experience, and we apprehend that the majority of individuals will not trouble themselves with any other view of the subject, than that it is a very pleasant change to be able to get light wine at a reasonable rate, without the, until now, almost necessary associations of beer and spirits; an advantage that we are by no means disposed to murmur at.

From the morality of wine-drinking to the morality of the lower classes of our great towns is an easy step. The following illustration of certain phases of life among the metropolitan lower classes is instructive:—

**MANSION-HOUSE.**—John Keating, an Irish shoemaker, one half of whose features was obscured by hair, and the other half by dirt, was charged with assaulting Ellen Lawler by stabbing her in the face with a knife.

The prosecutrix, the left side of whose face exhibited a huge circular patch of sticking plaster said, "Plase yer Honours, my name's Ellen Lawler."

Mr. Goodman (chief clerk).—And what is your husband's name?

Prosecutrix.—Pat Bresshanan.

Mr. Goodman.—Then I suppose your name is Bresshanan?

Prosecutrix.—Lord, me, yer Honour, my name is Ellen Lawler.

Mr. Goodman.—How can that be if he's your husband? Your maiden name, you mean, I suppose, was Lawler?

Prosecutrix.—Yes, my maiden name, and my name now; for, though I call Pat my husband, we ain't married, but we've lived together a long while, and he's a good husband, too.

Mr. Goodman.—Why did you not say at first that you were not married? Go on with your evidence.

Prosecutrix.—Well, on Saturday night I was sitting at supper with Pat, when who should come in but Moggy Qunk; so, says I, "Sit down, Mog, and have some supper." But, yer Honours, she was nasty, and got to words, and at last says she, "If you are a woman, come down into the yard and have it out." "Very well, Mog," says I, "I'll come down, cos you know I ain't afraid of you;" and she says, "No, I knows that, I knows you are too good a woman for me;" and that's right, yer Honours, because, though I'm a quiet woman, I can stick up for myself like a good 'un, only I didn't want to hurt her nor nobody. Well, when we got downstairs we quieted, and we wasn't a-going to fight; but there was a mob at the door, and that there prisoner there made a rush at me, and gave me a job in the mouth with his fist, which loosened all my teeth, and then he jobbed at me again with something in his hand, which I took to be a knife, and stabbed me in the face. So I calls out, "Pat," says I, "he's made a hole in my face with a knife, and I'm kilt intirely!" and then down I went, while Pat dashed out and collared him. The hole ain't quite through my cheek, but it's a whacker, and I hopes your worship will give me purtherction.

Pat Bresshanan said.—When that man stabbed my wife—

Mr. Goodman.—She says she is not your wife, though she lives with you.

Witness.—So she does; and an honest woman she is.

Sir R. Carden.—Why don't you make an honest woman of her?

Witness.—I don't mean in that way; but I mean that she's too honest to meddle with anybody's business.

Mr. Goodman.—She can fight well, at all events, according to her own confession.

Witness.—She's a regular good'un, yer Honour; she's a rale beauty, and no mistake.

Sir R. Carden.—Then why don't you marry her?

Witness.—Well, I will, yer Honour, I will. But about this here prisoner. When I rushed out upon him he struck me, and I'm sure I felt a knife in his hand.

Prisoner.—My Lord, it wasn't a knife at all, and but for the drink that was in my head I shouldn't have done it. That woman had been throwing some water over me just before, and when I went out again I took a little poker with me, and I hit her with that. It was a very little one, yer Honour, but sharp at the end.

Sir R. Carden.—A poker would not have cut like a knife. However, knife or poker, I shall send you to prison for twenty-one days.

Prosecutrix.—And, oh! yer Honour, wont you bind him over to keep the peace towards me?

Sir R. Carden.—The police will protect you. I'd rather bind you over not to live with that man again till you are married.

Prosecutrix.—And, faith, yer worship, I'd not object to that.

Pat Bresshanan.—And, yer Honour, I will marry her. I've often talked about it, and now I'll do it.

They then left the Court.—*Times*, April 10th.



It is by no means an easy task to exercise a moral influence upon the classes of the metropolitan population, of whom Pat Bresshanan and his concubine are examples. We are not, however, doing what we might in this matter. Far from it, indeed; and we may derive some very useful hints from sundry comments of the *Times* (April 16th), on a Pastoral Letter addressed by the Bishop of London to the laity of the metropolitan diocese, at the beginning of the quarter:—

“The Bishop appeals very earnestly to the claims which the poor have on those who live by their labour; claims substantially the same as those which have fringed gentlemen’s parks with picturesquely-constructed cottages, and made the village church an almost necessary complement of the landscape. Employers have only to hunt out their men in alley and court, and they will find families as interesting, and as much in need of religion, as that at the pretty lodge or the model farm. All this is strictly and sternly true. The relations of property and labour are the same everywhere, and were logic the rule of life there would be no need for Pastoral Letters. But the simple fact that things are not as they ought to be, and that the Diocese of London is not in the same state as the rural districts of the favourite counties, sends us back to inquire how this comes to pass. We must not expect that all people will act by Rule of Three. If they act differently it is because the circumstances are different, and it becomes us then to adapt our plans to those circumstances. Vain it is, we grieve to say, to raise up moral visions in a crowded and dingy metropolis. The squire and his lively sons, the lady and her kind daughters, the pastor and the parsonage, and all the rest that, barring a few ruffles and an occasional hitch, goes on so smoothly on the estate of a great proprietor,—all have a secret and a charm of their own. The chief secret of the whole consists in a warm mutual interest, and distinctly defined social relations. Power, authority, influence, dependence, order,—in a word, nature itself, blend all into one family, in which the landlord or the clergyman feels a real and natural interest in the people, only second to that he has for his own wife and children.

“Far different is the relation between employer and employed, or landlord and tenant, when the one party knows not even the faces, names, or localities of the other, and only regards them as dishonest and degraded beings, practising every art of conspiracy and imposture to evade lawful claims on their labour or their purse. Far different when the employed are only a class, changing their masters, their habitations, and, too often, their companions, from year to year, if not oftener. Unfortunately, the hackneyed phrase of the philanthropist who appeals to us for the ‘masses’ is too true to the fact. There are masses that we have to deal with; rude masses; uninviting masses; human nature in oceans and swamps, rather than rivers and lakes. It is a great Dismal Swamp of human existence for which the Bishop pleads. This is the true scene of modern martyrdom. A colony at the Antipodes, a Northern County, the Punjab, Jamaica, Central Africa, and British Columbia, all have their charms for this or that temperament or period of life. There is scarcely any position that may not be sweetened with matrimony and 1000*l.* a-year. Even the Parliamentary curate’s stipend of 80*l.* is wealth and happiness to a young bachelor who can ride colts, or has good health. Suffering and death themselves may be made attractive by picturesque circumstances and the prospect of a well-written biography. You will not live to lose the manners of society, or return home to be detected in Fejee provincialisms. Far otherwise is it to the man who devotes himself to the pastoral duties of a clergyman, or even a good neighbour, in a poor and populous metropolitan district. He sacrifices every-



thing,—fortune, health, connexions, manners, tone, aspect, cheerfulness, with the whole exterior,—ay, more than the exterior of the English gentleman. When the Apostle wished himself accursed for the Jews, he could not have imagined an earthly lot in which the sacrifice could be so nearly consummated. The man who spends his days among the London poor, and his nights for them, may acquire the odour of sanctity, but he will lose that of society. Even among the saints he can hardly expect to shine so bright or cut so good a figure as the man who has ministered in handsome churches and splendid drawing-rooms to the wants of a West-end congregation.

“All experience shows that a population of this sort, and in this condition, cannot be dealt with as the simple folk within sight or sound of a village church, or even the small knot of gentry and tradespeople in a country town. In those vast metropolitan parishes,—three exceeding 35,000, says the bishop; four more exceeding 30,000; five more exceeding 25,000; six more exceeding 20,000; and so on,—altogether sixty-six parishes exceeding 10,000, we have a chaos of social elements, a dead level of conditions, a mere undeveloped mine of moral qualities. This is not the case for individual agencies, marvellous and even miraculous as they have proved in some emergencies. Ordinary men cannot breast such waves, and even extraordinary men may fail. The Bishop hails missionary enterprise, but hopes more from any scheme for subdividing parishes into manageable districts. The latter is the work to be promoted by the Diocesan Church Building Society. Of course, there must be both churches and clergymen, and we hope eventually to see them adjusted one to the other. But, as there are not churches, or the churches that are, so we are told, are but ill-attended; as clergy engaged in this hard service require mutual help and countenance; as the spiritual war is, in fact, the invasion of an enemy's territory, we cannot help thinking the Bishop would get more sympathy, more money, and more men for a well devised missionary work, framed to the scale of the whole metropolis, than for more ‘churches,’ in the vulgar sense of the word. The handsome church, on a costly site, with its actual or threatened tower, its permanent endowment, and its staff of petty officers, is the Church's three-decker, on which we spend so much, and so often find to be useless. What we really want is the flotilla of gunboats, to push into lanes and alleys. We want something more locomotive than church and steeple; more winning even than reredoses and copes; sweeter than church bells; and more penetrating than either the feet or the eloquence of dignified rectors. If the Church does not adapt her means to the end, and make it a ‘day of little things,’ Dissenters and even Roman Catholics will. In fact, this is what they are doing; and this it is that enables them to make up for their immense disadvantages in social rank and position.”

Several instances of suicide have been recorded by the daily and weekly journals within the three months which have just transpired, of great interest to the practical psychologist, not so much from possessing any unusual feature, but from the light which the history of the cases throws on the motives leading to ordinary every-day—in short, common-place suicide. We shall terminate our Retrospect by laying the cases before our readers simply as they have been reported in the papers, chiefly the *Times* :—

GUILDHALL.—Ann Ginsty, a decent-looking woman, was charged with attempting to commit suicide by swallowing a quantity of laudanum.

Brown, 156, said he was called to a room on the second-floor, at 3, Charlotte-court, Redcross-street, where he found the prisoner suffering from the effects

of poison. He saw an empty bottle labelled laudanum on the table, and she said she had taken it all, alluding to the previous contents of the bottle. He procured medical assistance, and as soon as the prisoner was in a condition to be removed, he took her to the police-station.

Alderman Hale.—Is this the first attempt she has ever made upon her life?

Officer.—No, Sir; she made a similar attempt about six weeks ago.

Alderman Hale.—And what is the cause of these attempts to destroy herself?

Springate, the gaoler.—She tells me, your worship, that it is jealousy of her husband, and she has been on her knees all the morning praying for forgiveness.

The husband here came forward and corroborated the gaoler's statement.

Alderman Hale.—How long have you been married to the prisoner?

The husband being unable to answer the question, the officer supplied the information, stating that they had been married only eight months.

Alderman Hale (addressing the prisoner) said,—You must be a very foolish woman to poison yourself because your husband is unfaithful to you; and let me remind you that the offence you contemplated is a most serious one, for the commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder," applies equally to the taking of your own life as that of another.

Prisoner.—I will never do the same again, Sir. I will pray for forgiveness.

Alderman Hale.—Very well. Upon that promise I will let you go home with your husband; but if you are brought here again on such a charge, you will most assuredly be tried at the Old Bailey for it.

MANSSION-HOUSE.—Sarah Johnson, a decently-attired young woman, was charged with attempting to destroy herself by taking laudanum in the ladies' waiting-room at the Blackwall Railway station.

Police-constable 519, said,—Yesterday afternoon, about four o'clock, I was on duty at the Blackwall Railway station, when I was called to the ladies' waiting-room and told that the prisoner, who was sitting there, had been taking poison. I asked if such was the case, and she said Yes; she had taken six-pennyworth of laudanum because she was so tired of her life that she could live no longer. I at once sent for a medical man, who gave her an emetic, which had the required effect, and I afterwards conveyed her to the station.

The prisoner, when asked what she had to say, replied, "Nothing."

Police-constable, 519.—Her husband is here, my Lord.

A very respectable-looking young man ascended the witness-box and said,—The prisoner is my wife, my Lord. We have been married for about three years, and for the first part of the time we lived very happily together, till an improper intercourse took place between her and my master, who is a very respectable tradesman, not far from here. It had been carried on some time when I had a suspicion of it, and one night when I went home I asked her about it and she confessed to the whole. I immediately applied to a solicitor, but he told me that, as I had no witnesses to the adultery, I could take no legal proceedings. I then went to my master, who offered me a sum of money to settle it, and, as I found I had no legal remedy, I accepted the money to compromise it, and took my wife home and tried to make her comfortable again. But, of course, after what I had discovered, we had a few words now and then, and on the 30th of January last she left me, after we had quarrelled, at eleven o'clock at night, and I have not seen her since till now.

The Lord Mayor.—Have you any family?

Husband.—No; no family.

The Lord Mayor.—Have you anything to say, prisoner; you have heard what your husband has said—is it true?



Prisoner (crying).—Yes, quite true.

The Lord Mayor (to the husband).—Do you feel disposed to take her back and try her again?

Husband.—Under the circumstances, I cannot do so. I think I have given her one very fair trial; and besides, I had provided her with plenty of money and everything necessary for comfort, and I supposed myself to be entirely out of debt; but after she left me I found I had a good many bills to pay.

The Lord Mayor.—I have nothing to do with that; but I have no doubt that she is a bad and depraved woman, and it is my duty to send her to prison for seven days.

Prisoner.—Richard! Richard!

Husband.—Will your Lordship remand her that she may go back to her father?

The Lord Mayor.—Has she a father?

Husband.—Yes; a man in a very respectable position.

The Lord Mayor.—Then, at your intercession, I will remand her for a few days; and I hope her father will come forward to take care of her.

The prisoner was then remanded, and her husband, by permission, went below to speak with her.

WORSHIP-STREET.—Ellen Norton and Mary Anne Hodges, two well-grown girls, were charged with attempting suicide.

The girl Norton is the daughter of a brass-worker in New Norfolk-street, Shoreditch, and having been found by her elder sister to have formed an acquaintance with very disreputable characters, she very properly pointed out the consequences to her, and rebuked her for it. This seemed to have had no effect; and as the girl frequently stopped out late at night, occasioning her family great unhappiness, this reproof appeared to have been as frequent; and the consequence was that, instead of the prisoner mending her ways, she stayed out late again the night before this charge, came home so ill that a doctor was sent for, and it was then discovered that she had swallowed a large dose of muriatic acid, used by her father in his business, and the bottle usually containing it was found to have been emptied. Clarey, a constable, was sent for, who found her, at half-past two in the morning, fearfully exhausted and sick, and altogether so ill that she could not be moved till late the next morning, when she was taken into custody for her own protection, and to see what could be done with her.

The prisoner acknowledged to the magistrate that she had attempted to kill herself merely because she had been blamed for stopping out late, and seemed to consider herself rather ill-used than otherwise; but

Mr. Mansfield told her that such conduct as hers was depriving her of all chance of becoming a respectable or happy woman, and committed her to prison for a week that she might derive advantage from the advice of the chaplain.

In Hodges's case, Archer, of the H division, was fetched to the house of her father, in Winchester-street, Spitalfields, at three o'clock that morning, and there found the prisoner totally senseless, and dying, as her mother-in-law said, from poison she had taken. A surgeon was procured, who succeeded in restoring the prisoner to consciousness; but, instead of repenting of her folly, she repeated to the officer her fixed determination to make away with herself.

The prisoner's father, who was so affected that he was unable to speak for some time, and then did so in tears, said he had unfortunately lost his wife some time ago; and, as he had a family to care for, he married again last September. This seemed to have given the prisoner great offence. She became so jealous of her step-mother that it was almost impossible to do anything with her; and he could only suppose she must have been labouring under insanity,



arising from this jealous feeling, when she committed this act, as she had never shown such a disposition before, and was otherwise a well-conducted, industrious girl.

The prisoner said she had had a quarrel with her step-mother, and, suddenly seizing the bottle of poison from off the sideboard, swallowed the contents. She accused her step-mother of harshness to her, and

Mr. Mansfield, though condemning the prisoner's conduct, for which her father's second marriage formed no justification at all, still thought it better, for the happiness of all the family, that the girl should be removed from her home, and maintained by herself elsewhere, and that some arrangement of this kind might be effected, remanded the prisoner for a few days that she might also have time for reflection.

An inquest was held yesterday afternoon (June 1), at the Guildhall, Plymouth, before Mr. John Edmonds, the coroner for the borough, to inquire into the circumstances attending the death of Mary Anne Luke; who died on Wednesday evening from injuries she sustained by jumping out of a window on the previous afternoon.

The case having been much talked about during the day, there was a very large crowd in and around the Guildhall. The hall itself was completely filled, as were also its approaches, and there were hundreds in the street who could not get in.

The Coroner addressed the jury, and said they were called together for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances attending the death of Mary Anne Luke. This investigation was of considerable importance, not only on account of the station of the deceased, but also as to how far the fatal occurrence was attributable to the conduct of the father. By the rule of the law, a parent might chastise his child properly, but that must not be done violently. It seemed from what he had heard—but they would have the evidence by and by—that this young woman, the deceased, was violently beaten with a rope, and that she fled in consequence from her father, and jumped out of a window. By law, if one person, under a well-grounded apprehension of violence from another, had to resort to such means as that by which this young woman met her death, he who had caused it was held responsible.

The jury then adjourned to the house to view the body.

When Thomas Luke, the father of the unfortunate girl, came into court, he was received with yells from the assembled crowd.

Mary Abbott, the first witness called, was examined, and said,—I am a widow, and reside at Mr. Thomas Luke's house, 30, Union-street. Mr. Luke and all his family reside there. I am employed by him as housekeeper. The deceased was his daughter, and was single; her age was eighteen, and she was a healthy girl, except during the last few months. Her employment was keeping her father's business and selling boots and shoes. Mr. Luke has a wife and five other children, the deceased being the eldest. All the family lived in the house, with the exception of Mr. Luke and the eldest son, who took their meals at one of the other shops, Mr. Luke having four in different parts of the town. All the family slept at the house in Union-street. At two minutes to nine on Tuesday night last, Miss Luke came home to the shop with her mother, having been at the establishment in Bedford-street all the afternoon, where she went with her father. They appeared to be good friends. She went up to her bedroom, which was two stories high, to take off her bonnet and shawl. She came down again on her sister calling her, and went out into the kitchen. Her father was there, and insisted on an explanation, which she said she could not give, and he then slapped her face with his hand. He might have given her two or three slaps, but I cannot say. She cried, but said she could not give any explanation. Her father then took a piece of line and struck her.

[The "line" was handed to the coroner. It was apparently a piece of clothes-line, about the thickness of a small finger. As it was exhibited, a roar of exclamation burst forth from the densely-crowded court, which the coroner appeased by requesting the crowd to desist from any exhibition of feeling, whatever their thoughts might be.] Her father went into the yard and cut it from a clothes-line. He held it in his right hand when he came in, and the deceased was standing up. No one had hold of her. I think the line was once doubled, and her father struck her with it on the arm. I do not think more than two or three blows were struck. She held up her arm, receiving the stripes on it, and said, "Don't, father." He ordered her to her bed, and she went. That was instantly after he struck her the last blow. She was crying then, but not much, and left the room quickly. No one followed her. The kitchen door was then shut. When Mr. Luke ordered his daughter to bed, he threw the rope down on the floor. He did not threaten to beat her again, but sat down, and she ran up-stairs, and I stood at the kitchen table. We heard the deceased's window thrown open, and her sister Emily screaming that deceased was out of window. I ran into the court with Mr. Luke, and there we found her on the ground, quite insensible. She was lying on her back, with her head thrown on one side. She was removed indoors, and I went for a surgeon, Mr. Whipple. Deceased died at ten minutes after eight o'clock last night. Deceased spoke yesterday, and she was attended by Mr. Whipple and Mr. Square.

Mr. Whipple, surgeon, was the next witness examined. On Tuesday evening he was called to attend the deceased, and found her in the kitchen lying on a sofa. Deceased was lying on her back, and there were two wounds from which blood was flowing—one in the temple and one in the forehead. Blood was also flowing from both nostrils. He enlarged one of the wounds for the purpose of minutely examining the skull, and then found that a portion of the frontal bone had been separated and driven down on the brain. Being satisfied that the case must terminate fatally, he sent for Mr. Square, as in case any grave charge should be brought against any person, it would be satisfactory to have the evidence of two medical men. He told Mr. Luke there was no hope, and he appeared quite distracted, and stated that he had chastised her severely—very severely. Witness attended the case, and deceased died the previous evening. She was never sufficiently conscious to be examined by a magistrate; she could answer "Yes" or "No," but was not capable of reflection. A person jumping out of a window twenty or twenty-five feet high, in case of the head coming to the ground, would be likely to receive such an injury as the deceased did. The cause of death was fracture of the skull and laceration of the brain. Since the death he had examined the body, and then found several contusions produced by the fall; on the left arm near the shoulder there were three or four stripes, similar to what would be produced by blows of a stick or cord. They were not very severe and the skin was not broken.

Emily Luke said she was sister to the deceased, and was about fourteen years of age. She detailed the particulars of the altercation in the kitchen, and said that when her father ordered deceased to her room, he shut the door, and, going back by the fire, sat down. Witness went out into the garden, and before she thought it possible for her sister to have reached her bedroom she heard the window thrown up. She looked upwards, and saw her sister spring out. The next instant she was lying on the ground, having fallen on her head. The witness also testified to the kind manner in which the deceased was invariably treated by her father. In answer to a question as to how some glass became broken, she said her sister leaned against the window while her father was beating her, and the rope struck one pane of glass and broke it. She could not remember the time when her sister had been punished by her father before Tuesday evening. The words used by deceased to her father in the

kitchen were—"I have nothing to say; what can I say?" The Coroner, assuming this witness had concluded her evidence, told her she could withdraw, whereupon she said she had something "particular" to communicate. She was requested to proceed, and made the following extraordinary statement:—"About ten days or a fortnight before this happened, my sister showed me a bottle of oxalic acid and a bottle of laudanum, saying, 'I shall take it if father is told.' I understood her meaning to be, that she and the shopman had not been acting as they ought. On Tuesday evening, just after she came home, father sent me up to her room to request her to come down to him. She then said, 'I took a large dose of oxalic acid in the dinner time, and I am surprised that it has taken no effect.' This was before father thrashed her. I saw a bottle of poison taken from her pocket after she jumped from the window."

Mary Ann Avent deposed,—I am a shopwoman with Mr. Luke, at 30, Union Street. On Tuesday morning I complained to Mr. Luke that I was not comfortable in his shop, and gave him notice to leave. I have seen the foreman and deceased eating together in the shop, and thought it improper. On Tuesday morning I told deceased of it in the presence of her father, and she said nothing. The man came into the shop, and Mr. Luke discharged him on the spot, promising him his regular wages if he would call the two following Saturday nights.

The Coroner having summed up, at twenty minutes after ten the jury retired to consider their verdict.

After an absence of half an hour, the jury returned into court with the following verdict:—"That on the 27th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1860, the said Mary Ann Luke, having been severely beaten by her father, Thomas Luke, of Plymouth, at No. 30, Union-street, within the borough, became excited, and, while labouring under temporary derangement, jumped from the bedroom window of her father's premises and fell on the ground below, whereby her skull was fractured and brain lacerated. That she languished therefrom, at 30, Union-street aforesaid, until the 30th day of the said month of May, and then and there died of the said fracture of the skull and laceration of the brain, and the jury further say that her said father's conduct towards the deceased was marked by undue severity."

During the time the foreman was reading the decision of the jury, Luke made use of some incoherent expressions, and then sank forward on the desk weeping like a child.



## *Psychological Quarterly Retrospect.*

THE columns of the DAILY PRESS form, as it were, a current clinical record for the psychological physician. It is well that it should be so, for the facts recorded there are common property, and the lessons to be learned from them will, it is to be presumed, be the more readily acquired, the more patent the circumstances upon which they are founded. Thus, for example, of NEGLECTED OR UNRECOGNISED BRAIN DISEASE AND NASCENT LUNACY—subjects to which, notwithstanding their grave importance, but few have as yet given attention; subjects, the social aspects of which are of more immediate moment than the medical—it is from the proceedings of our courts of justice, as reported in our newspapers, that the most striking illustrations are derived. In proof of this, when such proof is needed, and in confirmation of the increasing magnitude of the subjects, we cite the following cases selected from the journals of the last three months.

MURDER.—WINCHESTER CROWN COURT.—(*Before Mr. Justice Keating.*)—William Henry Whitworth was indicted for the wilful murder of Martha, his wife, and his six children, at the Isle of Wight.

Mr. W. M. Cooke was instructed for the prosecution; and Mr. H. T. Cole for the prisoner.

It having been stated that the prisoner was insane, and not in a fit state to plead, the jury were sworn to determine whether the prisoner was in a fit state to plead.

Dr. Lyford, the surgeon of the gaol, was called, and he stated that he had seen the prisoner upon his first coming into the gaol, and had been in daily attendance upon him ever since, and he was decidedly not in a fit state to plead. His mind was full of delusions; his mental faculties were extinguished, as he supposed, from a softening of the brain, which must have been going on for a considerable time. He thought it would be permanent.

The JUDGE asked the jury to give their opinion.

The jury said they were of opinion that the prisoner was not in a fit state of mind to plead.

The prisoner was directed to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure.—(*Times*, July 18).

In this case, the prisoner, a sergeant of artillery, had resided with his wife and family in one of the small forts in the Isle of Wight. With the destruction of his family all evidence disappeared by which the precise mental condition of the unrecognised maniac, immediately prior to the perpetration of the murders, could be ascertained; but from the evidence given on the preliminary examination before the magistrates, it seemed tolerably certain that he had shown marked symptoms of brain-disease for some time prior to the horrid tragedy. He himself was the first to announce the commission of the murders,

and at the time of announcement he was labouring under manifest delusion.

MURDER.—YORK, JULY 18.—CROWN COURT.—(*Before Mr. Baron Wilde.*)—Thomas Kirkwood, aged thirty, was indicted for the wilful murder of Elizabeth Ann Parker, at Hull, on the 23rd of April last.

Mr. P. Thomson and Mr. Lewers appeared for the prosecution; and Mr. Seymour and Mr. Waddy for the defence.

It appeared from the opening statement of the learned counsel for the prosecution, and from the evidence of the witnesses called by him, that the prisoner, who is a soldier belonging to the 29th Regiment, was in April last on furlough at Hull, and went first to stay with his sister, a Mrs. Todd, at Hull, and afterwards lodged with a person named Taylor. While staying with his sister he made the acquaintance of the deceased, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Parker, a young widow, who lived with her mother, Mrs. Sleight, and stayed at the house of Mrs. Sleight. A rumour having reached them that he had overstayed his leave of absence, they got rid of him, and he then went to lodge with Taylor. He continued to call at Mrs. Sleight's, and on the morning of the 23rd of April he went there as early as eight o'clock, and remained there till about eleven, talking with Mrs. Parker. At eleven he went out to a neighbour's named Burnham, and asked for a pipe, and then went back to Mrs. Sleight's. There he bade good-bye to Mrs. Parker and gave her a kiss, and suddenly put his arm round her neck and cut her throat with a razor. Mrs. Burnham heard her name called twice, and then a cry of murder, and on looking out of her door saw the prisoner and Mrs. Parker scuffling together, she having her hand on his shoulder, and he attempting to get away. Mrs. Parker was covered with blood, and she saw the prisoner make his escape from her and run away. On going to Mrs. Parker she was found with a deep wound at the side of her neck, which bled profusely, two large veins having been divided. At the time a surgeon named M'Mellan was passing, and he, with the assistance of another medical gentleman named Carnley, succeeded in tying the veins and stopping the bleeding, but the deceased was so exhausted that she sank and died about four o'clock the same day. Near where the scuffle had taken place the blade and haft of a razor were found, broken and saturated with blood, and this razor the prisoner had borrowed from Taylor to shave with the night before. Before she died Mrs. Parker made a declaration that the prisoner called at eight o'clock that morning, and sat talking for three hours. She had no quarrel with him. He said nothing before he attacked her. He was not courting her, and she knew no motive why he should injure her. He had given her a kiss once or twice before, when he bade her good-bye. It appeared from Mrs. Sleight's evidence that the prisoner was in the habit of bidding good-bye, and saying he was going away next day; and she corroborated the statement that her daughter had not countenanced any attentions from the prisoner. After leaving Mrs. Sleight's house it appeared the prisoner went to his lodgings at Taylor's, with his handkerchief wrapped round his hand, which was bloody, and he gave as an excuse that he had been drilling, and had got his hand hurt with a bayonet. He then washed his hands, and went out. He seemed very excited, and the worse for liquor. He was taken into custody a little before twelve o'clock, sitting by the roadside with his head on his hand and his clothes bloody. The witnesses all agreed that he had had nothing to drink before he attacked the deceased. There was no evidence to show that he had had any liquor afterwards, and it appeared that he was habitually a sober man.

For the defence, witnesses were called who proved that he had a sister, who was insane and who died so; that he had a brother who was not considered to be sound in his mind, and that the prisoner himself, when eleven years old,

had his head shaved, and used to go about in a nightcap, and his manner and demeanour then got him the nickname of "Fond Tom." When he grew up he was moody, and used to sit alone with his head on his hand for hours; he was always depressed, and in low spirits, and dull. After he entered the army he went to India, and there had the country fever and a sunstroke, and two of his comrades, who served in the same country, swore that he was unlike other men; he never joined in the sports of the men, and used to keep aloof. He was eccentric and peculiar, got up at nights and walked about muttering to himself, and was then considered to be not quite right in his head. When he came home again his sister swore that he used to jump out of bed at nights, and walk about the house muttering something to himself which she could not understand. Sometimes he would burst out laughing, and when asked what he was laughing at, he would say, "Nothing." She got so alarmed about him that she got the errand boy employed at the house to sleep with him, and this boy gave similar evidence as to his jumping out of bed and walking about at night muttering. Sometimes he would sit at the bedside making faces when no one was there. His sister got so alarmed that she wrote to his captain to recall him, and got rid of him out of her house.

The motive suggested by the prosecution was, that the prisoner had said he had met the deceased the night before with a man with moustaches, and that he was influenced by jealousy, but there was no proof whatever that the deceased had been out with any man the night before, and her mother was confident she had not, and this was urged for the defence to be a mere insane delusion.

On the grounds that insanity was hereditary in his family, that he had early shown symptoms of this terrible malady, and that his conduct up to the period of this occurrence had been such as to make those who associated with him believe him not to be sane, and that his attack on the deceased appeared to be quite without motive and when he was proved to be sober, it was contended that the murder was committed by a man who was insane, and not legally responsible for his acts.

The learned Judge, in a most clear and able manner, summed up the evidence. He directed the jury that anything like eccentricity or peculiarity of manner was not sufficient to excuse a man from the penalties of the crime of murder. It might well be that such a man could well understand the distinction between right and wrong. But they must consider whether the man's mind was proved to be so unsound that he did not know the character and quality of the acts that he was committing. If they thought so they must acquit him on that ground; if not they must find him guilty.

The jury retired, and, after an absence of nearly an hour, returned with a verdict of *Not Guilty*, on the ground of insanity.

The prisoner was then ordered to be confined during Her Majesty's pleasure.

During the trial the prisoner, who appeared in his uniform, stood with his head bent down and leant on his hands. He had a great deal of very thickly-set hair, which appeared almost like a wig about his face. Until the sentence was pronounced he never looked up.

**SUICIDE.**—An inquest was held yesterday (Aug. 6) at the Ship Inn, Redcliff-hill, Bristol, before Mr. J. B. Grindon, city coroner, on the body of Mr. George Haynes Hinchcliffe, one of the coroners for the county of Stafford. The circumstances attending the case were of a melancholy and almost romantic character. The deceased gentleman was married only as lately as Wednesday last at West Bromwich to a lady of equal position in society, to whom he had been for some time previously engaged, and in course of that day the newly-wedded pair arrived at the Queen's Hotel, Clifton, on their trip for the honeymoon. Nothing strange was observed in the manner of the bridegroom until he went



to his wife's chamber some time after she had retired for the night, and shortly afterwards reappeared and requested to be provided with another bedroom. The house being full, Mr. Hinchcliffe was told that he could not be accommodated, and he then left the Queen's and proceeded to the Sedan Chair Tavern, on the Broad-quay, where he slept for the night. His wife, alarmed at his strange behaviour, telegraphed for her brother, Mr. Fereday, of West Bromwich, who arrived in the course of the following day, and Mr. Hinchcliffe was sought out and prevailed on to return to his wife. He dined with her and her brother the same evening, but again left the Queen's, and there is reason to believe that he wandered about all night. On Saturday he took lodgings for the night at the house of Mr. Price, grocer, of Thomas-street, and there committed suicide under the strange circumstances disclosed in the subjoined evidence.

William Bateman Reed deposed,—I am the proprietor of the Queen's Hotel, Tyndall's-park. On Wednesday evening last the deceased arrived at my hotel with a lady; they had the appearance of a newly-married couple. The body I have seen at the General Hospital is the body of the gentleman. Late in the evening the chambermaid informed me that the bridegroom retired to his room some time after the lady, and that he came out shortly afterwards and asked for another bed. We could not accommodate him, and he left the house without any luggage. The next morning the lady telegraphed to her friends, requesting them to come down. The gentleman returned on the following morning, and asked to see the lady, but she refused to do so unless in the presence of her brother, Mr. Fereday, to whom she had telegraphed, requesting him to come down, as she was in extreme danger. I removed the lady to my private house, as she stated that she feared her husband had gone insane. In the afternoon a man in the garb of a sailor came for Mr. Hinchcliffe's luggage, but I did not then let him have it. I went with the brother-in-law and found deceased at the Steam Packet Tavern. He returned to our house, and dined with his wife and brother-in-law. He appeared to be very low in spirits. The brother-in-law told me he could not discover any reason why they should separate. I spoke to the deceased between 10 and 11 o'clock, and he told me that he had gone into his wife's bedroom on the Wednesday evening and told her that they could not be happy together. She said, "Good God! you had better leave the room," he did so. This, he said, was all that passed. On Thursday evening he left our house, and went, as I ascertained, to the Sedan Chair, and slept there that night. He called again at our house on Friday and Saturday, on which latter day his wife and brother-in-law had left.

Walter Thomas, grocer, of 99, Thomas-street, Bristol.—I saw deceased on Saturday night a little before 12 o'clock. He asked me if I had a spare bed. I told him I did not let lodgings, but he could get a bed at the Queen's Head, close by. He said he did not want to go to an inn, and, after consulting my wife, I agreed to accommodate him with a bed. I accompanied him to his bedroom. He looked to see if there was any water in the bottle, and I got him some and he drank it. He made no particular observation; he said he would breakfast with us the following morning. He asked if I could let him have a razor and brush in the morning, and I said I would. I went to bed about a quarter after 12, and was roused the following morning, about 2 o'clock, by the police.

Police-sergeant Foot.—About 20 minutes to 2 on Sunday morning I saw a man at the top of Mr. Price's house, who said he had been robbed, and on my ringing the bell he told me it was all right, as he had found what he had lost. Another officer came up, and we asked him (deceased) his name and residence, but he refused to give them, and said he did not believe we were policemen at all. Several persons gathered round, and I said I would call up Mr. Price and see who his lodger was. We had had information of a man having

escaped from Dr. Fox's Asylum. I went away and returned in a few minutes, when I saw the man holding on by the window-sash. I cautioned him of his danger, and in a minute or so his hold gave way, and he fell into the street. I immediately picked him up, and found him apparently dead. In two or three minutes after rousing Mr. Price, and getting a shutter to put the body on, we took deceased to the General Hospital.

Police-constable 185 confirmed the evidence of the last witness.

Mr. Dowling, house-surgeon at the Bristol General Hospital.—I was at the hospital when deceased was brought there on Sunday morning. He was then dead. His skull was fractured in such a way as to cause his death. He had a fracture of the left thigh also. I have made an external examination of the body. Deceased was suffering from hernia. It was not in a dangerous state. He wore a truss. There are many popular prejudices that hernia is more serious than it really is, and, if viewed in that particular light, a sensitive man's mind might be affected by this disease.

The Rev. George Frederick Wade, incumbent of Eastoft, Yorkshire, brother-in-law of the deceased.—I never knew deceased anything but perfectly sane. I married him a few days ago at West Bromwich. He left for Clifton. I am certain he is the person now lying dead at the General Hospital. I have known deceased for nearly 20 years. He was considered by all who knew him as the ideal of all that was honourable, truthful, and gentlemanlike. He succeeded his father as one of the coroners for Staffordshire, having been elected by an overwhelming majority. He was exceedingly nervous. I have known him faint at matters which another man would only laugh at. I saw his brother-in-law, Mr. Fereday, on Saturday, who told me of all the strange things that had happened up to that time. I was astonished, as when I saw him and his wife leave I thought what a happy couple they were. Deceased was very excitable, particularly sensitive of anything like blame. The rupture which has been spoken of took place while he was hunting. There was nothing to have prevented him and his wife from living happily together. His wife was an exceedingly nervous lady, and no doubt that has made matters worse. I do not believe the deceased would have destroyed himself had he been in possession of his faculties. He was quite alive to the sin of self-destruction. I respected him as I respect few persons in this world, and loved him dearly. He was 33 years of age.

Frederick Kalkroven.—I keep the Sedan Chair, Broad-quay. On Thursday evening deceased came to my house in a cab, and ordered a bed. He took no refreshment of any kind. He was very quiet. He went to bed a little before 12. He brought a large carpet-bag and two coats with him. Nothing about his manners betrayed insanity. He went out in the morning without taking any breakfast. He did not return that day. He left his bag open in the bedroom. Between 5 and 6 on Saturday evening he came with an officer and said he wished to pay his bill. He was very quiet at the time. He paid his bill, and left, as I understood, for the railway station.

Mary Ann Tovey, of Waterloo-court, Thomas-street.—I saw deceased on the housetop of Mr. Price on Saturday night for some time. He said he wanted a policeman. I told him there were two there. He said I was trying to "gammon" him; they were not policemen. He talked like a man deranged. I saw him fall from the window into the street.

Police-constable Buller.—On Saturday afternoon deceased came to the Central-station and said he had lost his carpet-bag at a public-house on the Quay. I went with him, and found his bag at the Sedan Chair. He then requested me to get a cab for him, as he said he was going by the 6.45 train to Birmingham. I did so. He gave me his name as Mr. Hinchcliffe, of West Bromwich. He talked in a very strange way at times to me, and I thought he was deranged.



The Coroner having summed up, the jury without hesitation found that the deceased destroyed himself while labouring under temporary insanity.—(*Times*, Aug. 17.)

These are marked examples of a class of cases which, from being neglected or unrecognised, play immense mischief in society. If we could flatter ourselves that, sooner or later, such cases, after the fashion of those we have just related, invariably ended in some criminal act which brought them within the grasp of the law, or which terminated the case summarily, we might suppose that the evil, in one, and an exceedingly contracted and somewhat inhumane sense, worked its own remedy. But that is far from being the fact. Crime and suicide are but two of the many unhappy results to which neglected or unrecognised brain-disease leads. Most frequently, within the sacred circle of domestic life, the undetected mischief gives rise to untold-of misery and ruin, until it terminates, perhaps after long months of wretchedness, in unmistakable lunacy.

If we would lift the veil still higher from this painful but most important subject, we need but revert again to the criminal records of the quarter. On the 23rd of July, Thomas Hopley, a schoolmaster, described as a man of high attainments, was tried, at the Lewes Assizes, for the manslaughter of Reginald Channell Cancellor, a boy of fifteen years of age, and one of his pupils. Hopley received for the charge of the boy a stipend of 180*l.* per year. The lad exhibited no aptitude for learning, and was looked upon by his master as being unusually obstinate; and in April he had written to Cancellor's father, telling him that he had tried every means in his power to conquer the boy's obstinacy, but without avail, and that the only thing less to be done was to resort to strong measures of corporal punishment. The father gave permission for Hopley to act as he thought fit. This permission Hopley construed in the very fullest sense, and adopted a course of treatment towards the boy, almost unparalleled in its brutality, and which ended in the lad's death. It was proved on the trial that, for a period of nearly two hours, the prisoner beat Cancellor with a skipping-rope and a stick, and that the boy either died under the punishment or very quickly after it.

The following statement was made by the prisoner before the magistrates on his preliminary examination, and was read at the trial:—

The deceased was a very peculiar boy, and was not only very obstinate, but was also actuated by a determination not to learn anything. Although between fifteen and sixteen years old, he did not know the difference, or pretended not to know it, between a shilling and a sixpence or a fourpenny piece. He communicated with his father, and he considered that he had his sanction for what he did, and, feeling that it was absolutely necessary that he should master the boy's propensities, he resolved, with great regret, to do so by severe punishment. He was in one of those fits of obstinacy on the day in question,



and he admitted that he beat him until he subdued him, and he said his lesson rapidly and correctly. After this the prisoner said the fit again returned, and the deceased refused to go upstairs or to undress himself, and feeling that if he had given in it might have the effect of ruining the boy for ever, he again punished him, and succeeded in subduing him, and the deceased expressed himself grateful and went to bed. The prisoner admitted that he used the rope and the stick, but said he only beat the deceased about the legs and shoulders, and he had no other instrument to make use of, he being so averse to corporal punishment that he had not even so much as a cane in the house. The statement concluded by an assertion by the prisoner that he was not at all in a passion or in anger when he inflicted the punishment upon the deceased, but that he felt he was doing his duty, and that he repeatedly requested the deceased to give in, and spare him the pain of inflicting further punishment upon him.

The body of the unfortunate lad was examined, six days after death, by Mr. Prescott Hewett, who deposed as follows:—

He made a post mortem examination of the deceased on the 28th of April, assisted by Dr. Willis and Dr. Holmes. When he first saw the body it was completely covered, so that no part but the face was visible. There were white kid gloves on the hands, and the legs and feet were covered with apparently men's stockings, which reached half way up the thighs. Upon removing the coverings and examining the body, he discovered that the legs and arms were of a dark livid colour, and swollen from extravasated blood. He cut through the skin, and then ascertained that there was a very large quantity of blood extravasated into the cellular membranes underneath. Under the skin of the palm of one of the hands there was extravasated blood three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and the cellular membranes under the skin of the thighs were reduced to a perfect jelly—in fact, all torn to pieces and lacerated by the blows that had been inflicted. The injuries must have been inflicted by some heavy blunt weapon, and the stick that had been produced was an instrument calculated to have inflicted such injuries. The rope, in his opinion, was calculated to make the bruises, and the stick to have produced the lacerations to which he had referred. On the right leg of the deceased he observed two wounds about the size of a sixpence, and an inch in depth, and he was of opinion that these wounds might have been occasioned by a job or thrust with the pointed end of the stick that had been produced. The head of the deceased was large, and exhibited the appearance of his having suffered from water on the brain, and this turned out to be the case when the head was opened.

**THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.**—Would this condition of the brain account for the deceased being of defective intelligence?

**Witness.**—It certainly would do so.

Dr. Hewett, in conclusion, said that from the appearances he observed, he was satisfied that considerable violence had been used to the deceased, and he came to the conclusion that his death was caused by a shock to the nervous system, and by the large quantity of blood extravasated in the cellular membranes. He also expressed his opinion, that from the evidence before the Court, and the statement made by the prisoner, that the body of the deceased was stiff when he first saw it in the morning, that the death took place about twelve o'clock on the previous night.

A verdict of *Guilty* was returned, and Hopley was sentenced to four years' penal servitude.

Here, then, we have an example of a man of reputed high attainments, a schoolmaster of mark, regarding the incapacity of a semi-

idiot as sheer obstinacy! But, even supposing he had been right, how shall we characterize the horrible brutality of the method adopted to overcome the lad's perversity? It is almost inconceivable that at a time (to take no higher ground) when Rarey was showing to crowded audiences in London the worse than futility of endeavouring to break in animals by means of physical punishment, that an educated man, within a few miles of the spot where the horse-tamer was lecturing, should have thought that by means of the rod he could conquer and train a supposed obstinate boy! Rightly did the *Times* say of Hopley:—

"There is nothing to be said for this man. Every one must feel that four years of penal servitude is by no means too severe a sentence for the crime he has committed. It is true that the boy never ought to have been put under his management, that his was an exceptional case, and ought to have been medically treated. It may be true that Hopley thinks that severity is the only way to break in stubborn boys. But to beat a boy for two hours with a thick stick and a skipping rope, to macerate him, to 'prod' him, in private and at midnight, is not discipline, but murder. All private punishment should be severely discountenanced, but it would be absurd to speak of this as punishment; it was a deadly attack, followed by a naturally fatal consequence. This case has come out much worse than the preliminary investigation prepared us to expect, and we hold it up as a warning, not less to parents than to school-masters."

To return, however, to the question with which we started:—The cases we have quoted teach us the extraordinary ignorance which is prevalent among all classes of society concerning the significance of some marked forms of mental disease. Had a degree of perversion corresponding to that witnessed in the functions of the brain been manifested, in the different cases, in the functions of the heart, the intestines, or the muscular system, the need of the physician would have been at once felt and his aid sought. It is not until the public learn to look upon the signs of disordered brain-function in the same light as those of any other function, that we shall miss cases such as those we have just recited among the records of our courts of justice, or mitigate the less apparent evils occasioned by neglected or unrecognised brain-disease. Lelut has well said that "madness is not a thing apart; all madmen are not under the protection of the asylums which are devoted to them. From complete or philosophical reason to delirium truly maniacal there are innumerable degrees, of which it would be advantageous that every man should have a general knowledge, lest anger or vengeance should usurp the place of an indulgent pity—a pity which each one may at one time or other have required, and which he may require again."

While, however, we insist upon the importance of recognising  
NEGLECTED AND UNRECOGNISED BRAIN DISEASE, as a source of

certain social evils, and one deserving of more accurate study than it has yet received, we must not err by exaggerating that importance at the expense of other and equally weighty considerations. If the current events of the quarter have furnished several striking illustrations of this subject, neither have they been wanting in other matter of hardly less interest to the practical psychologist. Thus, *suicide* forces itself upon the attention. The case we have already cited was the result of disease, and demands our pity; but many cases have been recorded during the past quarter, which, from the comparative triviality of the causes inducing the act, indicate the existence of a most unhealthy tone of thought upon the subject among certain of the metropolitan classes, which cannot be too greatly reprobated. It is not too much to say, that in England suicide as a rule is divested of any sentimentality, and wears a very commonplace and unattractive aspect. It is with our population looked upon truly as a last resort, and not as a legitimate mode of escape from the first serious cross which may happen to occur to an individual. Suicide is, however, just one of those subjects which are most apt to receive a gloss from unhealthy sentiment, and so impose upon immature and too mobile minds. It, therefore, behoves the public on the first signs of a reaction in favour of suicide among any class of the population, to crush it at once by utter and immediate condemnation. In a question of this kind, we feel assured that public opinion would be all-powerful.

No organ of the press does such good service in this matter as the chief of the cheap journals—the *Daily Telegraph*. The mode in which this journal hunts down suicide deserves the warmest commendation. Admirable in tone, sound in object, and brilliant in quality, the articles which it has devoted to the subject in the past quarter were fully calculated to effect that good, which from their nature, and the enormous circulation of the journal, might be hoped for. We shall reproduce these articles, as well for the lessons they contain as for the interesting illustrations they afford of the feelings of the most important organ of the cheap daily press upon a most painful and disheartening social evil.

It is probable that, were the statistics of suicide analyzed, and were we placed in a position to fix with certainty on the circumstances which have led to every attempt at self-murder, we should find that a large proportion, if not a majority, of these criminal acts were due to the most trifling causes. Your deeply-dyed criminal seldom tries to hang himself to the bars of his cell-window, or to dash out his brains against its stone walls. When, indeed, he does attempt *felo de se*, it is not because he is told that he is about to be transported for life, but because the governor has stopped his ration of boiled beef, or the turnkey has reprimanded him for not folding his counterpane properly. A woman who has cut the throats of half-a-dozen children is committed for trial, and goes away quietly enough in the van to Newgate, whereas a poor "drunk



and disorderly," who has been remanded to the police-cell through inability to pay a five-shilling fine, straightway proceeds to hang herself in her garters, after the manner of the unfortunate Miss Bailey. A shop lad accused by his master of embezzling a few halfpence will often cast himself into the canal, whereas the rogue who has forged for thousands of pounds, and beggared dozens of families, receives his sentence of penal servitude without murmuring, and takes to chairmaking or matweaving, under the auspices of the prison taskmaster, quite blithely. Many a servant-girl, whose mistress has reproached her with a propensity for ringlets or crinoline, or who has had a "few words" with her "young man" in the Coldstreams relative to her flirtation with some dapper constable in the P division, rushes to the chemist's shop, purchases some oxalic acid, and crams it down her throat. In moral and religious tracts suicide is generally the orthodox termination to a career of female frailty. "Drowned! drowned!" is the fifth act to the drama which commences in a villa at St. John's-wood; but any intelligent police-constable or divisional surgeon will tell us that the suicidal element enters but in an extraordinarily minute degree into the phases of the social evil. Now and then some wretched creature will fling her bonnet and shawl on the pavement, and jump over the parapet, or rush down the steps of a bridge into the water; but in nine cases out of ten it will be found that the predisposing causes of the rash act have not been misery or want, or remorse at a life of sin, but that the unhappy creature has been drinking rather freely, or has had some paltry squabble with a sister Cyprian or her landlady. Of course, we leave on one side the self-slaughters that are perpetrated through suicidal mania, through constitutional hypochondria, through deliberate design—as when a man sees no way out of his difficulties, and calculates, as has often happened, that he may better his position by killing himself. But there have been suicides for the toothache. There have been suicides because it rained—because a new bonnet had not come home from the milliner's. There have been suicides through emulation—suicidal epidemics which form, perhaps, one of the most curiously obscure diseases of the mind of which a mental pathologist could treat.

Self-destruction, unhappily, has at all times been very prevalent among the young, more especially among the weaker sex; and the causes are almost invariably the same—crosses in love and quarrels with parents. The latter reason is so frequent that it develops itself even in children, and boys and girls of ten and twelve have been known to commit suicide to revenge themselves for a scolding, or to avoid a punishment with which they have been threatened. Nine-tenths of the painful domestic tragedies which plunge respectable families into irremediable despair are attributable to one fatal cause—temper. There is temper, often, on the part of the parent who too harshly censures or corrects a child. There is equally temper on the part of the son or daughter who rebels against a fancied usurpation or overstraining of parental or maternal authority, who is unable to struggle against the superior power of the head of the family, and who—determined that revenge shall not be quite impotent—invokes the aid of the water-butt or the laudanum-bottle. Not many days since, our columns contained a report of a most lamentable event that occurred in the family of a respectable tradesman at Plymouth. The father had some wretched squabble with his daughter, a girl of nineteen, about the price of a pair of boots she had sold. His temper became ungovernable. He took a rope and beat the girl severely. She, stung to frenzy by the humiliating chastisement, rushed up stairs, flung herself out of a window, and dashed her skull to atoms on the pavement. We daresay that many who read the report of the inquest were moved to feelings of the strongest indignation against a man who seemed heartless and brutal enough to flog a girl of nineteen with a cord; but, when the sad history came to be analyzed, it was found that the girl had before threatened to commit suicide, that this last conflict was only the end of a series

of quarrels with her father, and that she was obdurate and rebellious. There were faults on both sides, and on each the error was temper.

Under the head of "romantic suicide and attempt at suicide," our readers have quite recently perused another sad story, which bears with equal force on our remarks. Mr. Brent, the coroner, has been holding an inquest on the body of a young girl only seventeen years of age, who, in company with a female friend about the same age, threw herself into the New River, at Highbury Vale, on Thursday last. The two girls were children of most respectable parents, and having formed an acquaintance at a Sunday school treat two or three years since, had become most intimate friends. They wrote love-letters to each other—as girls will do before they have something better to love—exchanging small presents and locks of hair. The deceased girl appears to have been very fond of "pleasure"—that is, of balls and junkettings. On the 25th of June she remained from home all night. In great alarm, her father called on the family of her young companion, thinking they were together. Only one, however, and that one not his daughter, was at home. The deceased, however, came home, and her mother is said to have struck her for attempting to speak to her friend. What other scenes of bickerings and harshness may have preceded or followed this act, it is out of our power to determine. Finally, the two young women ran away, with—God help them!—sixpence in their pockets. The deceased had told her mother it was the last she would ever see of her. They walked some time and got very hungry, when the deceased proposed to buy arsenic for both. They walked beyond Edmonton and back into London. They lived on one shilling and threepence, which a gentleman gave them in charity, until Thursday morning—they had run away on the Tuesday. The girl who survives, asked her friend, if she would return home. She replied that she never would. They walked to Highbury Vale, and joining hands, and shrieking, "Oh, love! love!" jumped into the New River. Was there ever a tale "so sad, so tender, and so true?" The girl who lives was rescued by a gentleman who heard the cries of the unhappy pair. A brave plasterer—all honour to him—who was at work in a neighbouring building saw a shawl floating in the water, jumped in, and brought—alas! nothing but a dripping corpse to land. Every means of resuscitation was tried, but in vain. The girl was proved to have been good and virtuous beyond suspicion. Nothing but this unhappy temper had conspired to render her home miserable, her parents bereaved, herself a guilty suicide. We trust that the result of this most tragical event will be, for the remainder of her life, an awful but salutary warning to the young woman who has been providentially delivered from a watery grave; but should it not also be a warning as pregnant with example to parents who treat their children with undue harshness, and, in their correction of the imprudences of youth, have recourse not to reason and kindness, but to revilings and blows?—(*Daily Telegraph*, July 6.)

It can scarcely have escaped public notice that for a considerable time past, and especially during the month now ending, the London magistrates have been constantly engaged in dealing with cases of suicide. It may or may not be a question whether some mystery of nature exists in connexion with a mania of this kind, whether atmospherical or astrological influences are at work, or whether philosophy may find a cause for so deadly an autumnal epidemic. One of the modern magi affirms that individuals born under the sign of Saturn, when the sun is in Hyleg, are liable to attempt self-destruction; but so far as we have investigated the promptings of metropolitan make-believes at *felo de se*, we discover them to be, firstly, drunkenness; secondly, imposture; and thirdly, despair—this last being in all cases accompanied by a strong development of mental disease. It is often difficult, however, to draw the line at which, in consequence of this morbid affliction, personal liberty



should be restrained. The literary gentleman who deprived himself of life a few months since, did so in the very midst of his ordinary intellectual tasks, and stopped reviewing a book in order to cut his throat. There can be no doubt that the mind of the unfortunate west-country coroner who threw himself out of window was mortally affected. The poor clergyman whose death we on Wednesday recorded, was, of course, at least temporarily insane. Concerning this class of suicides we are not proposing to treat. They belong to the psychologists, the physicians, and the humane guardians of lunacy. But there are others which have been painfully and repulsively obtrusive of late. The sottish artisan, who has squandered his wages in bestial excess, and has reduced himself to a state of inhuman bewilderment, staggers to the water's edge and drops in, perfectly aware that the policeman, whose bull's-eye is upon him, will come to the rescue and lodge him safely in the station-house. The draggle-tailed hussy who has pawned her husband's clothes, beaten her children, received two black eyes in a fight, and saturated herself to the blood and to the brain with gin, howls down the steps of some bridge, sure of attracting attention, and walks into the river like a timid bather, just far enough not to be out of reach. She is certain to shriek before she takes her drenching, and it may be noted, as a fact for Benthamites, that these intoxicated shams of suicide never take place except within sight or call of a crowded thoroughfare. The genuine outcast, the desolate creature who wanders to the Bridge of Sighs, the hopeless criminal resolved upon anticipating justice, seeks the loneliest niche on the loneliest bridge, or the midnight obscurity of Hampstead Heath, or a private room in a retired hotel; the brawler, savage with himself, and the harridan, who has nothing left to her but a mimicry of self-drowning, or strangulation with her garter, habitually yells loudly enough before enacting the hideous farce, whether in the shallows of the Thames or in the cell of a police-station.

We do not assume that any magisterial efforts will ever give meaning to the menace of Sir Peter Laurie, and "put down suicide." Nor would we recommend, as one way of aiming at this result, the course adopted formerly by the municipal Government of New Orleans, in which city, for three consecutive months, the corpse of every self-murderer was hung up naked and publicly scourged—an indignity which speedily toned down the romantic aspirations of young gentlemen and ladies ambitious of a poetical notoriety after death. Captain Langley records that in Sindh, when a person attempted to drown himself, he was taken out of the water, kicked seven times, and set free; but it might be dangerous to arm the night police of London with so anomalous a prerogative. Yet is there no possible method of checking this horrible and disgusting mania? It has been demonstrated that the ancient and barbarous custom of cross-road graves and unconsecrated burials is wholly inoperative. Verdicts of "Temporary insanity" almost invariably, except in the cases of suicides who have slain others before slaying themselves, relieve the dead from this unchristian insult. But we are speaking now of impostors who intend only to run the risk of a soaking, or tighten a handkerchief round their necks, in order to rouse sympathy or to gratify some instinct of drunkenness. Too often the magistrates, in their benevolence, allow them to go unpunished, after an admonition wasted upon callous ears. Now, where it is established that the attempt was a sham, the severest punishment ought to be inflicted, as upon rogues and vagabonds of the worst description. Under other circumstances, when poor girls who have been seduced, or sempstresses out of work, or children dreading chastisement, have essayed, more or less resolutely, the destruction of their own lives, they ought never to be set free without undergoing more or less of penitentiary discipline. We do not mean to imply that they should be classed with thieves, disturbers of the peace, or criminals of any kind; but they should indubitably be confined for a longer or shorter period,



kept to moderate labour upon the plainest wholesome food, and receive a course of admonition such as might drive out of their minds the idea of suicide. A repetition of the offence must invariably be considered a serious infringement of law, and visited with the penalties either of a House of Correction or of a lunatic asylum, the latter being, perhaps, the more effectual. Moreover, the public, we fear, is often too ready with its subscriptions in cases where young women, having led a dissipated life, and dreading the struggles of poverty, seek for sympathy by exhibiting themselves in a police court, trembling from the effects of a plunge in the river. Too much discrimination cannot be observed with regard to these appellants, to the benevolence of society. The Penitentiary or the Reformatory is the fit receptacle of every one whose mind has been so completely overpowered, and whose conscience has been so fatally drugged, as to risk the death of felony rather than endure the ordinary troubles of the world. A night in a police cell, an exhortation from the magistrate, or even a week's visitations by the chaplain, can hardly suffice for the cure of a moral malady so fearful. But, as we have said, a distinction must be drawn between serious and deep anguish, provoking to the rashness of self-murder, and that maudlin self-abandonment which leads the drunkard to the river's edge, to be dragged out by a waterman or a constable. The sots and vagrants who perpetrate this offence are fit subjects for the stocks and pillory, and the law, while not pretending to deal with human nature as with a vulgar mechanism, ought to treat a pretended suicide as it would treat a fortune-telling gipsy, or a begging-letter impostor.—(*Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 31.)

In further illustration of this subject, we quote the following singular but instructive case:—

**ATTEMPTED SUICIDE AND MURDER—WINCHESTER ASSIZES.—CROWN COURT, JULY 18.**—Robert Simpson (a private in the Rifles) was indicted for cutting and wounding Sophia Rowe, with intent to kill and murder her, at Winchester. Mr. Gunner was counsel for the prosecution.

This was one of the most extraordinary cases ever heard. It appeared that Rowe was the daughter of a brickmaker named James Rowe, who lived at Stowmarket, Suffolk. She had come to Winchester as a servant. In December last she was out of place. She went to the Painters' Arms in Winchester to assist the landlady, a Mrs. Watlen, and she remained at that house until Saturday, the 12th of May. In the meantime she had become acquainted with the prisoner, who was 22 years of age, and they kept company together. On a Thursday and Friday night they slept together, and on the Friday morning, before they got up, the prisoner said he was tired of being a soldier, and should cut his throat, and he requested Rowe to borrow a razor for him. She told him she would not borrow one. He then became very unhappy, and the girl gave him 1s. 6d. to purchase a razor with. They got up, and in the course of the day the prisoner went out and bought a razor, and he gave it to Rowe, who locked it up in her box. They remained at the Painters' Arms all the rest of the day. When they went to bed, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, the prisoner asked Rowe to put the razor under the head of the bed, and she took it out of her box and put it under the bolster. Soon after they were in bed another lodger, named Rachel Welby, came in and got into the same bed with them, and slept with them all night. On the Saturday morning Rachel Welby got up a little before seven o'clock, and while she was dressing she heard Rowe say, "Do it, dear; do it, dear." After she had gone down, Rowe stated that the prisoner said he was determined to cut his throat; she endeavoured to dissuade him, but he said he would do it. Rowe, who was very fond of him, said if he cut his own throat he should cut hers first. He said he had not power to do it. Rowe said if he would not cut hers he should

not cut his. The prisoner then asked her to lay her arm down for him to put his head on. She laid her arm down, and he placed his head upon it. He at that time had the razor in his hand, and he cut her throat, and then he cut his own. It would seem that some noise was made, and Mrs. Watlen went into the room, and saw them both lying in bed on their backs with their throats cut. Rowe said, "Good-bye," and the prisoner said, "This is love." Rowe then said, "I shall die happy." Mrs. Watlen asked Rowe who had done it, and she pointed to the prisoner. Mrs. Watlen instantly sent for Mr. Buckle, a surgeon, who found them in the manner before described by Mrs. Watlen. Their throats were bleeding very much, and the woman was just fainting from loss of blood. The girl's throat was more severely cut than the prisoner's. The surgeon immediately took the requisite steps, and saved the lives of both parties.

The learned Judge, in summing up, said that if the jury believed the evidence, they must find the prisoner guilty, because, had the woman died, he would have been guilty of murder. He supposed the people had been reading novels. It was a most shameful and wicked act. Even if the girl had asked him to take her life, he had no right to do so.

The jury found the prisoner *Guilty*.

Judgment of death recorded.

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ART. I.—PARADOXICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

It is an old story, and one that has often been dwelt upon, that genius and insanity are near akin. Both philosophers and poets have told the story, the former having ballasted it with their authority, and the latter bedecked it with their fancy. The multitude have also their version, and the belief which underlies it, crops out in the proverbs, or is implied in the superstitions of almost every race under the sun.

The vernacular hath it that *Fools and philosophers were made out of the same metal*; the term *fool* being applicable either in its primitive and technical, or in its ordinary and conventional sense. A living writer\* expresses the sentiment of the proverb by the wicked remark that “philosophers are often but ingenious lunatics.” The popular belief regarding the consanguinity of insanity and poetic genius, has been very happily represented by our greatest dramatist. He tells us that—

“The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,  
Are of imagination all compact!  
One has more devils than vast hell can hold;  
That is the madman: the lover all as frantic,  
Sees Helen’s beauty in a brow of Egypt:  
The poet’s eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;  
And as imagination bodies forth  
The form of things unknown, the poet’s pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothings  
A local habitation and a name.”†

\* Bulwer,—*My Novel*.

† *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, act v. sc. 1.



He of whom Shakespeare himself has written—

——“whose deep conceit is such,  
As passing all conceit, needs no defence”——

Spenser, personified imagination as one who “could things to come foresee;” and he describes this personification in terms perfectly consistent with the notions which the great dramatist assigns to fancy, in the genesis of lunacy, poesy, and love. We read in the *Faerie Queene* how Sir Guyon, for his instruction, was shown Imagination in the House of Temperance. The Elfin Knight beheld the embodied power inhabiting a chamber within which were depicted in sundry colours the many exaggerated feats of an erratic fancy—

“Infernall hags, centaurs, fiendes, hippodames,  
Apes, Lyons, eagles, owls, fooles, lovers, children, dames.

And all the chamber filled was with flies,  
Which buzzed all about, and made such sound,  
That they encombred all men’s eares and eyes,  
Like many swarmes of bees assembled round,  
After their hives with honey do abound.  
All those were idle thoughtes and fantasies,  
Devices, dreams, opinions unsound,  
Themes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies,  
And all that fained is—as leasings, tales and lies.

Emongst them all sate which wonned there,  
That hight Phantastes by his nature true;  
A man of yeares, yet fresh, as mote appeare,  
Of swarth complexion, and of crabbed hew,  
That him full of meláncoly did shew;  
Bent, hollow, beetle brows, sharpe staring eyes,  
That mad or foolish seemed; one by his vise  
Mote deeme him borne with ill-disposed skyes,  
When oblique Saturne sat in the house of agonyes.”\*

Ebenezer Sibley hath written in his ponderous quarto† on the *Occult Sciences*, that “All melancholy and nervous affections, quartan agues, falling sickness, black-jaundice, tooth-ache,” &c., are under the government of Saturn.

The introduction by Shakespeare of the lover into the category of kinship between genius and insanity is true to the spirit of the idea, and has its warrant even in the letter. Thus we learn from Chaucer’s exquisite description of the love-stricken Arcite that—

——“In his gaze, for all the world he ferd  
Nought only like the lovers maladie  
Of Ercos, but rather ylike manie,‡  
Engendred of humourous melancolike,

\* Bk. ii. canto ix. st. l., lii.

† 1790, p. 108.

‡ Madness.

Before he hed in his calle fantastike.  
 And shortly turned was all up so down,  
 Both habit and eke dispositiones  
 Of him, this woful lover, Dan Arcite.”\*

Plato speaks of love as a divine madness, and he represents Socrates as combating, in the recantation of that philosopher concerning love,† the falsity of the assertion, “which declares that when a lover is present, favour ought to be shown to one who is not in love, because the one is mad, and the other in his sober senses.”

The supernatural character which was originally believed to appertain to genius is retained in the name, and the heaven-born gift, whether proceeding from the genius of prophecy, of poetry, of science, or of love—whether from Apollo, or the Muses, or Cupid—was thought to be inextricably linked with madness. Hence from the notion that genius was the manifestation of a divine afflatus came first the startling paradox that madness was not an evil, but a blessing.

Plato in the recantation just spoken of instructs us thus:—

“If it were universally true that madness is evil, the assertion [that we should neglect the lover because he is mad] would be correct. But now the greatest blessings we have spring from madness, when granted by divine bounty. For the prophetess at Delphi, and the priestesses at Dodona, have, when mad, done many and noble services for Greece, both privately and publicly, but in their sober senses little or nothing. And if we were to speak of the sybil and others, who, employing prophetic inspiration, have correctly predicted many things to many persons respecting the future, we should be too prolix, in relating what is known to every one. This, however, deserves to be adduced by way of testimony, that such of the ancients as gave names to things, did not consider madness as disgraceful or a cause of reproach; for they would not have attached this very name to that most noble art by which the future is discerned, and have called it a mad art, but considering it noble when it happens by the divine decree, they gave it this name; but the men of the present day, by ignorantly inserting the letter  $\tau$ , have called it the prophetic art. [*μανία is madness, μανική, the mad art, μαντική, the prophetic art.*] Since also with respect to the investigation of the future by people in their senses, which is made by means of birds and other signs, inasmuch as men, by means of reflection, furnished themselves by human thought with intelligence and information, they gave it the name of prognostication, which the moderns, by using the emphatic long  $\omega$ , now called augury. [*οιονιστική, prognostication, οἰωνιστική, augury*]. But how much more perfect and valuable then prophecy is than augury, one name than the other, and one effect than the other, by so much did the ancients testify that madness is more noble than sound sense, that which comes from God than that

\* *Knights Tale.*

† *Phædrus.*

which proceeds from man. Moreover, for those dire diseases and afflictions which continued in some families in consequence of ancient crimes committed by some or other of them, madness springing up and prophesying to those to whom it was proper, discovered a remedy, fleeing for refuge to prayers and services of the gods, whence obtaining purifications and atoning rites, it made him who possessed it sound, both for the present and the future, by discovering to him who was rightly mad and possessed, a release from present evils. There is a third possession and madness proceeding from the Muses, which seizing upon a tender and chaste soul, and rousing and inspiring it to the composition of odes and other species of poetry, by adorning the countless deeds of antiquity, instructs posterity. But he who without the madness of the Muses approaches the gates of poesy under the persuasion that by means of art he can become an efficient poet, both himself fails in his purpose, and his poetry, being that of a sane man, is thrown into the shade by the poetry of such as are mad.”\*

It is curious and most instructive to observe how the double paradox, contained in the foregoing paragraph from the *Phædrus*—firstly, that madness is more noble than sound sense ; secondly, that so far from being an evil it was in some instances the means of release from evil—has been preserved in its essential character from the time of Plato even to the present time.

For our purpose it is not necessary that we should trace the history of the paradox during the period named, with any degree of minuteness. It will be sufficient for us to show its existence at an intermediate date, and now.

Not every form of insanity was deemed a blessing by Plato, but only such forms as were supposed to be occasioned by the influence of beneficent deities. Hence the philosopher's notions of the evil or good of madness were entirely governed by the mythological ideas of the period in which he lived. Change the form of belief, and we find precisely the same conceptions respecting the nature of madness to have existed among the Christian communities of the middle ages. When the delusions of the insane or the fever-stricken, or the dreams of the ascetic, took a form consistent with the dogmas of the Church, they were hailed as the sure tokens of divine inspiration ; when the reverse, as the promptings of the devil. Church history abounds with illustrations of the truthfulness of this opinion.

The Venerable Bede tells us of the holy man Fursey, who “fell into some infirmity of body, and was thought worthy to see a vision from God.” This holy man, who lived about A.D. 653, was favoured with certain apocalyptic dreams, and the historian further informs us in regard to him, that “An ancient brother of our monastery is still living, who is wont to declare that a very

\* *Phædrus*. Cary's Trans.



sincere and religious man told him that he had seen Fursey himself in the province of the East Angles, and heard those visions from his mouth; adding, that though it was a most sharp winter weather, and a hard frost, and the man was sitting in a thin garment when he related it, yet he sweated as if it had been in the greatest heat of summer, *either through excessive fear, or spiritual consolation.*"\*

Bede also recounts, among other examples of prophetic power, two instances which occurred, one in a child, the other in a nun, at the point of death.

In the monastery of Barking (A.D. 676) there was a little boy named Esica, who was about three years of age. This child was seized with pestilence, and when dying he called thrice upon one of the consecrated virgins in the monastery, "directing his words to her by her own name, as if she had been present, Eadgith! Eadgith! Eadgith! and thus ending his temporal life, entered into that which was eternal. The virgin whom he called, was immediately seized, where she was, with the same distemper, and departing this life the same day on which she had been called, followed him that called her into the heavenly country."†

One of the nuns in the same monastery, being also seized with pestilence, and reduced to extremity, suddenly began about midnight to cry out to those who attended her, requesting them to extinguish the candle that was lighted there; but no one heeded her. Whereupon she said, "'I know you think I speak this in a raving fit, but let me inform you it is not so; for I tell you, that I see this house filled with so much light, that your candle seems to me to be dark.' And when still no one regarded what she said, or ventured any answer, she added, 'Let that candle burn as long as you will; but take notice, that it is not my light, for my light will come to me at the dawn of day.' Then she began to tell, that a certain man of God, who had died that same year, had appeared to her, telling her that at the break of day she should depart to the heavenly light. The truth of which vision was made out by the virgin dying as soon as the day appeared."‡

Still more to our purpose is the account which the venerable historian gives of the development of poetic genius in the Anglo-Saxon poet Cædmon, a brother of the monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby—A.D. 680). "He was wont," writes Bede, "to make pious and religious verses, so that whatever was interpreted to him out of Scripture, he soon after put the same into poetical expressions of much sweetness and humility, in English,

\* *Ecclesiastical History of England*, bk. iii. ch. 19. Dr. Giles's Ed.

† Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* bk. iv. ch. 8.

‡ *Ib.*

which was his native language. By his verses the minds of many were often excited to despise the world, and to aspire to heaven. Others after him attempted, in the English nation, to compose religious poems; but none could ever compare with him, for he did not learn the art of poetry from man, but from God."

This last sentence is a Christianized form of one of Plato's remarks already quoted from the *Phædrus*, to the effect that he who assays the poetic art without being possessed of the divine madness of the Muses, will fail in his efforts, and his poetry, being that of a sane man, will be greatly inferior to that of one who is mad.

Cædmon, it would appear, on account of the source of his gift, was never able to compose "any trivial or vain poem." Sacred themes alone "suited his religious tongue." He had lived in a secular habit until he was far advanced in life, and occasionally was present at entertainments where it was customary, in order to promote mirth, for each guest to sing in succession. But Cædmon, having never learnt anything of versifying, used when the instrument with which the songs were accompanied approached him, to rise up from the table and return home.

"Having done so at a certain time, and gone out of the house where the entertainment was, to the stable, where he had to take care of the horses that night, he there composed himself to rest at the proper time; a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name, said, 'Cædmon, sing some song to me.' He answered, 'I cannot sing; for that was the reason why I left the entertainment, and retired to this place, because I could not sing.' The other who talked to him, replied, 'However, you shall sing.' 'What shall I sing?' rejoined he. 'Sing the beginning of created beings,' said the other. Hereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard. . . . Awaking from his sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity.

"In the morning he came to the steward, his superior, and having acquainted him with the gift he had received, was conducted to the abbess, by whom he was ordered, in the presence of many learned men, to tell his dream, and repeat the verses, that they might all give their judgment what it was, and whence his verse proceeded. They all concluded that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by our Lord. They expounded to him a passage in Holy Writ, either historical or doctrinal, ordering him, if he could, to put the same into verse. Having undertaken it, he went away, and returning the next morning, gave it to them composed in most excellent verse; whereupon the abbess, embracing the grace of God in the man, instructed him to quit the secular habit, and take upon him the monastic life; which being

accordingly done, she associated him to the rest of the brethren in her monastery, and ordered that he should be taught the whole series of sacred history.”\*

In the fourteenth century, among many mystical enthusiasts Suso is particularly noteworthy. He, it is recorded, was called to a spiritual life by the *Eternal Wisdom* manifesting itself to him in the form of a maiden bright as the sun. In order to attain the highest sanctity, he submitted himself to most severe torture, and he was rewarded by the *Holy Child* appearing to him, and putting to his lips a vessel of spring water. At another time the *Blessed Virgin* gave him a draught from her own heart. Encouraged by these manifestations of divine favour, he persisted in a life of self-torture. At one time he wore constantly, night and day, a close-fitting shirt, in which had been fixed one hundred and fifty nails, the points turned inwards towards the flesh; and lest at any time he should be tempted to relieve himself, he clad his hands with gloves which were covered with sharp blades. At another time he carried between his shoulders a wooden cross perforated by thirty nails, the points of which rested against the skin. He pursued this system of mortification from his eighteenth to his fortieth year, and its gratefulness to the Divine Power was manifested by numerous heavenly visions and other instances of divine favour. He was permitted to hear the angelic host hymn the praises of the Highest, and often he has been comforted by angels, and been led by them in the spirit to join the celestial dance. “One day, when thus surrounded in a vision, he asked a shining prince of heaven to show him the mode in which God had his secret dwelling in his soul. Then answered the angel—‘Take a gladsome look into thine inmost, and see how God in thy living soul playeth his play of love.’ Straightway I looked, and behold the body about my heart was as clear as crystal, and I saw the *Eternal Wisdom* calmly sitting in my heart in lovely wise,† and close by that form of beauty, my soul, leaning on God, embraced by him, and pressed to his heart, full of heavenly longing, transported, intoxicated with love.”‡

Suso declares that he wrote his *Horologe of Wisdom, or Book of the Eternal Wisdom*, which he finished in 1340, from inspiration; he himself being “ignorant and passive, but under the immediate impulse and illumination of the Divine Wisdom.”

At a period still less remote from us we find, among a host of canonized individuals, St. Catherine of Siena, whose holy life

\* *Eccles. Hist.* bk. iv. ch. 24.

† “It seemed to me that my body melted away, and became transparent. I saw very clearly within my breast the hachisch that I had eaten, under the form of an emerald, which emitted millions of little sparks.”—*Moreau (de Tours) du Hachisch*, p. 21.

‡ *Hours with the Mystics.* By R. A. Vaughan, B.A., vol. i. p. 290.



commenced with visions when she was but six years of age, and who was solemnly betrothed to our Lord not long after. "She is said to have shown a purity and inspiration in her poems which might have ranked her with Dante and Petrarch. Here is divine inspiration—holy and miraculous power!"\*

St. Hildegarde may be cited as another example. She stands conspicuous among the canonized from the numerous visions with which she was favoured. As in the case of St. Catherine of Siena, the visions of Hildegarde commenced in childhood. "In the third year of my life," she tells us, in a letter to the monk Wibertus, "I beheld such a light that my soul trembled; but, on account of my youth, I was unable to describe it. In my eighth year I was admitted to spiritual communion with God; and, till I was fifteen, I beheld many visions, which I related in my simplicity, and those who heard me were astonished, wondering from whence they could come. At that time I also felt surprised that while I saw internally with my soul, I also saw outwardly with my eyes; and as I never heard of a similar thing in others, I endeavoured to conceal my visions as much as possible. Many things of the world remained unknown to me on account of my continual ill-health, which, dating from my birth, weakened my body and destroyed my strength."

She was, in fact, confined to bed during the greater part of her life, and was subject to frequent cataleptic trances. At one time, being visited by the Abbot of Burgen while she was affected by one of these seizures, he endeavoured to move her head, but found all his exertions vain, whereupon he pronounced her to be a divine prophetess. When, however, he commanded her to arise "in the name of God," she at once left her bed as if nothing had ever ailed her. She had reached maturity before the divine character of her visions was clearly manifested. "When I was twenty-four years and seven months of age, a fiery light coming from heaven filled my brain and influenced my heart—like a fire which burns not, but warms like the sun—and suddenly I had the power of expounding the Scriptures."

She thus describes, in the letter to Wibertus, and in continuation of the paragraph which we have already quoted from it, the character of the seizures to which she was subjected:—

"During one of these states of prostration, I asked my attendant if she saw anything besides the things of this world; she replied that she did not. Then a great fear seized upon me, and I dared not open my heart to any one; but during conversation I often spoke of future events; and when the visions were strong upon me, I said things which were unintelligible to those around me. When the strength of

\* Quoted by Ennemoser, *History of Magic*. Bohn's Ed., vol. i. p. 93.

the vision was somewhat abated, I changed colour and began to weep, more like a child than a person of my age; and I should often have preferred to be silent had it been possible. Fear of ridicule, however, prevented my saying anything; but a noble lady with whom I was placed noticed this, and told a nun who was her friend. After the death of this lady I had visions till my fortieth year, when I was impelled, in a vision, to make known that which I saw. I communicated this to my confessor—an excellent man. He listened willingly to these strange visions, and advised me to write them down and keep them secret, till I should see what they were, and whence they came. After he perceived that they came from God, he communicated them to his abbot, and gave me his aid in these things. In the visions I understood the writings of the prophets, the evangelists, and some holy philosophers, without human assistance. I explained much in these books, although I was scarcely able to distinguish the letters; I also sang verses to the honour of God without having had any instruction in singing—having never ever learned a song. When these things became known to the church at Mayence, they declared that these visions came from God, and by the gift of prophecy. Upon this my writings were placed before the Pope Eugene, when he was at Trier, who had them read aloud before many, and then sent me a letter begging me to commit my visions to writing.”\*

Now there can be little question that the abnormal mental phenomena which characterized the lives of Saints Suso, Catherine of Siena, and Hildegarde, as well as the instances stated by Bede, were of a kindred nature with those which formed the substratum of Plato's opinions upon the kinship of madness and genius. There can be little question, also, from the recital we have just given, that the twofold paradox of the ancient Greek philosopher—to wit, the superiority and great good of madness as compared with sanity—flourished vigorously under another phraseology in the Middle Ages.

If we search in our own time for indications of this paradox, we need not look far. We may instance Swedenborg as an illustration of the religious phasis of the paradox. Jung-Stilling is inclined to believe that the “capability of experiencing the arrangements which are made in the world of spirits, and executed in the visible world,” may be promoted by drinking ardent spirits. He tells us also that “those who possess this capability are generally simple people;” and he continues—“It again follows from hence, that a developed faculty of presentiment is by no means a quality which belongs solely to devout and pious people, or that it should be regarded as a divine gift; I take it, on the contrary, for a disease of the soul, which we ought rather to heal than promote. He that has a natural disposition for it, and then fixes his imagination

\* Ennemoser, *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 96.

long and intensely, and therefore *magically*, upon a certain object, may at length be able, with respect to this object, to foresee things which have reference to it. Gravediggers, nurses, and such as are employed to undress and shroud the dead, watchmen, and the like, are accustomed to be continually reflecting on objects which stand in connexion with death and interment; what wonder, therefore, if their faculty of presentiment at length develop itself on these subjects;” and then he adds the remark already quoted on ardent spirits.\*

Jung-Stilling’s belief respecting spirituous inspiration is perfectly consistent with the teachings of Scandinavian mythology, in which mead or beer rightly stands metonymically for poetic genius. From the *Prose Edda* we learn that the dwarfs Fjalar and Galar prepared mead or beer by mixing the blood of the universal genius Kvasir with honey, and that the liquor so prepared was of such surpassing excellence that whosoever drank of it acquired the gift of song. This divine beverage was the source of all poetic genius, and it is easy to conceive how in the first place the effects of spirituous drinks gave rise to the myth, and in the second place the myth gave rise to the conception of the inspired character of tipsiness.

Mrs. Crowe considers it “worthy of observation that idiots often possess some gleams of the faculty of second sight or presentiment,” and stumbling over a subjective phenomenon of vision, she is glad to receive a helping hand from the paradox which concerns us.

“All somnambules of the highest order,” she writes—“and when I make use of this expression, I repeat that I do not allude to the subjects of mesmeric experiments, but to those extraordinary cases of disease, the particulars of which have been recorded by various continental physicians of eminence—all persons in that condition describe themselves as hearing and seeing, not by the ordinary organs, but by some means the idea of which they cannot convey further than that they are pervaded by light; and that this is not the *ordinary* physical light is evident, inasmuch as they generally see best in the dark—a remarkable instance of which I myself witnessed. I never had the slightest idea of this internal light till, in the way of experiment, I inhaled the sulphhuric ether; but I am now well able to conceive it; for, after first feeling an agreeable warmth pervading my limbs, my next sensation was to find myself—I cannot say in this heavenly light, for the light was in *me*—I was pervaded by it; it was not perceived by my eyes, which were closed, but perceived internally, I cannot tell how. Of what nature this heavenly light was—I cannot forbear calling it *heavenly*, for it was like nothing on earth—I know not, &c.”†

\* *Theory of Pneumatology*. Translated by Samuel Jackson. Lond., 1834, p. 197.

† *The Night Side of Nature*. Ed. 1853, pp. 362 and 470.



Again, Ennemoser,\* with a woful waste of learning, seeks to prove the frequent development of prophetic power in many bodily affections, and particularly in cataleptic and ecstastic states and certain inflammatory diseases of the brain. He quotes with approval a case "related by Hunaud (*Dissert. sur les Vapeurs*) of a cataleptic girl who predicted future events, as, for instance—"I see poor Maria, who takes so much trouble about her pigs; she may do what she likes, but they will have to be thrown into the water." The next day six of the pigs were driven home, and a servant fastened them up in a pen, as they were to be killed the next day. During the night, however, one of them went mad, having been bitten a few days before by a mad dog, and bit all the other pigs. They all had to be killed."† He also writes: "The powers of the seer are very often remarkable in insanity, and express themselves in direct or allegorical language. Claus, the fool, at Weimar, suddenly entered the privy council and exclaimed, 'There are you all, consulting about very weighty things, no doubt; but no one considers how the fire in Coburg is to be extinguished.' It was afterwards discovered that a fire had been raging at the very time in Coburg."‡

Ennemoser, also, contends zealously for the supersensual character of visions, and whether they be brought about by bodily disorder, by magical operations, or by divine interposition, he links them all together, as well as the power of prophesying, and solves all difficulties with MAGNETISM. This is the key which unlocks all the mysteries of ancient and modern superstition, all the intricacies of magic, and explains why the ABNORMAL is of greater nobility than the NORMAL. He carefully describes, however, the differences which exist between the visions of the inspired seer and those of a lower grade, produced by human means, and he is careful to isolate the dignity of the Christ, and to reprove those who have reduced the God-man to an ingenious magnetiser. He writes:—

The visions of the magicians are, even in the highest stages of enthusiasm, merely shadowy reflections, surrounded by which, the world, with its significations and even its inner constitution, may be seen by him; but the lips are silent in the intoxication of ecstasy and the dazzling light of his *pathologic self-illumination*.§ On this account, the many phantasmagoria of truth and falsehood; the changing pictures of the imagination, and the feelings, in disordered ranks and inharmonic shapes; the wanderings and convulsions of the mind and body. Their visions are not always to be relied upon, neither are they always understood. In the prophets, visions are the reflection and illumination of a divine gentle radiance on the mirror of their pure

\* *History of Magic, passim.*

† Vol. i. p. 72.

‡ Vol. i. p. 80.

§ The italics are ours.

soul, which retains its whole individuality, and never forgets its perfect dependence and connexion with God and the outer world. The contents of these visions are the common circumstances of life—religious as well as civil; the words are teachings of truth, given clearly and intelligibly to all men and ages. The prophet neither seeks nor finds happiness in the state of ecstasy, but in his divine vocation to spread the word of God; not in an exclusive contempt, but in the instructing and active working among his brethren.\* . . . If we know Christ as the evangelists and apostles represent him, if we pay attention to the events before and after the advent of Christ, we shall not find it difficult to gain proper views upon the worth and intention of magnetism on the one side, and of the being and dignity of Christ as a divine manifestation and as a miracle in nature on the other.”†

Thus, then, we find that Plato’s twofold paradox exists among us in all its entirety, and a little reflection will show that it has a lusty life. For recent generations have simply cast aside the form and not the substance of the paradox as it existed in the “antique time.” The supposititious entities of animal magnetism and odyism have been substituted for a divine afflatus; and a pseudo-philosophical has taken the place of a superstitious terminology, and that is all. The paradox remains, is dandled in the arms and hugged to the souls of many.

There is this difference, however, between the ancient and the modern supporters of the paradox: the former represented the highest philosophy of their period, the latter the most eccentric reasoning of ours.

At this point, six months ago, we might have left the question, but now the paradox has entered upon another phase of its existence. It claims to be admitted again within the legitimate bounds of science, and M. Moreau (de Tours) comes forward as its godfather. In a recently published work‡ he advances the following argument:—

“The mental qualities which cause a man to distinguish himself above other men, by the originality of his thoughts and conceptions, by the eccentricity, or the energy of his affective faculties, or by the transcendence of his intellectual faculties, have their source in the same organic conditions as the different moral disorders, of which *insanity* and *idiocy* are the most complete expression.”

Let it be conceded that the explanations which have been offered at various times concerning the inequalities of intellectual capacity which exist among men have been insufficient. Neither education, considered in its widest sense, nor the configuration of the

\* *Op. cit.* Vol. i. p. 90.

† *Ib.* p. 336.

‡ *La Psychologie Morbide dans ses Rapports avec la Philosophie de l'Histoire ou de l'Influence de Névrothés sur le Dynamisme Intellectuel.* Par le Docteur J. Moreau (de Tours), Médecin de l'Hospice de Bicêtre. Paris, 1859, pp. 576.

cranium, nor the development of the brain, nor the number, direction, or extent of its convolutions can satisfactorily solve the problem. Dr. Moreau seeks its solution in the diseased organism.

"The organization, under the influence of causes which we shall study in due time, does not pass hastily, and as it were with a leap, from the normal to the abnormal state, from the state of health to that of sickness. It begins by undergoing intimate and profound changes, which are as the first vibrations impressed by the morbid causes. These causes, in nearly every case (in heritage, for example), have acted from the first formation of the human being, since their apparent effects are manifested at a subsequent date.

"In pathology, this state of the organism is called predisposition. It is this very state that we consider as the origin, the primordial and generative fact of the phenomena of ideogeny (*des phénomènes d'ideogenic*) which are the object of our studies; a fact half physiological, half pathological, of which *insanity* and *idiocy*, when it refers to the nervous system in general, and the brain in particular, express the highest degree of development."—(p. 29.)

Now, according to Dr. Moreau, "every affection of the nervous system is identical as to essential character with the cerebral disorders of which the words *insanity* and *idiocy* sum up the innumerable symptomatological varieties."—(p. 570.)

All affections of the nervous system are, indeed, linked together. They have the same predisposing causes, the same hereditary antecedents, and they arise from the same pathological source. That source is the morbid predisposition already referred to, which Dr. Moreau regards as a species of nervous orgasm or erethism from which at any moment may be educed, by the action of an occasional cause, the phenomena of insanity, idiocy, or any other of the neuroses, according as the orgasm was realized in one or other portion of, or generally diffused throughout the nervous system.

It may be objected, however, that—

"In form and sensible character, idiocy and insanity differ so profoundly the one from the other, that it is difficult to believe that these two maladies can have the same origin, and depend upon the same causes. On the one side, there is excess of vitality, exaggeration, perturbation of the intellectual and motor powers; on the other, decrease, sometimes almost complete annihilation of these powers, and of this vitality. In what manner, then, can effects so different arise from one and the same source?

"The difficulty is only apparent. Variety of effects does not imply difference in the nature of the cause; it depends upon this that the cause exercises its action at different epochs of the physical and moral development of the human being modified by it. Before birth, upon



the foetus, the pathogenic cause arrests more or less completely the evolution of those faculties, the whole of which constitute what has been termed the life of relation. We can conceive, then, that its influence diminishes in proportion as it is exercised at an epoch more remote from birth, and that its effects approximate more to insanity properly so called.

"Thus then, in the presence of the facts that hereditary transmission reveals to us, concerning the truly prodigious quantity of nervous states of every kind that are observed among the ancestors of idiots and imbeciles, as well as in the lineage of lunatics and epileptics, it is impossible, in spite of difference in symptomatological characters, not to admit that idiots and imbeciles, lunatics and epileptics, are born and developed under the same influences, as effects of one cause, as branches of one and the same trunk.—(p. 54.)

In the next place, Dr. Moreau endeavours to show that the scrofulous and rachitic constitutions dominate in the majority of idiots, and that they are linked at many points to other neuroses. He also holds that these constitutions combined with the nervous acquire an importance even superior to that of insanity, since from their transmission by heritage arises that vast mass of imbeciles, half-witted, animalized individuals, who are governed almost solely by their passions, and who form the substratum of the criminal and vicious classes.

Further, he insists upon the consanguinity of scrofula and rachitis, and concludes that—

"Individuals in whom the scrofulous and rachitic diatheses exist, whether from hereditary predisposition alone, or from the confirmed disease, are, both in a physical and moral point of view, in conditions of organization and vitality analogous, if not identical, with those of idiots and imbeciles. . . . *Lunatics* and *idiots*, the *scrofulous* and *rachitic*, in virtue of their common origin and of certain physical and moral characters, ought to be considered as children of one and the same family—divers branches of one and the same trunk."—(p. 99.)

The influence exercised upon the intellectual operations by those pathological states of which *idiocy* and *insanity* are the phenomenal expression, and to which in the preceding generalization *scrofula* and rachitis have been joined, and the laws in virtue of which this influence is exercised, are next considered by Dr. Moreau. We need only quote here, however, an opinion of that gentleman concerning the mental phenomena, an application of which is sought in this part of his treatise. He writes:—

"In all circumstances these phenomena emanate from the same focus—that is to say, from the morbidly exalted *nevrosité*, as well under the dominance of the law of innuity (for example, in the case where the nervous state is met with in the individual only) as under the dominance of the law of heritage (when this state shows itself among the parents)."—(p. 104.)

This then is the pathological substratum of Dr. Moreau's thesis, and upon this foundation he enacts the propositions which more immediately interest us. "It now remains for us to inquire," he writes, "if, as I have already asserted, the neuroses—idiocy and insanity in particular—are not the true source of pre-eminence of the intellectual faculties."

In all that he has said in the preceding part of his work a primary object has been to prove that the neuroses always, and under all circumstances, are characterized by exaltation of the vital properties, or, to adopt a less vague and less hypothetical expression, by an excess of life."—(p. 383.)

This, he conceives, is evident in chronic or acute, partial or general delirium; in the early phenomena of accidental idiocy; in the mental precocity and exuberant vitality which mark the first stages of scrofula and rachitis; in the convulsive movements of every degree which are peculiar to many neuroses (epilepsy, hysteria, &c.), all these phenomena are indicative of an excess of vitality.

If it be objected that at a certain stage of the neuropathic affection the phenomena appear to be in direct opposition to this assertion, as for example, in dementia and in stupor, in which conditions a distinct enfeeblement of the vital properties is observed, it is to be remarked that "these phenomena are even the surest indication of the excess of vitality which had existed at the commencement of the malady, an excess which had ended by breaking the wheels of the machine, as an exaggerated tension forcibly breaks a spring."—(p. 383.)

Again, perversion of a faculty or function is not to be confounded with feebleness, or disturbance with debility. The movements of the soul may lack co-ordination, and yet there may be no enfeeblement of the vital principle.

"It results from this that the neuropathic state imports necessarily into the organism a new element of life, gives an unaccustomed impulse to the play of the organs or organic media specially charged with nervous manifestations, whence hyper-activity of soul, when the intellectual apparatus is most particularly affected; hyper-activity of movement when the muscular—a hyper-activity which if it become exaggerated above what comports with the laws of the economy, degenerates into insanity in the first case, and convulsions in the second."—(p. 384.)

These things being premised, we are in a position, Dr. Moreau thinks, to comprehend that no contradiction of terms is involved in the affirmation that a disturbed state of the intellectual faculties can become, by hereditary transmission, the source of a mental condition essentially opposed—that delirium and genius

have, indeed, common roots. Recall, for a moment, the psychical and physical characters of mental alienation, and of all nervous disorders; "the functional hyper-activity which necessarily flows from these affections, and of which delirium, exaltation, and incoherence of ideas, versatility and violence of sentiment, are the exterior reflexion; and it will be comprehended that this assimilation (in reference to their origin and physiological substratum) of insanity and of the most sublime qualities of the intelligence, is perfectly legitimate, more than legitimate, necessary."—(p. 384.)

We shall now be prepared to understand the genesis of genius according to Dr. Moreau. By the term hereditary predisposition, is implied an organic state which contains potentially the malady of which it is too often the sad precursor. And this idea, Dr. Moreau insists, includes implicitly another, to wit—"that of hyper-excitation, of an increase of vitality in the system of organs charged with nervous manifestations."

"This hyper-excitation constitutes in our eyes, and for pathologists who have studied the question, the first period of disease; from whatever source this arises, whether from deleterious agents introduced into the economy, or from deleterious principles developed spontaneously in the tissues themselves.

"Placed in these special conditions the organs act necessarily with a force that they have not in their ordinary state, as a machine of which the motive springs have received increased tension.

"Now, this functional hyper-activity, what can it be when it acts upon the organ charged with the manifestations of the thinking faculty? By what signs is it manifested exteriorly?

"Evidently by ideas more numerous, by greater rapidity of conception, by increase of activity and of spontaneity in the imagination, by greater originality in the character of the thoughts, and in the mental combinations, greater novelty and variety in the associations of ideas, more vivacity in the memory and audacity in the workings of the imagination, more mobility, and also more energy and more abandonment in the instincts, the affections, &c.

"For the rest, in producing this hyper-excitation in the nervous functions, heritage comports itself in the same manner as all the agents which modify the general innervation.

"If the excitation passes beyond certain limits; if, by the violence of its action, it dominates the *Me*, that is to say, the interior principle destined to bind together, to co-ordinate the action of the different intellectual powers, in place of heightening the qualities of the mind and communicating to them an unaccustomed brilliancy, it leads directly to madness.

"Certainly, I hasten to remark, lest my thought should be overstrained by any one, it would be a great error to seek solely in the organic conditions of which I speak for the source of genius, or simply of a certain superiority of the intellectual faculties. There



rests always *a something unknown (quid divinum)* to disengage; else genius would be as common as it is rare, by the facility with which every one would be able to procure it by the aid of some cerebral excitants.

"But it is equally certain that these conditions favour powerfully the fulfilment of the intellectual functions.

"Two conditions, in effect, appear fundamentally necessary for the perfect play of the cerebral organism: the first, the most important without doubt, and which may be termed *the essential condition (condition par excellence)*, comprehends certain intrinsic qualities which belong to the essence even of the organization; the second is related to a certain physiological state, which is to the accomplishment of the intellectual functions that which the stimulus produced by the oxygenation of the venous blood is to the accomplishment of the vital in general.

"This second condition is that which shows itself most plainly through the influence of hereditary transmission, and especially through the means of foreign agents, whether physical or moral. . . . . With these reservations we believe that no one can refuse to regard cerebral disorders as an hereditary condition apt to favour the development of the intellectual faculties."—(pp. 398-99.)

We need not cull from Dr. Moreau's thesis any of the examples which he thinks may be derived from the results of enthusiasm, of certain agents capable of acting upon the nervous system, of certain pathological states of the brain (simple or in febrile affections), and from the psychical manifestations at times observed in the death-agony, illustrative of the truthfulness of his propositions. The examples we have already quoted from Bede, the lives of certain saints, and other sources, will suffice, as they are of the same class as those which Dr. Moreau makes use of. He thinks that the illustrations he cites amply justify the assertion that maladies of the nervous system favour powerfully the development of the intelligence. He reminds us also that he has shown reasons for a like asseveration respecting scrofulous and rachitic affections; wherefore he concludes that in a given case the intellectual functions would be most perfectly performed when these different morbid states are found united in the same individual—

"That is to say, when the subject is of a constitution at one and the same time rachitico-scrofulous and neuropathic; in other words, when by his constitution he touches *idiocy* on the one hand, and *madness* on the other.

"All this implies necessarily another proposition—to wit, whenever the intellectual faculties are sure to be elevated above the common level, in those cases especially where they attain a degree of energy every way exceptional, we may be certain that the neuropathic state, under one or other form, will have influenced the organ of thought

either idiopathically or hereditarily; that is to say, sometimes in virtue of the law of innateness, sometimes in virtue of the law of imitation. This leads again to the conclusion that exceptional men have the same conditions of origin or of temperament as the insane and idiots."—(p. 463).

We have but to add one or two of Dr. Moreau's ultimate corollaries to complete our slight history of the twofold paradox which has been our theme.

1. "*Genius*—that is to say, the highest expression, the *ne plus ultra* of intellectual activity, is a *neurosis*."

Why not? he asks. We may, he tells us, accept the definition very well, "if we do not attach to the word *neurosis* a signification as absolute as when it is applied to the different modalities of the nervous organs, and in making it simply the synonyme of exaltation (we do not say disorder, perturbation) of the intellectual faculties." In fact, we are to use the word not in its legitimate signification, but in one given to it for the occasion! Thus:—

"The word *neurosis* indicates then a particular disposition of these faculties, a disposition participating always of the physiological state, but overstepping already the limits of that state and touching the opposite one, which is so well explained by the morbid nature of its origin. . . . The word *neurosis* expresses simply a special state of the brain corresponding to that disposition of the intellectual power . . . that is termed *genius*. In other terms, *genius*, like every other disposition of the intellectual dynamism, has necessarily its material *substratum*; this substratum is a semi-morbid state of the brain, a true nervous erethism, of which the source is nevertheless well known to us."—(p. 465.)

2. "The old maxim '*Mens sana in corpore sano*,' is false. Precisely the reverse of this holds good.

—"In truth, if the normal state of the organism accord generally with the normal action of the thinking faculty, never, in any case, or only exceptionally, is the intelligence seen to elevate itself above the common level of that which is called mediocrity, as much in an affective as in an intellectual point of view, properly so called.

"In these conditions, man might be endowed with a right sense, a judgment more or less severe, a certain degree of imagination, his passions would be moderate; always master of himself, he would unquestionably practise better than any one the doctrine of interest. He would never be a great criminal, neither would he ever be a great man of probity, nor even be attacked with that *mental malady* that is called *genius*;\* in short, under any circumstances, he would never be noted among privileged beings."—(p. 468.)

3. "Madness and genius are congeners, *in radice conveniunt*."—(p. 493.)

Here, then, we have returned to the very point from which we

\* Lamartine.

at first started—the twofold paradox enunciated by Plato, that madness is of greater nobility than sanity; and that a distempered mind, so far from being an unmitigated evil, is, in fact, a notable blessing.

Nay, even the very language in which Dr. Moreau expresses the essential character of the pathological notions upon which his version of the paradox is founded, may be paralleled among the ancient philosophers. Thus Dr. Moreau writes:—

“All intelligence may be classed successfully, and in an uninterrupted manner, upon the different degrees of a scale of which the inferior extremity is occupied by the *idiot*, by imperfect human beings, reduced, in their moral existence, to incomplete sensations or perceptions; and the summit by the maniac, a prey to the most violent exaltation. I distinguish indistinctly the place which that which is called reason occupies between these two extremes; if I mount a degree higher, I find a mental condition, a peculiar disposition of spirit which is certainly already something more than reason, but which is still not mania, it is *excitation*.”

And so Cicero writes in his treatise on *Divination*:

“As men’s minds were often seen to be *excited* in two manners, without any rules of reason or science, by their own uncontrollable and free notion, being sometimes under the influence of frenzy, and at others under that of dreams.”—(§. 2.)

Are we then to admit that the relations which exist between genius and insanity are so inextricable that from whatever point of view we observe them, however thoroughly they may be analysed, we are compelled in expressing them to have recourse to a paradox? Is it true that the paradox of which we have sketched the history has a legitimate claim to be admitted within the boundaries of psychological science? We believe not.

It is obvious that if we use expressions which tend to confound together two different classes of phenomena, nothing but confusion can result. Gradually and insensibly, as morbid may shade off into healthy states, or healthy into morbid; nevertheless, the two states exist. The limitation of our present information respecting their points of departure the one from the other, affords no justification for the adoption of any hypotheses which confound the one state with the other at the root. Speculation of this kind in place of aiding, impedes research, by substituting foregone and hypothetical conclusions for suggestive observation.

It is not a novel thing to use pathological phenomena to aid in the elucidation of physiological; but it is in some sort new to use, as M. Moreau does, pathological states as normal standards of comparison. Morbid conditions of the body form most valuable and even necessary aids to the physiologist in his attempts to unravel the mysteries of the animal economy, but only



in so far as they can be referred to a given standard. The terms normal and abnormal as applied to certain collective phenomena are tolerably well understood, and the phenomena to which they apply are not difficult to be apprehended so long as the words are made use of simply as concrete terms. It is well also to remember that these terms are relative as well in their signification as their application. The normal condition of one man is not that of another, but a *mean* notion of normal action is obtainable, and is always made use of, expressed or implied, and has the same relation to questions of health and disease as the *mean* in every question of physical science. This mean notion must of necessity be our standard of judgment as to the normal state of the body or any of its functions. It must be our point of departure in reasoning upon health and disease. The very term abnormal mean would be a contradiction.

Again, this *mean* spoken of is not an abstract, but a concrete idea. It is derived from an experiential judgment of the most perfect modes and conditions of action of the whole or any one of the functions of the body. The moment we regard normal and abnormal phenomena from an abstract point of view, that moment we plunge into a maze of inutile speculation, and ingenuity usurps the place of observation. Normal and abnormal are words clear, distinct, and comprehensible as concrete terms; vague, inexplicable, unmeaning as abstract.

Now it has been necessary to premise the signification we attach to two technical words in common use, because we believe that it has been in no small degree from laxity, or vagueness, or peculiarity in the use of these and other terms that Dr. Moreau has stumbled into paradoxes.

Thus, he conceives that the very essence of the organic condition transmitted by heritage, that is hereditary predisposition (the latter word being used in its pathological sense), is hyper-excitation. This state he describes "as an increase of vitality in the system of organs charged with nervous manifestations."—(p. 397.) Elsewhere he also uses the term as synonymous with "increase of life." Note carefully the phraseology of the definition, and the term defined. Excitation and excitement are common phrases applied to certain well-known categories of phenomena. Dr. Moreau uses the term to express a pathological state and a theory of morbid generation; yet he gives as an equivalent term an increase of vitality simply. He speaks of *degree* of action, but he implies changed *quality* of action. He tells us that "predisposition" is a pathological state (p. 30); he uses the term hyper-excitation in a pathological sense; in both instances modification of the *quality* of action is conveyed, and yet he gives as a synonymous expression increase of vitality—a change of *degree* only. *Excitation* with Dr.

Moreau is the name of a theory, and not the expression of a fact. Throughout the whole of his argument a theoretical and abstract idea is to be attached to the word excitation; but he nevertheless makes use of it in the common fashion, and as if the ordinary signification belonged to it, hence a never-ending source of confusion. Indeed, the proposition that hyper-excitation, a pathological state, is simply an increase of vitality, arises from the same laxity of phraseology and expression which has led to the conclusion that genius and insanity are congenerous.

To adopt any word in common use to signify certain well-defined phenomena, as the exponent of a particular theory, cannot be too strongly condemned. Vagueness and confusion must inevitably result from acting thus; and this is not the first time that the importation of the word excitation, or one of its congeners, into science as the representative of a theory has done mischief.

We have already seen in what manner Dr. Moreau, under the stress of his theory, has had to deal with the word neurosis. In his notions respecting the manifestations of the normal action of the mind, it has been necessary also for the integrity of his belief, that he should attach to them the idea of mediocrity, forgetting the fact that the notions from which he starts are *average* ones, and not *absolute*, and consequently that the idea of mediocrity could only have an average application. Hence the very foundation of his denial of the axiom, "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," is an assumption, necessary for his theory, not for the facts.

Dr. Moreau admits that morbid action will have no effect in eliminating genius, unless there be the prior capacity—the prior *something* from which genius springs. Indeed, the morbid action is simply a cause favouring the development of genius; but, according to him, so important a cause that without it the intellect would never reach its highest development. It perfects the mental soil and determines the choicest intellectual bloom, or, curious antithesis, the uttermost moral perversion. Is physiology so meagre in its information on this subject that even for a moment it is necessary we should fall into this wretched and humiliating paradox? Surely not.

We are taught, and to us seemingly on incontrovertible grounds, that the substratum of all mental action is automatic. The laws governing cerebral action are precisely similar to those governing the action of other nervous centres, with something besides. We can trace in the whole class of mental operations automatic action of a nature analogous to that exhibited by the brute creation, but with the addition of an intelligential volition which is peculiar to man. This intelligential volition constitutes the only criterion we possess of the normal or abnormal state of the human mind.

We are taught also that the very groundwork of our highest intellectual manifestations is instinctive. Our sense of beauty, of harmony, of truth, of right, are developed spontaneously within us; they are intuitive. Now it is in the primarily instinctive character of these intuitions, and the automatic nature, as well natural and acquired, of many mental operations, that the explanation of the phenomena which have led to the paradox reproduced by Dr. Moreau consists. The extraordinary development of one or other of the mental intuitions as exemplified in some forms of genius, and occasionally in somnambulism and dreaming, as well as the unusual muscular power, or amazing precision of its action witnessed in certain bodily affections, are familiarly spoken of as higher manifestations of the mental or motor powers. That they are indications of *morbidly* increased action may be admitted, but that that action is increased in reference to the normal manifestations of the faculties named we deny. With man the standard of judgment is intelligential volition, not automatic action. Witness the automatic operation of the mind in the dreamer; of the mind and muscular system in the somnambulist; of the æsthetic gifts of certain eccentric geniuses; and what do we behold but instinctive actions of the same class as those observed in the brute, the bird or the insect, but not as in these creatures curbed and directed to a useful end by a Higher Will, but astray, erratic, anomalous from the lack of the deputed will. We witness the possible capabilities, the potential powers of the brain and nervous system in these cases, but the culmination of mental action, the intelligent directive power, is wanting. Compare the visions of the ecstatic with the lucubrations of a Butler; the automatic movements of a somnambulist with the trained action of the prestidigitator, the acrobat, the fingers of the musician, and of many a craftsman; the genius of the semi-madman with his shattered volitional control. In the whole of the former states we behold a lower grade of mental action in man as man; we see automatism usurping the place of intelligential volition; *instinct* superseding *insight*.

Now we affirm that the *quasi*-high intellectual states which are observed in certain morbid conditions of the nervous system, are invariably characterized by a preponderance of the automatic over the ratiocinative actions of the brain. That there is with these states a greater or less loss of that co-ordination of the faculties which is necessary for the most perfect intellectual action. But to describe genius of this stamp as the highest manifestation of the intellect, is simply a perversion of terms. Wherever genius of any form is found associated with a morbid condition of the nervous system, there it may be predicated we shall find a more or less manifest determination from the normal action of the intellect in its entirety. In no respect is this



more clearly remarked than in the preponderance of impulse over motive, which, as Coleridge remarks:—

“Though no part of genius, is too often its accompaniment. For the man of genius lives in continued hostility to prudence, or banishes it altogether, and thus deprives virtue of her guide and guardian, her prime functionary, yea, the very organ of her outward life. Hence a benevolence that squanders its shafts and still misses its aim, or resembles the charmed bullet that, levelled at the wolf, brings down the shepherd. Hence desultoriness, extremes, exhaustion—

And thereof cometh in the end despondency and madness !

Let it not be forgotten, however, that these evils are the disease of the man, while the records of biography furnish ample proof that genius, in the higher degree, acts as a preservative against them; more remarkably, and in more frequent instances, when the imagination and preconstructive power have taken a scientific or philosophic direction, as in Plato—indeed in almost all the first-rate philosophers, in Kepler, Milton, Boyle, Newton, Leibnitz, and Berkeley.”\*

Concede Dr. Moreau's category of theories by means of which he arrives at the conclusion that idiocy, insanity, scrofula, rachitis, the neuroses, and genius are congenerous; concede to him also that this of necessity leads to the proposition, that wherever the intellectual faculties are raised above the common level, it indicates a morbid condition of the nervous system; concede these things, and it would of necessity follow that Swift's satirical demonstration that madness is the source of all human genius and of all the institutions of the universe† becomes a profound truth. As such it is regarded by Dr. Moreau, who mentions it as an *instinctive* appreciation of the “truths” for which he combats. Need we say more?

We may have to widen our notions of the extent to which morbid action affects the mind in persons not regarded as insane, but upon a question of such great import in its social bearings, mere speculation, however ingenious, is to be reprobated, and we have a right to demand rigid observation and research. There is much in Dr. Moreau's work on the hereditary transmission of insanity, and on *quasi*-insane states of the mind, which, denuded of his peculiar theories, are of great value, and we may at another time examine these portions of his work apart. Now, however, we have simply to deal with the paradoxical argument he advances, and we much fear that notwithstanding the learning he has lavished upon it, the book in which it is contained will be distinguished mainly as one of the curiosities of psychological literature.

With Dr. Moreau's work terminates our historical sketch of a curious psychological paradox—a paradox which, in its newest form, is closely paralleled by one of Clown Touchstone's

\* *The Friend*, Essay i.

† *Tale of a Tub*.

logical exertitions, when seeking to prove that Corin was damned for lack of good breeding, he never having been at court. To this conclusion Corin demurred :—

*Corin.* . . . . You told me you salute not at the Court, but you kiss your hands ; that courtesy would be uncleanly, if courtiers were shepherds.

*Touch.* Instance, briefly ; come, instance.

*Corin.* Why, we are still handling our ewes ; and their fells, you know, are greasy.

*Touch.* Why, do not your courtiers' hands sweat ? And is not the grease of a mutton as wholesome as the sweat of a man ? Shallow, shallow ; a better instance, I say ; come.

*Corin.* Besides, our hands are hard.

*Touch.* Your lips will feel them the sooner. Shallow, again : a more sounder instance, come.

*Corin.* And they are often tarr'd over with the surgery of our sheep ; and would you have us kiss tar ? The courtiers' hands are perfumed with civet.

*Touch.* Most shallow man ! Thou worm's-meat in respect of a good piece of flesh. Indeed ! Learn of the wise, and perpend ; civet is of baser birth than tar ; the very uncleanly flux of a cat. Mend the instance, shepherd.\*

Does not Dr. Moreau's hypothesis, that genius is of baser birth than mental mediocrity, belong to the same form of ratiocination as Touchstone's depreciation of the nobility of civet ?

## ART. II.—HYSTERIA IN CONNEXION WITH RELIGIOUS REVIVALS.

THE diagnosis of hysteria, the precise characters which may be considered pathognomonic of the disease, and the nature of the affections which may simulate it, are all matters that have lately been invested with unusual interest and importance, and that concern a wider circle than the class of purely medical readers. The recent and still progressive awakening of the religious feelings of various communities and sects, the "revival," as it is called, which originated in the north of Ireland, and is now extending itself widely in this country, has been marked, in many instances, by certain manifestations of physical disorder, which have afforded a battle-ground to rival religionists, and an abundance of materials for argument to persons for the most part very imperfectly acquainted with the elements of the subject they undertake to discuss, and the nature of the questions they venture to decide. The physical phenomena witnessed at Belfast and elsewhere have been presumptuously ascribed to the gracious workings of the Holy Spirit ; or, on the other hand, to the

\* *As You Like It*, act iii. sc. ii.

operation of Satanic agency, by individuals who have no greater right than their neighbours to decide upon the presence of either ; or they have been set down as hysteria by those who have never mastered the simplest elements of medical knowledge. Hence an angry conflict between disputants whose words can be brought to the standard of no common measure, and whose anxiety is to support a foregone conclusion rather than to do service in the cause of truth.

Upon the very threshold of an attempt to find essential agreement veiled under these verbal differences, we are met by difficulties which arise from a vague and imperfect nomenclature. In this, as in every other department of inquiry, it is of the first importance rightly to define the terms employed ; and we shall therefore endeavour to lay down the sense in which we purpose to use familiar words, and to adhere throughout to one signification for them.

By hysteria, then, we mean to denote a morbid condition produced by some emotion which is denied outlet through its natural channels of activity. Under such circumstances, the force engendered may be supposed to accumulate within the system until sufficiently strong to overcome the active or passive resistance of the patient to its effects ; and then to culminate in the production of a paroxysm, or hysteric fit, of a severity and duration proportionate to the original strength of the emotion, or to the exhaustion resulting from efforts to repress it. The fit thus excited is liable to be followed by various kinds of functional exaltation of parts of the nervous system, determined, generally, by the nature of the exciting cause.

Hysteria, in its simple form, if seen from the commencement, is scarcely likely to be confounded with any other disorder. There are cases of true epilepsy, preceded by an aura originating in a diseased organ, which may simulate the hysteria occasionally produced by the contemplation of local morbid changes, or rather by emotions arising out of the existence of such changes ; and there are certain stages in many cases of hysteria which may resemble other neuroses ; but with these exceptions, little calculated to mislead experienced observers, there are no conditions liable to be mistaken for hysteria.

It becomes a question, therefore, how this word, and its adjective, have been strained to embrace so large a portion of actual pathology ? Probably somewhat in the manner following.

A peculiar mental and bodily temperament, being found by experience to involve an increased proclivity to hysteria, has been called hysterical : much as if the constitutional states predisposing to insanity were called maniacal.

An irregular or partial exaltation of nervous function being among the ordinary sequelæ of the hysteric paroxysm—such



exaltation, whether physical, as in hyperæsthesia, or mental, as in morbid sensitiveness, has been commonly called hysterical, however induced.

Lastly, inasmuch as malingering is a very frequent concomitant of an advanced stage of one class of hysterical cases, all malingering whatever, in young females, has been confounded with hysteria.

Hence, a large number of infinitely various affections and states, arising from different causes, manifested by different symptoms, and tending towards different terminations, have been combined to form the ordinary conception of a "Protean malady" that, strictly speaking, has no existence. In saying this, we do not for a moment dispute the accuracy, as clinical sketches, of the received descriptions of hysterical knee, hysterical spine, hysteria simulating peritonitis, &c.; but simply wish to affirm that, of two young women who artificially imitate or produce disease, or in whom slight physical changes are attended by prominent nervous symptoms, one may be the subject of hysteria, while the other is not. We protest against the use of any nosological term in a sense so wide as to be utterly indefinite, useless for all purposes of argument or exact description, and valuable only to include a group of phenomena which possess in common one character alone—viz., that they none of them demand active medical treatment. We would, therefore, limit the word hysteria to the paroxysmal affections produced by concealed or suppressed emotion; and the word hysterical, to the various morbid states or actions by which hysteria may be succeeded. It must be admitted that we want a convenient term by which to denote the exalted nervous sensibility that obscures or complicates the diseases of certain individuals, and that involves a marked liability to hysteria; but it is, nevertheless, a perversion of language to call this sensibility, or the diseases it may complicate, hysterical, in a person in whom hysteria has never been developed.

As far as regards the revivals in the north of Ireland, there seems to be an universal consent that any hysteria which may complicate them is in itself a great evil, to be resisted in every possible way. Concerning the *word* we find unanimity among persons of every shade of opinion; and we must approach the thing signified before diversity becomes apparent. That many among the clergy should be slow to recognise hysteria, and, when it is pointed out to them, should cling to a hope that the diagnosis may be erroneous, is a result to be expected from our knowledge of human nature. But that medical writers should gravely argue the question, What is hysteria? with intent to show that it is nothing sufficiently tangible to be discovered and identified with certainty in any case; or that they should refer to the "troubled countenance" of Belshazzar as a phenomenon analo-

gous to the scenes lately enacted in some of the meeting-houses of Belfast, is a matter less easy to explain, and far more painful to contemplate. The revival of religion is no mere local outbreak; and appears likely to display itself as no transient enthusiasm. On various occasions, in former times, such revivals have been kindled; often to serve, early in their progress, as stages for the self-seeker, the vicious, or the profane, and eventually to be trampled under foot by the outraged moral sense of the communities among whom their manifold corruptions have been displayed. In order that the present movement may furnish no parallel, in these respects, to so many that have preceded it, the greatest caution is required from all who can in any way, by writing, speech, or thought, influence its course, or guide the operations of its leaders. If such caution be not exercised, or if, having been exercised, it be relaxed; if the unspeakable blessing of a general turning of the public mind towards God be not used under a deep and watchful sense of responsibility, then old scenes will be acted anew. The sobriety of the Christian pulpit will too surely give way to the rhetoric of the tub; the practicality of Christian doctrine to the imaginative creations of the fanatic; the contrition of the penitent to the performances of the hysterical; and the sincerity of the pastor to the greed of the hypocrite. It can scarcely be doubted that, in former revivals, the first step downwards has been the cultivation of hysteria; and it is the first step that costs. Convulsions and catalepsy, trances and visions, are easily enough produced by some of the weakest, and some of the worst, of womankind; and, when these conditions are recognised as titles to sanctity and signs of grace, when they are seen to be the means of obtaining notoriety and profit, the supply will never fall short of the demand. Magdalens without shame, penitents without humility and without amendment, soon, under such circumstances, afford evidence of the value of the work; and the sober and devout shrink from any confession of their feelings or any record of their experience, lest they should be confounded with the frantic teachers or the questionable devotees of the camp meeting or the hill-side. Such has been the history of many a religious movement, which, at its commencement, promised fairly; but which served only to produce a reactionary coldness, deadness, and formality, wherever its influence was felt. Under the belief that the public mind of this kingdom is at present deeply stirred, and that the results of this impression will depend, mainly, upon the manner in which it is used, we purpose to offer some observations upon the nature and progress of hysteria; in the hope that they may assist to prepare the clergy, and, to some extent, the medical profession also, for dealing at the right time, and in the right manner, with any nervous disorders that may be developed during the course of religious ministrations.



In order to accomplish this object, it is necessary to direct a cursory glance towards those agencies, so pre-eminent among the active powers of man, which we describe collectively as the emotions; and briefly to consider the ends they are intended to fulfil, and their normal and abnormal effects upon the economy. For these purposes it is sufficient to point out that an emotion consists essentially of an idea, either sensational or intellectual, linked with a feeling of pleasure or pain. By a process known to us only through its effects, this combination is able to develop or liberate nervous force sufficient to commence and sustain appropriate action, and bearing a definite relation of quantity to the strength and the duration of the passion that is aroused. Meagre as such an account may seem, when compared with the number and variety of the feelings that chequer human life, it still contains all the essentials of their strength; and it is when the force engendered can neither be self-contained, nor expended through safe and proper channels, that the phenomena called hysterical are displayed.

In order to render this clear, it may be observed that every emotion may be either contemplative or active, according to the degree in which it is developed; and that many of the emotions experienced by every individual never reach the stage of activity at all, but exhaust themselves in the very act of directing the consciousness upon their own existence. The emotion is felt, and the mind is roused out of torpidity or indolence, to dwell upon it for a few moments; after which the impression fades away. In other cases, the feeling, instead of disappearing, gathers strength and intensity with the attention that is paid to it; and (being attended, it may be presumed, with a larger development of force than can be employed in maintaining that attention) calls imperatively for the performance of some action which the circumstances require or suggest. It would be beyond our present scope to inquire into the nature of the peculiarities, either inherent or acquired, that determine the relative force of various impressions in the production of emotion; but the fact is patent to daily observation that, in every person, certain feelings, whenever excited in his mind, exert an immediate control over his actual conduct; while others operate no farther than upon his consciousness. The differences of character, indeed, that are witnessed in the world depend, very greatly, upon differences in the nature of the feelings that are thus habitually active or passive in the case of each individual.

In considering the nature of the activity that the emotions prompt, it is necessary to enlarge our sphere of observation, and to take the lower animals into account. By doing so, the phenomena are presented to us in their simplest forms and combinations; and it becomes manifest that nearly all pleasur-



able emotions require various kinds of physical activity for their full fruition and enjoyment; while painful feelings require similar activity, in order to remove, or to withdraw from, the causes that excite them. The emotions of sex will serve to illustrate the former kind, and the agonies of fear or hatred the latter; each producing action, either for the possession of the beloved object, or for the mitigation of the pain experienced while the emotion is unrelieved. On the one hand, attainment and possession, on the other, avoidance or removal, may therefore be regarded as the ends towards which emotional force must, in almost every case, be naturally and primarily directed.

In the brute creation, moreover, it is manifest that these ends must frequently be essential, either to the safety of the animal, or to the propagation of the species; for both of which the emotions are plainly intended to provide. The right direction of the force developed is therefore secured "by laws written upon the nervous pulp." The emotions work out their own fulfilment with unerring certainty; and in all cases govern the conduct of the animal. They are expended either upon the motor nerves, through (or by the aid of) the cerebellum, so as to produce co-ordinate muscular movements; or upon the ganglionic nerves, increasing or modifying secretion, or providing a more abundant supply of blood to any parts that may require it. Besides these actions, there are some that, as far as we know, are simply expressive and preliminary, such as many movements of the tail, or of the hairy covering; which, if apparently objectless in themselves, are commonly a prelude to others, and serve a useful purpose by giving warning of the intentions of the animal. Lastly, under strong emotion, when appropriate action is either impossible, or when, having been performed to the limit of the powers of the organism, it is inadequate to afford relief, the lower animals frequently give utterance to a very remarkable cry, unlike the sounds which they naturally emit. The conditions can only be fulfilled by the presence of imminent danger, when escape is rendered impossible, either by fatigue or by physical obstacles. An exhausted hare close before the hounds, a toad or frog pursued by a snake, and many other creatures under similar circumstances, will shriek in a frightful manner; as they will also do, according to M. Brown-Sequard, upon mechanical irritation of that part of the brain called the *calamus scriptorius*. The cry referred to is probably due to the operation upon the nervous centres of emotional force for which there is no other outlet; and must be carefully distinguished from the many sounds which would be included in the general category of appropriate co-ordinate muscular movements. To the latter must be referred all ordinary cries of pain or distress; the calls between individuals of different sexes, or

between the dam and her offspring; and those which most animals originally gregarious will utter upon slight provocation, to serve either as a summons or a warning to their companions.

In the human subject, during infancy and early childhood, the emotions govern the organism to a very great extent. But, as life advances, very remarkable changes in the nature of their influence may be observed.

In the first place, the natural emotional acts that, with reference to brutes, we have called appropriate, would cease to be appropriate in men and women (that is to say, they would defeat themselves) in any condition of life raised above that of the lowest and most brutalized savages. Hence man learns the necessity, and hence the human organism possesses the power, of abstaining from these acts under many circumstances, and by many different methods, of which three are frequently to be observed.

The first of these depends upon the fact that the faculty of judgment and the power of volition afford, in themselves, sufficient employment for many emotions of a highly active character. Every man either possesses, or by timely exercise may obtain, the power to place the sources of all emotion under subjugation to his intelligence and his will; so that the force of his passions is exerted in exciting and sustaining the activity of the hemispherical ganglia, and, partly, perhaps, in giving effect to their commands. In this way, it is not only possible, but common, for the intelligence to supersede the original emotion by one wholly opposed to it; as in cases where the natural disposition to revenge an injury is overruled by the dictates of Christian duty.

Infinitely below the power to control an emotion at its source, but still almost exclusively human, is the power to control it in action for the sake of more certainly obtaining the end to which it points. An emotion that is thus treated is commonly greatly strengthened by the continued direction of the thoughts upon it; but it seldom exerts any hurtful influence upon the body, unless finally and entirely disappointed.

Still lower in the scale stands the direct influence of volition upon the muscular system; an influence that is greatly strengthened, in civilized life, by the handicrafts, or varieties of manual industry, that are almost universally practised. In many persons whose powers of reason and will have not been developed by cultivation, and in whom there is nothing to oppose the growth, or to govern and direct the course of the feelings, there is yet a great capability of suppressing their outward manifestations by the simple expedient of holding the body at rest. When this is done, it becomes a trial of strength between the organism and the emotional force; which, constantly accumulating, and denied outlet through natural channels, is apt to burst forth through others. It is this action which realizes our conception of



hysteria; and, in order to understand it, it is necessary to inquire to what effects the term "unnatural" may be applied.

In the human species, to which is given, almost universally, the power to arrest emotions at their outlet; and, as a result of culture, the power to control them at their source, we find that the former seldom becomes complete unless the latter has been attained. In females generally, and in the young of both sexes, the facial muscles, the facial circulation, and the lachrymal glands, are prompt to exhibit feelings which do not otherwise receive relief; and it is difficult to regard expression, pallor, blushes, or tears, in any other light than as safety-valves, expending in harmless action a force that would be hurtful if retained. As the body strengthens, it would appear that the nervous system of organic life is the first to acquire the power of resisting with impunity feelings that are only moderately intense; so that tears or blushing can no longer be excited by trifling causes: and, with complete control over the source of the emotions, there may be gained in time complete control over their manifestations through the countenance. This may be regarded, however, as among the last and most exceptional of volitional attainments; and the actions which we have enumerated are too frequent, as well as too plainly beneficial, to be considered morbid in their general character; although they may sometimes become so by reason of the degree in which they are manifested.

Changes affecting the circulation through the central organ appear to occupy a debateable ground between the normal and abnormal effects of feeling. The force which operates through the ganglionic system is probably intended to stimulate secreting organs; and also, by its action upon the heart and arteries, to supply an increased quantity of blood to any parts, either glandular or muscular, that may be called into activity by the circumstances of the particular case. To a certain degree, therefore, operations of this kind must be considered natural; as when palpitation of the heart, under the influence of fear, is an evident preparation of the system for the active efforts of flight; or when increased salivary secretion is excited by the perception of agreeable food. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that an expenditure of nervous force upon secreting organs commonly brings a hysteric fit to its termination; by providing, we may suppose, natural channels of escape for an agency that was producing morbid effects while such channels were closed. In slight cases of hysteria, weeping will often afford the relief required; and, in more serious cases, a profuse flow of urine commonly follows immediately after the paroxysm. It is obvious, from analogy, that the secretion of urine must be the means of terminating the fit; although the discharge from the body is delayed by the office of the bladder as a containing viscus. From these instances, and



from many similar ones, we may conclude that the ganglionic system is one of the natural outlets for the discharge of emotional force ; and that the effects of such discharge cannot properly be called morbid, or hysterical, in their nature ; although they may oftentimes be injurious when excessive or perverted. For example, strong emotion has been known to produce sudden death by paralysing the heart ; to change entirely the character of a secretion formed under its influence ; or to destroy the vitality of the secreting organ. It may be conceived, at least as possible, that the difference between such cases and ordinary ones depends mainly upon the amount of force that is suddenly developed ; and the parallel case of a discharge of electricity, producing, according to its strength, either moderate stimulation or complete destruction of life, may be cited in support of the opinion.

The nature of emotional muscular actions may be tested, with tolerable certainty, by observation of their tendencies ; and, if these are appropriate to the kind of feeling that is excited, the movements must not be considered hysterical. There are many examples of persons who, under the influence of terror, have performed actions in no way guided by volition, but adapted to secure their safety ; while, when terror produces hysteria, the attendant movements are objectless or convulsive. We are acquainted with a gentleman who, having only travelled by railway three times in his life, has every time been so unfortunate as to select a train that sustained a terrible accident before he left it. On the last occasion, he extricated himself from the wreck of broken carriages, and, without heed to the necessities of the wounded, took to his heels. He was about three miles from home, and went thither, across country, at racing speed, never stopping, or looking behind him, until he sank exhausted in his own entrance hall. This was not hysteria, but the natural and appropriate action of a frightened brute ; and only inappropriate in a man because the human volition ought always to control the human feelings. Perhaps the presence or absence of the co-ordinating influence of the cerebellum might often be taken to determine the nature of the movements in a doubtful case ;—that organ being probably the rightful channel through which force is conveyed to the muscles as a result of sensorial changes.

In considering whether any given action be appropriate, it is necessary to look beyond the ordinary range of merely human operations. As in the instance cited above, the predominance of emotion over will lowers man to the level of the brutes ; and may occasion things to be done which, seemingly, objectless, would yet fulfil important purposes at a certain point in the animal scale. Instinctive actions are not controlled by outward circumstances ; and it is a sufficient explanation of defecation or vomiting under the influence of terror, to remark that these acts are the invariable

precursors of flight in many beasts of chase ; while in some animals, as the polecat and the cuttle-fish, they afford an additional and important provision for escape. The factor that is a weapon to so many creatures, and that appears only to be developed when a weapon is required, may be taken to explain how it is that the emotions sometimes operate, as it appears hurtfully, to change the character of various secretions.

The actions already referred to—viz., co-ordinate muscular movements, appropriate to the circumstances, either evidently or by analogy, increased or modified activity of the circulation, and increased or perverted secretion, are, therefore, by our definition, excluded from the phenomena that should be called hysterical ; even though they may be clearly the effects of emotion, and may, in some cases, be prejudicial, or even fatal.

When, however, an emotion is very strongly developed, and is denied access to its ordinary channels of discharge, its first action is upon the sensorium, and tends to increase indefinitely that contemplative stage which is a necessary prelude to exertion. In this way it produces a state of morbid self-feeling, self-consciousness, or introspectiveness (as it is indifferently called), which represents the essential moral phenomenon of the hysteric state.

It will readily be apprehended that no distinct line can be drawn between natural and hysterical self-consciousness ; for the reason that the contemplative tendencies vary, within considerable limits, for all classes of feeling. It is equally manifest that, in every case, there must be a certain amount of emotional stimulus that would turn contemplation into action, unless restrained from doing so by the operation of the will.

This amount of stimulus being applied, and the will being exerted merely to hold the body at rest, the state of self-consciousness may next be intensified and prolonged up to the limit of the sensorial capacity for such exertion. In the case of a feeling that is frequently or habitually indulged, while at the same time its proper out-going is restrained, the force excited will often be confined to the sensorium during many successive occasions of indulgence, and will render that organ excessively prone to respond to the call of the particular emotion, or of its immediate kindred. For instance, the intense contemplation, during childhood, of emotions of terror excited by the narratives or threats of a nurse, will infallibly, and very considerably, increase the control of fear over the organism.

In some cases during the first accession of an emotion, in others after many periods of recurrence, the limit of sensorial or contemplative power will be fully reached, while as yet the force developed is not expended. Under such circumstances the force



finds its outlet through various channels; and its operations constitute the physical phenomena of hysteria.

It is worthy of remark that these phenomena are often initiated by some trifling circumstance that forcibly arrests the attention, and thus diminishes the sensorial capacity for attending to the feelings. It is very common for an hysteric fit to commence at the moment when a period of reverie is broken by some sudden call upon the outward sense of the individual.

The precise nature of the physical phenomena will vary with the differences of different organisms. We have seen that, in the case of the lower animals, a peculiar and most piteous cry usually attends the développement of emotional force in quantity too great for the vital powers; and a cry, similar and probably analogous, is often the immediate precursor of a hysteric paroxysm. Upon this cry usually follow bodily movements, not co-ordinate or appropriate, but objectless and convulsive, affecting chiefly the extremities, the throat or gullet, the eyeballs, or the eyelids. We say chiefly, because such movements are of no absolute necessity, and occur in no determinate order: so that the presence or absence of "globus" (*i.e.*, a choking sensation, as of a ball rising in the throat,—the effect of local spasm), is not conclusive with regard to the existence of hysteria.

In the case of an emotion suddenly aroused, and rapidly culminating, the muscular movements are usually succeeded, before long, by active secretion, either renal or lachrymal; and the paroxysm is brought to a speedy close. The contemplative stage has been short, and the feeling has, so to speak, quickly overflowed the sensorium, without having time to control or modify its habitual operations. In cases of an opposite kind, where the paroxysm follows intense or protracted contemplation, the same degree of relief is not afforded; and the physical phenomena, when they have moderated an excessive or unbearable degree of tension, are commonly followed by some form of somnambulism. In other words, a convulsive fit does not suffice wholly to divert the emotional force from the sensorium; but merely preserves that organ from being altogether paralysed or destroyed by excess of stimulation.

It would be tedious to enumerate the possible varieties of the somnambulistie state. There are two of these—namely, trance, and ecstasy, that have most bearing upon our present purpose.

The state of trance can scarcely be distinguished from ordinary sleep, excepting by being more profound. It is characterized by torpor, as far as regards all impressions conveyed through the organs of sense: while, at the same time, the sensorium is cognizant of a train of ideas, or dream, suggested by the active emotion, and coincident with the habitual course of contemplation concerning it.

In ecstasy these conditions are slightly modified, so that the



sensorium is percipient of impressions from without, if they harmonize with, or are even associated with, the dominant feeling. There is also some degree of co-ordinate reaction upon the muscular system; so that the course of the dream is indicated, more or less, by appropriate speech and gesture; and the influence exerted upon it by suggestion can be readily observed and demonstrated.

The immediate termination of these states, convulsive or somnambulistic, is necessarily in a period of weakness and exhaustion commensurate with the nervous force put forth; and to be recovered from (if at all) only by the gradual operation of circumstances favourable to strength of body and repose of mind. Their ultimate tendency, is to place both the will, and the physical organism under the government of the emotions; and so to degrade humanity below the level of the brutes that perish.

We say "below the level," advisedly. The passions of the inferior animals are regulated in amount and guided in operation by the hand of unerring Wisdom, so as to produce their due and desired effect in the economy of creation. The passions of mankind, when emancipated from the control of volition and intelligence, are apt to riot in the most unbridled licence; and it is to be observed that the victory of one emotion over the will is the victory of all, of the emotional state generally over the volitional. This is an inversion of the proper order of the human faculties, a subjugation of the spiritual to the animal element in the human organism. As such it may be traced in its effects, producing all shades of perverted belief, from infidelity or credulity to insane delusion; all varieties of perverted conduct, from sensuality or depravity to insane ferocity.

Now if we compare the foregoing account of hysteria with recent actual occurrences, we shall find a complete and remarkable coincidence between them. Starting from the fact that (in a community of persons mostly uneducated, mostly in the condition of imperfect physical tone induced by mill labour, and mostly possessing a dexterity in handicraft that would enable them to exercise a great degree of control over their muscles), an unusual interest has been stirred up with regard to the things which concern eternal life; it may next be observed that this interest has been made a means of attracting large numbers of individuals to crowded places of worship, where they have been excited by the most energetic denunciations of their own lost and fallen state, as well as by threats of the Divine vengeance impending over them. It must be remembered that these denunciations and threats have reference, in the creeds in which the revival took its origin, not to actual, but to original sin; and that hence they were calculated to excite emotions of the

utmost terror and despair, from which no way of escape would be pointed out by the preacher along the path of duty. The devotees would be instructed to wait for the Spirit of grace to descend into their hearts; to wait, not in action, not in striving after a holy life, but in the contemplation of their own imputed sinfulness and impending destruction. The feelings hence arising would be intensified by the sympathy of surrounding numbers, would be sustained by the iteration of the preacher, would be directed at no practical aim, would be held off from the muscular system by a sense of the decencies of public worship, as well as by the reflection that bodily flight affords no relief from mental terror. In a congregation thus situated there will soon be an individual whose power of emotional self-consciousness has reached its limit, while the emotion is sustained by the awful words—the repetition of hell!—hell!—hell!--issuing from the pulpit. Then will come the hysterical cry, succeeded by the hysterical convulsion. When the convulsion abates, if the sensorium have been saturated by terror, by an anticipatory self-feeling of the torments of the damned, this feeling will display itself in action, prior to the return of consciousness as regards ordinary outward impressions. Broken words and imperfect actions will indicate the ruling fear; will have reference to Satan, and to flight from or avoidance of his snares. The conversation of bystanders, when relevant to this ruling fear, will serve to guide or modify the acted dream; and their uttered anticipations of coming relief and peace will, as the fear is exhausted, gradually realize themselves. Smiles irradiate the countenance, the Most Holy Name is heard upon the lips, and the somnambulist either awakes in a state of rapture and excitement, or sinks into the sleep that is demanded by her fatigued and enfeebled frame.

In accordance with the principle already laid down, the occurrence of one hysteric fit, in a place of worship, will be exceedingly likely to precipitate another, by abruptly breaking into the self-contemplative state. Moreover, if the preacher point out the person affected as one by whom saving grace has at that moment been received, as one predestined from eternity to conversion and final perseverance, the incident is eminently calculated to impress and convince his hearers, to add indefinitely to the power of his words, to arouse the most intense longing for a similar visitation, and to excite the most lively dread lest the grace sought for should be withheld. By both kinds of operation, hysteria is continually propagated and increased.

Upon recovering from the immediate effects of the paroxysm, the state of the "subjects" may admit of considerable variation. In some, even if not in many instances, the shock will be found to have dethroned the reason; and the unhappy patient will awake from somnambulism to fatuity or mania. In others, the



original terror being completely removed by the assurances of the preacher, a state of feeling is induced, of which gratified vanity is the chief characteristic. The so-called penitent will converse fluently about her experience, describe her struggles and trials, her beatific visions, her eventual peace, her abiding assurance of salvation and eternal bliss, her profound repentance for her sins. She will seldom be ready to confess or bewail any particular transgressions; she will not be likely to afford any practical evidence of humility; and she will usually season her dish of marvels so as to suit the varying credulity of her different auditors. She is jealous of her position as the *prima donna* of her chapel or her sect, and elaborates ingenious novelties by which to crush the pretensions of any intrusive *débutante*. However ingenious, she will become wearisome at last. The nine days allotted to terrestrial wonders will pursue their inevitable course, and will bring in their train a girl who escaped, in her vision, from two devils instead of one; or who can garnish the narrative of her flight by incidents from the *Mysteries of London*, or the *Castle of Udolpho*. The first subject disappears from the scene, not to follow the example of Dorcas or of Lydia, but too often to lead a life concerning which her sometime hearers are glad to bury scandal beneath oblivion.

There remain other cases still, in which, in addition to mere terror, some real and actual sentiment of religion has been called forth. In these, somnambulism is induced but rarely; and the convulsive type of hysteria commonly prevails; so that the evil results immediately visible are not of so glaring a character as those already considered. They are, however, equally real; perhaps equally disastrous. Religion—capable as it is of uniting all the faculties of the mind in harmonious co-operation, but still pre-eminently a subject for the highest faculties, becomes in such persons inseparably associated and united with, and limited to, mere animal passion, that which, in the human race, is intended to stimulate the reason, not to supersede it. The ascendancy freely given to all emotions connected with religion cannot be withheld from others; and, as already stated, a general surrender of the will to the passions is the result of such a violation of the order of nature. And, in many human creatures, the capacity for much passion lies dormant until discovered by events. The hysterical devotee of the class we are now considering is exemplary whilst untempted; but her house of faith rests only on the shifting quicksands of feeling. The first temptation that enlists any of the feelings on its side, that is associated with love, with hatred, with passion of whatever kind, at once attracts to itself all the forces by which it ought to be opposed. Of two opposite feelings, one must yield in action; and, where religion is only a feeling, it will be powerless against any other that may be more



recently excited, or less easily displayed. On this principle, we conceive, may be explained many of the phenomena of reaction; and many of the more grievous lapses of persons of professing or reputed piety.

The "physical phenomena" of the revival having thus been shown to present, in their predisposing and exciting causes, in their progress, and in their results, a precise resemblance to the hysteria commonly seen in medical practice, and produced either by secular terrors or by amatory reverie, we are clearly entitled to consider them as belonging to the same family; and as being, in fact, very striking instances of morbid action. Without trespassing upon the domain of the theologian, we may regard these phenomena in their pathological relations; and may point out the methods by which they may be prevented, and the manner in which they may be overcome.

In the first place, however, we may observe that hysteria and Christianity are the zenith and nadir of the moral universe. God and Mammon are not more irreconcilable in their demands than a disease which has its very root and centre in indulged self-feeling, and a religion which prescribes love to others as the first and highest duty. Hysteria, indeed, is nothing but selfishness in its most concentrated and engrossing form; and, as such, is absolutely incompatible with the existence of Christian love in the heart, or with the relief which is afforded to all painful feelings by the sustaining and consoling influences of sincere religion.

It appears somewhat remarkable, therefore, at first sight, that hysteria should be so common a result of religious preaching among uneducated persons. During the last century alone (besides numerous examples in more ancient times), in Scotland, Wales, America, Ireland, and many parts of England, convulsive epidemics have been brought about by preaching—epidemics of which no precise or strictly medical history has been handed down; but which, from the scanty records preserved of them, appear to have been alike in all essential characters. It is scarcely less remarkable that no such disorders are recorded in connexion with the earthly ministry of our Lord; or as occurring during the apostolic era—notwithstanding that numerous very large assemblies then first had the Gospel preached to them. It is probable that some, at least, of the demoniacs who were then miraculously cured were what we should now call hysterical; but it may be regarded as certain that no convulsive seizures were the rule, or were frequent, or perhaps even ever occurred, among the early Christian converts. The fact would be far too important to be passed over in silence; and therefore the silence of the sacred writings may be held to be conclusive. There must be a reason for the difference in this respect between the teaching of apostolic and of modern times; and we are inclined to seek this reason in

the nature of the tenets taught. The apostles preached a gospel of peace, of deliverance, of joy eternal and ineffable. Their successors in the ministry preach often a doctrine of damnation.

The truth made known to us by revelation (and almost ascertainable by reason), that the souls of the wicked, after death, go to their own place, and suffer there an inevitable misery, is a portion of the scheme of salvation necessary to be known, and highly proper to be taught; with the limitation that it should hold in the pulpit the same relative position that it holds in Scripture. A knowledge that eternity must be spent either in bliss or suffering is required, in order to vindicate to finite minds the justice of the Deity, and to afford a standard by which to estimate the pains and pleasures of the world. But it is incontestable that love to God, founded upon an assurance of God's love to man, is the only possible basis of Christian faith and duty; and it is inconceivable that love to God can ever be kindled at the flames of a literal hell. Denunciations of the wrath to come, frantic appeals to the terrors of a congregation, produce either hysteria or indifference—either shake the physical frame by positive dread of impending torture and mere selfish fears for personal safety, or else harden the listeners by the natural reaction of the human spirit against threats. In some of the more barbarous countries subject to the Greek Church, in Georgia and Mingrelia for instance, the priests' houses are commonly adorned by rude pictures, bearing a general resemblance to highly coloured illustrations of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, and representing the torments of the damned. In one popular cartoon, Georgian souls are depicted in a frying-pan, with a devil to turn them occasionally with a three-pronged fork, while another feeds the glowing fire beneath. In the background fresh souls are being received by other sable attendants: all having horns, hoofs, tails, and tridents *de rigueur*. Such pictures probably excite some consternation when they are new; but, long before they are old, the Georgians treat them as birds treat a scarecrow that they have found out. The Georgians cannot read, and their priests intend these pictures for sermons. They are precisely analogous to the efforts of the "loud-voiced man" whom Mr. Thackeray describes as "howling about hell-fire in bad grammar;" and, in either case, they very frequently express nothing but the longing of the artist or the preacher to persecute. Many a polemic would like to show the tender mercies of St. Dominic to all who differ from him; but is driven by want of power to vent his spite in words, and to dignify his words by the title of Christian doctrine.

We hold therefore, that these denunciations of the wrath to come, made prominent as the leading and essential feature of scriptural teaching—are without any shadow of justification or excuse. We do not here enter into their foundation in the word



of God, but we maintain that the preachers of a certain school give them an undue prominence, and urge them at an unfitting season. We judge of them by their fruits. Hysteria, originating in terror, maintained for effect, terminating in profligacy or insanity, is a sad contrast to the peace that passeth understanding.

The pamphlet of the Archdeacon of Meath, to which attention was drawn in our last number, bears the testimony of an acute and impartial observer to the existence of a strong and deep current of religious feeling in the places to which the revival had then extended. Most earnestly do we trust that this current may deepen and widen as it flows; and that all who are brought within its influence may bear fruits meet for repentance. But in the hysterical phenomena, and, to a far greater extent, in the source from which they spring, we perceive an evil of frightful magnitude and incalculable strength. It is not only that a few women will fall into the gulf we have endeavoured to point out; or that many persons will be hardened by an almost instinctive repulsion of the teaching they will hear; but, above and beyond these evils, there is the setting up of a false standard of religion and morality—a standard under which self-consciousness will represent self-examination, ecstasy be accepted in lieu of faith, and convulsions as the fulfilment of Christian duty. We ascribe the origin of these and kindred delusions to the simple fact that the leaders of religious movements are usually ignorant of psychology, unacquainted with the more ordinary forms of hysteria, and therefore unable to discern the incompatibility of the conditions they excite with the feelings and changes to which they endeavour to refer them. They hope for the best in every instance; and they see no reason why spasms should be contrary to the spirit of sincere devotion.

The manner in which nervous attacks may be restrained during divine service, has been pointed out by Archdeacon Stopford; and his observations harmonize with the principle that, in order to control hysteria, its very existence should, as far as possible, be ignored. We conceive, however, that in times of religious excitement, and in the presence of a congregation of persons likely to be much swayed by feeling, the fear of exciting disease should never be absent from the mind of the preacher. In order to indicate the cautions which this fear should prompt, it is necessary to approach the subject of the proper place and office of emotion with regard to the reception of divine truth.

We have already stated that emotion, at once active and repressed, is the necessary precursor or essential cause of hysteria. It is plain that any conceivable emotion may be occasionally aroused under circumstances to render suppression of its mani-



festations desirable; but the rule is that those emotions only are repressed which would in general be thought blameworthy or indelicate. Practically, therefore, the causes of hysteria are reduced to the amatory passion, terror, anger or hatred, envy and vanity, either alone or variously blended; and the hysteria induced by preaching is traceable to terror and vanity almost exclusively. Fear of eternal suffering, and a wish to be distinguished as of the elect, are the ultimate elements of a "case" at a revival meeting.

Now the emotions appropriate to the Christian religion, excited by its great truths, and maintained by obedience to its precepts, are of a kind totally opposed to those mentioned above. Love to God and to our fellow-men, gratitude for blessings, and compassion for the afflicted and for sinners, are the states of feeling enjoined by the Divine Saviour, and these naturally expand into action and influence conduct, obtaining, as they do so, the approbation of all who experience their effects. Moreover, if under any (hardly conceivable) circumstances, they should be restrained for a time from their natural outward operation, they are not calculated to produce the agonizing sensorial tension that precedes hysteria, but rather to expand themselves upon the cerebrum, exciting intellectual instead of bodily activity, and engaging the mind about projects of usefulness or benevolence. In these feelings, the preacher who aims his teaching chiefly at the heart (as some, by reason of their natural tendencies and gifts, are prone to do), may find ample scope for all his efforts, especially when addressing those who are being urged to make their first faltering steps along the narrow way, and who require to be "allured" by the Divine hand, before, in the Valley of Achor, they find their "door of hope."

In dealing with such themes as these, it is most important, if not essential, that the preacher should not degrade them. The vocabulary in common use among certain classes of religionists has this tendency; and thus counteracts, in a marked degree, the elevating influence of the emotions proper to Christianity. The epithets that are sufficiently descriptive of a trinket or a baby, and the terms used about insipid or frivolous worldly enjoyments, when applied to the Divine Creator, or to the happiness of a blissful eternity, have a direct tendency to lower our conception of the Deity, and to make earthly things a standard for the things of heaven. To the extent that they do so, they affect the quality, so to speak, of the resulting emotions; and reduce them to the same level with kindred feelings excited by objects of a lower order. For example, in a case where love to a creature was the source of a temptation to violate a divine ordinance, and thus came into direct opposition with the impulse arising out of love to God, the relative power of the latter would be greatly

increased by everything that tended to retain it habitually upon the highest level of the mind. Such an influence is exerted by reverence, by the constant employment, when speaking of the Deity, of words of the most exalted signification, and especially by a reverent avoidance of all unnecessary speech upon sacred topics. The contrary habits, the addiction to bald and disjointed chatter about religion, the application of familiar terms to the Creator, and the practice of deciding about the Divine providence as if it were not inscrutable, all illustrate, in the strong language of Bishop South, "the terrible imposture and force of words." They bring down God to a *quasi* humanity in the minds of those who practise them, and destroy the predominance, as motives, of the emotions which have God for their object.

With this precaution there is, perhaps, no limit to the degree in which the proper emotions of religion should be encouraged. They glide necessarily into appropriate action, filling the mind with pure and lofty thoughts, impelling the body to just and righteous deeds. They are the great sources of all abiding joy; and they furnish the only efficient consolation under every sorrow. They sustain the physical powers in a greater degree than any other kind of stimulant, and the energy they impart is succeeded by no depression. They have prompted the mightiest efforts of the intellect and the grandest decisions of the will, and they extend an impartial influence to all who will seek for their support; shielding the weak, guiding the strong, verifying the promises of hope, and withdrawing the sting of affliction.

The passion of terror, on the other hand, can only be safely used when it is rightly guided. It is often appealed to in education, and often in legislation, but always as the sanction of a rule that it is not difficult to keep. In such cases it is directed immediately into a practical channel of action or avoidance, and controls the conduct without injuring the health. In like manner, when terror is associated with the sanction of a divine command, the way to keep that command should be vigorously and strongly impressed upon the mind of the hearer; the more strongly, the less the individual is adapted, by nature or habits, for intellectual exertion. The most vivid imaginable fears about a future state, acting upon a philosophical mind, would discharge themselves on the cerebrum, would excite a spirit of inquiry, would enlist all the faculties of the organism in an endeavour to find the true answer to the question, "What shall I do to be saved?" It is quite conceivable that the course of thought and study thus suggested and initiated might receive the divine blessing, might in time become associated with higher motives than terror, with those motives which alone, as we are taught, can open the door of eternal bliss. It may often be right, therefore, in addressing



an educated and sagacious audience, upon whom the glad tidings of the gospel appear inoperative, to open those sterner pages of Holy Writ which describe the doom of the condemned, and to direct attention to the fate of those who neglect to work out their own salvation. For the unthinking and the ignorant such an appeal to fear is not adapted; revelation, reason, and experience, all alike condemn it. Revelation, because the devils "believe and tremble;" and their actual state cannot be conducive to man's welfare. Reason, because the natural tendency of fear is to operate downwards upon the body, producing muscular movements, terminating in mere physical exhaustion. Experience, inasmuch as we have before us the records of many such appeals to communities or individuals, and the results of nearly all of them have been disastrous.

Upon this point, indeed, there is such an overwhelming mass of testimony, that we have been impelled to write strongly on the subject. At Belfast, there were great differences of opinion among the clergy with regard to the character of the cases "struck;" some being led by common sense, or observation, to consider that the influence thus manifested was pernicious; while others, animated, it may be presumed, by a less cautious zeal, and led astray, perhaps, by the hope that their own ministrations were especially blessed, laid themselves out to promote the occurrence of hysteria. On neither side does the question appear to have been viewed as one already decided by ample experience; but rather as one admitting of *à priori* argument, based upon hypotheses concerning the operation of the Holy Spirit. Our object has been to show that the bodily and psychical condition of "struck" cases is perfectly well understood, is reducible to known and simple laws of the animal economy, and may be summed up as that state of the human organism in which everything sensual and earthly is at the maximum of its power. There should no longer be any question or doubt whatever, either among the clergy or the public, as to the character of these seizures, or as to the duty and necessity of discountenancing and avoiding them; for although some of the cases are, we are told, now leading pure and holy lives, it is impossible for any one acquainted with the ordeal through which they have passed to think of its perils without a shudder, or to regard an escape from them otherwise than as a most especial mercy. Moreover, we cannot but view with apprehension the latitude that has been given to some of the chief causes of hysteria, and the probable prevalence of some of its milder, or less developed forms, in which painful emotions keep the consciousness turned inwards upon self, and lead to an introspectiveness which is often mistaken for self-examination. Persons who are familiar with



the æsthetic religionists of the high Tractarian school will have no difficulty in recognising the condition to which we refer.

As far as regards the present revival, we are glad to believe that the hysterical element once connected with it has almost or entirely perished. We do not believe that it ever gained any deep root, or that it was anything more than a result of an error of judgment on the part of the individual preachers who excited it. It was peculiar to no creed or sect, and was only so far localized that it followed an injudicious use of appeals to the terrors of an unenlightened audience. From the same source, in former times, similar disorders have sprung; either to overpower, or to be overpowered by, the religious character of the contemporaneous movements. We hold the two to be incompatible; and therefore, in the decline of hysteria, we recognise the best evidence that the work now proceeding is founded upon God's truth, and carried on in accordance with God's law. The testimony of moral improvement which we receive is in the highest degree encouraging; but, while the cause is so recent, the sceptical may question the durability of the effects; and, even with regard to the facts, there are rival statisticians in the field. In order, therefore, that the "revival" may maintain its ground in the minds of sober and Christian people, and in order that it may continue to receive, as it is now manifestly receiving, the divine blessing, too much caution cannot be exercised in the rejection of abnormal phenomena, too high a sense of responsibility cannot be entertained in examining successive phenomena as they are manifested. Our own faith forbids us to believe in any especial or unusual outpouring of the Holy Spirit; because we think that outpouring is normally continuous and all-sufficient. We conceive the revival to be man's work, man's act of turning to God, the result of man's yearning after spiritual communion with his Maker. From this point of view, we conceive that it may be blemished by human infirmities, or even altogether perverted by bad men or by demoniac agency; and on the other hand, that such agencies may be excluded by the exercise of an amount of care commensurate with the magnitude of the interests at stake. The more earnest the sharers in the movement, the more incessant and the more insidious will be the assaults upon their faith and practice; and the more jealous should be their watchfulness over the great charge committed to their keeping. Precisely in the degree in which such care and such watchfulness are exercised may we hope for the development of all good and the repression of all evil. Experience teaches us the possibility of an opposite result; and that a general turning of the people towards God is, in itself, the first step only; which may lead, if not duly followed up, to reactionary

coldness and impiety. By this generation such a first step is now being made; and it is for each of us to strive, that our future movements may be directed towards our rightful goal. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." Such is the divine injunction; and a strict obedience to it will best promote what God vouchsafes to acknowledge as His glory, or to reveal to us as the means of man's salvation.

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ART. III.—THE PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY AND POPULAR NOTIONS CONCERNING THE TREATMENT OF LUNATICS.

A RECENT writer\* has well and truly said that, "Falsehood is so easy, truth so difficult. The pencil is conscious of a delightful facility in drawing a griffin—the longer the claws, and the longer the wings, the better; but that marvellous facility which we took for genius, is apt to forsake us when we want to draw a real un-exaggerated lion. Examine your words well, and you will find that even when you have no motive to be false, it is a very hard thing to say the exact truth—even about your own immediate feelings—much harder than to say something fine which is *not* the exact truth."

No apter illustration of the accuracy of these remarks could be found than that which is afforded by much of the evidence laid before the Select Committees which sat in the last and preceding sessions of Parliament to inquire into the operation of the laws affecting the care and treatment of lunatics. Six months ago we reviewed the evidence laid before the Committee of 1858-59; we have now before us the evidence tendered to the Committee of last session.† In our notice of the proceedings of the first Committee our attention was chiefly occupied with the evidence given by the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Chairman of the Lunacy Commission. This evidence claimed particular attention at our hands, not only from the official position which his lordship occupies, but also from the extraordinary character of many of the opinions which he expressed, and statements that he made. It will be well to recal here to memory one or two of the most notable points of his lordship's evidence.

On the question which of all others, in reference to lunatics,

\* George Eliot.—*Adam Bede*.

† Report from the Select Committee on Lunatics—Blue Book. Ordered to be printed, 5th August, 1859.



had most occupied the public attention, the regulations respecting the admission of lunatics into private asylums, his lordship on behalf of the Commissioners in Lunacy suggested a modification of the existing law—not that he himself,\* or, indeed, the Commissioners either, as it was implied, saw any necessity for, or believed that any good would arise from, altering the present regulations, but “*only as an expedient with a view of satisfying the public feeling, and not with any hope that it would really be effective.*”†

Again, on another question of very great interest for the public, in so far as it affected its confidence in present or future legislative arrangements, his lordship's opinions were characterized by singular inconsistencies and contradictions. He emitted “(1) an assertion of the comparative worthlessness of the opinion of most medical men on cases of lunacy; (2) an expression of “firm belief” that the opinion of a sensible layman on such cases is of greater value than that of a medical man; (3) an assertion that the opinion of a magistrate is valueless, from his knowing nothing whatever about the matter; (4) another assertion that the opinion of a clergyman is even of less value than that of a medical man; (5) a statement that an opinion depends for its value on the experience of the person giving it; and, to crown all, (6) an approval of a suggestion by which the bulk of the most experienced practitioners in lunacy in the kingdom would be debarred from altering an opinion at all in the form in which a medical opinion on lunacy is of the greatest importance—to wit, when expressed in a certificate of insanity.”‡

With regard to insanity itself we may remind our readers that his lordship's views were so peculiarly vague§ that they would have been amusing were it not for the speculative dogmatism which he developed from them, and which derived from his position no small amount of importance. We need only recal one more point, to wit, the exaggerated assertions of his lordship respecting the “utterly abominable and indefensible|| system of private asylums”—assertions which he endeavoured to support mainly, (1) by facts derived from the state of these institutions *before 1846*! since which year the powers of the Commissioners have come fully and effectively into operation; and (2) by *speculations* alone as to the existing state of things.

We protested against the unfounded, nay, entirely gratuitous, character of the surmises upon which Lord Shaftesbury built up his evidence concerning private asylums, and expressed the opinion that if such surmises, or such a system of reasoning,

\* Report, 1858-59, Query 823.

† Report, 1858-59, Query 81.

‡ See Vol. xii. of this Journal, p. 382.

§ Reports, 1858-59, Queries 193, 194.

|| Report, 1858-59. Query 101.



was to prompt the action of the Lunacy Commission, or influence legislation, it must necessarily debar all right-thinking medical men from giving attention to the care and treatment of private lunatics, and must place these at the mercy of those who were actuated by mercenary considerations alone.

We are glad to observe that one of the Commissioners of Lunacy, W. G. Campbell, Esq., has in his evidence before the late Committee, expressed a species of protest against the speculative character of Lord Shaftesbury's statements on this subject. At the commencement of his evidence Mr. Campbell made the following remarks:—

"I wish to call the attention of the Committee to a point which seems to me to have been forgotten by some of the witnesses, and that is, that asylums are places for the cure and treatment of the insane as well as places of detention, and I think that great care should be used when we surround asylums with so many safeguards, that we do not degrade them, and also those who keep them; I speak of licensed houses; I am fully aware of the defective and very unadvisable arrangement of having a licensed house for the detention of insane persons, because the treatment of the insane involves the detention of the person. The fact of a person receiving another for profit, and having the power to deprive him of his liberty, is, I think, a most objectionable arrangement; but the question is whether that arrangement can be got rid of, and whether all persons can by law be forced into chartered hospitals or public asylums; *I think, if that cannot be accomplished, that it is desirable to try and induce persons of the highest character only to take licensed houses and receive patients. I am afraid that by degrading them and showing such extreme suspicion of all these persons, by treating every one who has the care of an asylum or licensed house, as a person who is primâ facie a man who would take advantage of his patients and deprive them of their liberty for profit, we shall be doing an injury to the cause.*"\*

We welcome warmly the protest against Lord Shaftesbury's suspicions which is contained in these observations, but we would ask the Commissioners in Lunacy if it never occurred to them that the "principle of profit" (as they phrase it) has, in reference to private asylums, a good as well as an evil side, just as it has to everything else in the business of life. If the Commissioners will look about them, they will see among the proprietors of private asylums abroad and at home many men who, having given themselves up to this specific and legitimate mode of obtaining a livelihood, have made and still make it available for the advancement of our knowledge in all that relates to the care and treatment of the direst disease which affects man—men to whom the world is indebted for almost all the knowledge that it has of

\* Report 1859, Query 380. The subsequent references to Queries will apply to this Report, unless otherwise stated.

late received concerning the best care of lunatics—men, the fag-ends of whose notions constitute the stock-in-trade of the *quasi-lunatics'* friends philanthropists of the present day. Would the experience, which these medical men have lavished upon the public, have been acquired in a public asylum alone? Has any public asylum hitherto afforded the means for a full and comprehensive study of insanity among all classes of society? Has it not been from the combined information obtained both in public and private lunacy practice, that the great advancement in the care of lunatics which we now rejoice in has been secured? To speak of the "principle of profit" as an evil *per se*, is simply absurd. It has been formerly, and may be in some instances now, unrighteously exercised in private asylums; but it is the man, not the principle, which is in fault, and the law rightly provides a remedy for this by assigning to the Commissioners as one duty among others, that of ascertaining the fitness of all persons who are or who wish to become proprietors of private asylums. Hence with the Commissioners rests the responsibility of, as Mr. Campbell would put it, "inducing persons of the highest character only to take licensed houses."

We have already seen that Lord Shaftesbury suggested legislative interference upon one point of lunacy law, not because it was required in reality, but because it was expedient on account of popular feeling. Mr. Campbell has a remark about popular feeling which is well worthy of note. Speaking of private asylums, he says, "The great objection to them is the impression that they produce upon the mind of the public that the patients in them are detained for profit, and that, therefore, persons who are not of unsound mind are sometimes detained improperly as a source of profit."\* Mr. Campbell tells us† that he does not consider it possible to abolish the system of private asylums by law, and that that being so, all the Legislature can do is to subject them to rigid supervision, adding, "and they are subject to rigid supervision at present."‡ Lord Shaftesbury told us that the notion of improper admissions or detentions was essentially wrong,§ and left it to be implied that such occurrences could only take place at rare intervals and under unusual circumstances. The public idea, therefore, can have no sufficient foundation in fact, but must be a corollary deduced from the theoretical idea of the "principle of profit,"—as Mr. Campbell puts it. Be it so. But the facts, according to Lord Shaftesbury, are not such as to warrant a "great objection;" and Mr. Campbell says nothing to the contrary; hence the theory must be wrong, and the popular notion quite astray. What then must be done with it? Oh! the course is plain before us; we must turn over our books, and lay

\* Query 612.    † Query 615.    ‡ Query 614.    § Report 1858-59.    Qy. 185.



before the public such details as will at once allay its fears, and convince it that any instances of unjust detention or committal which may have come before it of late have and probably would have been unavoidable under any system of management. Have the Commissioners done this? Turn to Lord Shaftesbury's evidence, and you will see that he has, upon suspicion alone, expressed opinions which surpass in gravity the worst fears of an alarmed press; that upon merely speculative grounds, unsupported by hardly a particle of evidence, his lordship has said more to depreciate the moral and general character of the medical profession practising in lunacy—of those men to whom alone, as his lordship himself states, it is best to give the charge of the lunatic\*—than has been said at any one time by any individual of station for several years. More, he has spoken generally of the private asylums of this day much as if they were the lunatic hells of a former day. He, and by implication the Lunacy Commissioners, have said all that could be said which might confirm a popular notion that cannot be substantiated in fact; they have brought the weight of their authority to establish the notion; and yet, strangest of culminations! the public feeling is paraded by them as a reason for legislative interference!

Thus much for the official representatives of public feeling in the inquisition; now for a few examples of the lay representatives. The gentlemen who come within this category were Mr. John Thomas Perceval and Admiral Saumarez.

The former gentleman is the honorary secretary to the alleged Lunatics' Friend Society, and considers himself the "attorney-general of her Majesty's madmen." Contrast for a moment the professed interest he takes in reference to lunatics, and the actual. The question was put to him, "I think you have heard a good deal of the evidence that has been given before this Committee?" He replied, "Not a great deal; I am rather dull of hearing; but I have had a copy of the report, and I have read a great deal of the evidence; all of Lord Shaftesbury's evidence, and a great deal of Mr. Bolden's and Mr. Everest's evidence, and some of Dr. Gaskell's evidence, and other portions of the evidence."† Truly one would have thought that the perusal of a Blue Book containing only three hundred and seventy-eight pages, including the index, would not have taxed too much the time and patience of a gentleman arrogating to himself so lofty and philanthropical a position. Surely the evidence of Dr. Conolly, Dr. Sutherland, Dr. James Bright, or Dr. Hood; Messrs. Wilde, Barlow, Purnell,

\* Report 1858-59; Queries 82, 87, 94, &c.

† Query 159.



Cottrell, or Woodward ; Sir Joshua Jebb, Sir A. Spearman, and Sir G. Robinson, was at least worthy of perusal. But some persons have an instinctive knowledge of things ; we shall see in the context if this be Mr. Perceval's case.

Mr. Perceval has certain peculiar views which he very rightly places in the fore-front of his evidence, for they serve well as a gauge of its quality. He says :—

“I would add my peculiar views, and what has been perplexed in some manner, but still has been my guiding star, and I may say my chief principle in interfering in this matter. It has been a motive of piety as regards the Founder and Establisher of our own faith. It appears to me that no Christian nation should leave a loophole open for any preacher or teacher of any kind to be confined as insane when it is recollected that the Founder of our faith and his apostles were accused of being possessed with demons and being madmen.

“162. These are abstract and rather metaphysical questions. What the Committee rather desire to obtain from you is such suggestions as you could make as would prevent a person being confined as a lunatic, when only under an hallucination, or in fact in perfect health. How would you meet the dangers of the system ?—I would say that the same observations which I have made in a religious sense apply also to men of science, to men of political or any other science. We know that it is chronicled in history, that Galileo was supposed to be out of his mind for simply teaching that the earth moved round the sun. Mr. Forster, the original inventor of railroads, before Stephenson took them up, went about from England to Belgium, and from Belgium to France, and he was looked upon as half an insane person. Therefore I think that the Government of any country, without any regard especially to religion, should be particularly jealous of any man, or of any ‘original mind,’ as the French describe it,—we call it ‘eccentric,’—being shut up on a false charge of insanity. It appears to me, said a young Frenchman to a friend of mine, that you may put any man who is a little original in an asylum ; and it is the case on account of the lax way of legislating on the subject. And it must be remembered that they have been men of original minds who have changed the destinies of nations and the destinies of the world.”

What a charming delicacy in the young Frenchman's remark, and how pretty the conceit, “eccentric,”—“original mind.” We commend this notion to the distinguished author of the *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*.

“All that is conceded to you,” was the polite expression with which the chairman of the Committee checked any further exposition of Mr. Perceval's abstract notions ; and so to business.

As might be anticipated from the premises set forth by Mr. Perceval, the class of patients which he would admit to asylums would be somewhat restricted. In reference to Lord Shaftesbury's

remark, that no case is admitted into an asylum without some plausible ground for confinement, Mr. Perceval said, "I do not allow in these cases of any plausibilities. I want plain matter-of-fact to be ascertained, whether a patient is a dangerous person to himself or to others. Whether he is a dangerous person to himself directly—I mean in a suicidal sense, or indirectly by being exposed through weakness to robbery, or that they might be guilty of acts of robbery, or petty theft, or libel, which might bring punishment upon them. These, I think, are the only grounds upon which persons ought to be confined in an asylum."\*

It will be seen that Mr. Perceval's plain matter-of-fact is of a very imaginative character, and quite consistent in its coherency with his abstract notions. It is evident that he has given as little attention to the cases of even very manifest insanity usually confined in asylums, as to the preliminary stages of the inquiry upon which he gave evidence.

As an example of Mr. Perceval's method of observation and reasoning take the following :—

"229. Are you not aware that it is the general opinion of persons who have dealt with lunatic patients, that, from the nature of the disorder, private conversations between ministers of religion and the patients are very injurious, although, in many instances, they may be very beneficial, so that the superintendent must exercise some discretion in such matters?—*I am not aware of that.* I am aware that there is a great prejudice to that effect; but whether it is the case or not, I am certainly not aware. On the contrary, we have heard from the evidence, and from the Commissioners in Lunacy themselves, that great benefit has been derived from it. But, at the same time, I have no doubt that there are cases in which a clergyman might interfere very injudiciously. Certainly a latitude should be given to the superintendent; so long as the present system exists, you must leave it to him to say whether a patient is fit to see a clergyman or not.

"230. I meant to draw you to the conclusion, that in all these cases it must be left to the discretion of the superintendent?—At present it must be so; I have remonstrated against that state of things; I think it contrary to principle that the spiritual should be put under subjection to the physical."

As a further example of the value of Mr. Perceval's evidence, we find him, in answer to Query 290, describing with vigour the brutal treatment of patients in Bethlem and another asylum in 1853. The chairman of the Committee asked—"Is there any reason to suppose that there is any asylum in which that practice is continued now?" Mr. Perceval replied, "*That I cannot tell; I do not think that we have any evidence for it, but I should not*

\* Query 373.

*be at all surprised to find it so again.*"\* Just so; what have I to do with facts? I am concerned solely with my own ideas.

Let us glance for a moment or two at this gentleman's style of assertion. For example:—

"There is a gentleman of the name of Mr. —, who has known many cases where persons have been guilty of criminal acts in the full possession of their senses, and they have been enabled to escape the consequence of their acts by being confined as insane, under the certificates of medical men.

"245. Mr. *Henley*. They simulate insanity to escape the consequences of their criminal acts?—Yes, under the direction of their friends."

Not a single example was mentioned by Mr. Perceval in confirmation of this—assertion (we had better perhaps omit placing the correct adjective which should precede this word). We have not the least doubt that he could not recount one solitary instance of the kind named of late, and probably even of former years.

Again:—

"I wish to notice one part of the evidence that I gave as to the propriety of the friends and relations of the patients having power to visit them at all reasonable hours. The Honourable Member, Mr. Henley, objects to that, and I think with some good reason, and said that he thought even in small asylums it would be better that there should be fixed hours for visiting them. One of my friends, who has suffered under this law, said to me, 'I am sorry that you gave in to the Honourable Member in this respect, because if they are visited at fixed hours, the keeper of the asylum knows when they may come, and he may drug the patients for the occasion.' *This is, certainly, I am sorry to say, a possibility in some asylums, and perhaps in particular cases.*"

And so Mr. Perceval goes on from surmise to surmise with a felicity of imagination, and an indifference to fact, which are verily astounding.

To proceed:—

"282. What is the next point to which you wish to call the attention of the Committee?—The next point is as to the existence of cruelty in asylums, and I wish to point out what I consider the only manner of thoroughly preventing it. With regard to that question, I think it is a doubt in some minds in the Committee whether cruelty does take place in asylums generally, but in private or public asylums particularly. With regard to that impression, I have no hesitation in saying, that I believe generally, as respects all asylums, there is not one of them in which cases of cruelty and atrocious violence do not continually occur.

"283. Do you apply that remark to public asylums as well as to private asylums?—Yes; that is my impression. There is an old saying, that

\* Query 297.



one swallow does not make a spring; I know that; but when you see a swallow or a martin in the month of May, it is natural to look about and think that you will find a great many. Then I apply that to the system in these asylums; one case of cruelty in a private asylum would not prove anything against the whole of the asylums. But if you can trace it to the system of the law, and to the want of inspection and proper protection to the patients, and to the laws governing all asylums as well as that particular asylum, then you have a right to say, that by analogy it is not at all unlikely that the same system prevails in other asylums, as you have detected it in one instance. *This was the impression on my mind when I first knew of the atrocious cruelties which could be practised in private asylums, and that not only from personal violence, but from what you may call a normal state of ignorance and cruel treatment."*

The *naïveté* of this confession respecting the origin and foundation of his belief on this head in suspicion alone is truly exquisite.

Again, speaking further of cruelties exercised in asylums, Mr. Perceval said:—

"What I call cruelty in an asylum, and reckless cruelty, is, where the patients are very often, not from any fault of their own, provoked and tantalized, and worked up, as it is called, by an allusion to their own infirmities, and where they are all of a sudden seized and thrown with any amount of reckless violence on a stone floor, or across an iron bedstead, and they are then kneaded with the knee on the chest, at the risk of breaking their ribs; then they are seized by the throat until the eyes start out of the sockets, and the blood comes out of the mouth. They are also taken by the neckcloth and their heads thumped against the floor or banged against the wall. That is the normal treatment, I fear, of the patients in the refractory wards generally throughout the country.

"310. You say that that is the normal treatment. There has been a great deal of evidence given, that the normal treatment of lunatics and people unsound in their minds, some years ago, was entirely different from the normal treatment going on now?—Yes.

"311. I think you had better keep the two classes of cases distinct. Lord Shaftesbury stated that he believed there were great cases of cruelty going on in private asylums, almost as great as before; and I asked him whether he had got any facts to justify his observation, but he could give the Committee none. Do you think that it is so?—Yes; we have plenty of cases.

"312. Have you any reason to believe that the normal treatment of lunatics in private asylums, is, that their heads are thumped against the floor, and that they are seized by the throat, as you have described, and so on?—When I used those words, I was referring to the refractory wards of a *country* asylum. I did not say Bethlehem; I suspect that that is the normal way of treating them."

Still suspicion alone; nothing but baseless suspicion. Turn for

a moment now to Mr. Perceval's opinions respecting the Lunacy Commission and its members, and admit at least the consistency of his assertions on lunacy matters. He speaks of the Commissioners in Lunacy in the following manner:—

"The Board of Commissioners in Lunacy is another inquisition before which the patient has no right to be present, either in person or by attorney; he does not know when the court is summoned, nor what takes place, restoring to us the cruelty of the inquisition, to the mind, and sometimes to the body of the individual."—(Qy. 179.) "It has been a pettifogging mind on the subject; they have never taken a liberal view of their duties."—(Qy. 243.) "I consider the protection afforded by the visits of the magistrates and Commissioners in Lunacy is very often a mere mockery, and worse than nothing, because it tempts the patients to complain, and then they are punished vindictively for complaining of anything."—(Qy. 321.) "There is something in the character of the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy that I do not like; I look upon it with suspicion, and I would rather always be under the protection of the magistrates than under the Commissioners in Lunacy. There is a frankness of character in the magistrate, while on the contrary, there is in the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy a duplicity, I rather think; and what is more, although I do not know how to express it, except by the use of a very common word; I will call it an adherence to technicalities."—(Qy. 374.)

We will append here the only quotation it is necessary to make from Admiral Saumarez's evidence to show that his method of assertion was very similar to that of Mr. Perceval. Speaking of the Chancery Court, Admiral Saumarez said:—

"The whole proceedings in Chancery are a sink of iniquity; it is the plunder of the many for the benefit of the few. . . . The Committee were pleased to ask Mr. Barlow how it was that the increase of commissions in lunacy had become so great, there having been eighty last year, and a few years before only forty. I take the liberty to say, that it is from the facility now afforded to designing persons to sue out commissions of lunacy upon parties whom they wish to confine, and whose estates they want to get possession of."—(Qy. 70.)

We wish simply to show the parallelism between the style of assertion of the chairman of the Alleged Lunatics' Friend Society and the honorary secretary of the same society. We shall not have to return to Admiral Saumarez's evidence, as he confined himself almost solely to legal matters, which we should certainly not presume to judge of from the light of his so-called facts.

We might now perhaps leave Mr. Perceval's evidence to the contempt of our readers, and we can fancy that some are indignantly asking why we take upon ourselves the liberty of

nauseating them, and upsetting their moral digestion for a brief space with such stuff? The fact is that it is of more importance than at first seems. The public in its notions of lunacy matters errs from ignorance solely. Evidence like that of Mr. Perceval, Admiral Saumarez, and (we regret to class this nobleman in the same category, but facts are relentless) Lord Shaftesbury, coincides with the public notions, and goes beyond them in exaggeration. The public, judging of these gentlemen from the positions they hold, looks upon their opinions as founded on a careful consideration of facts; it is our duty—and an exceedingly important and painful duty—to show that they are the product of a too active imagination only. The interest of the profession, and more particularly that of the unfortunate lunatic, is dependent in no small degree upon the success with which we discharge this duty. We claim the assistance of our readers in executing it; and if it be done well, we have little doubt we shall soon see the *quasi*-philanthropical motives which appear to have actuated these witnesses rightly appreciated.

Before taking leave of Mr. Perceval's evidence, it is but just, however, as a species of corrective to the obnoxious quotations we have given from it, that he should be made to minister occasion for the exercise of the nimbleness of our reader's lungs. This certain of his suggestions for bettering the condition of lunatics are well calculated to do.

“According to my ideas, every asylum ought to be constituted in this way; there should be a governor, as well as a medical superintendent and a clergyman. My reason for stating that is this, that I think patients have sometimes to be protected against medical advice and *experiments*, as well as against any other danger. Another reason is this, that the science of treating the insane is still very imperfect. How far it is proper to admit a minister of religion to interfere with those cases is still very little known, and very much questioned and doubted. Cases might arise where a person, knowing his own constitution and what he had suffered from certain medical treatment, might object to a medical officer's way of medically treating him. He ought to have some one to appeal to to rescue him from it. He might sustain very great injury from it. I know a patient who to the last hour of his life will regret an operation that was performed upon him, by which the temporal artery was severed, and by which he believes that the operations of his mind have ever been in a manner constantly affected; and he does so not only from his own subsequent experience in observing the operations of his mind, but also on a principle that he believes in, that lunacy depends more than anything else upon the state of the blood and the circulation of the blood. I think, therefore, on that account, that every patient should have an opportunity of referring immediately, and appealing to a person such as a governor, against medical treatment which he thought would do



him an injury. At present he is like a child; if he will not swallow the dose, it is forced down his throat. I suppose that a governor, in such a case, would either consult the man and respect his experience, or consult his friends to ascertain whether that experience was true, or send for another physician to ascertain what was best to be done. Again, I imagine in the present state of things that there might be improper interference, either on the part of the clergyman with the patient as to his medical state, or by the medical man with the clergyman's interference with the patient from prejudices of his own. I think it is requisite that there should be a governor appointed, a man of liberal education and mind, to whom such cases should be referred for decision, and from which the clergyman might appeal, if he chose, to the Commissioners in Lunacy; but I think it very often might be the case that a medical man would improperly interfere with the clergyman's duties, and also with more probability that the clergyman at this day might interfere injudiciously with the medical man." . .

"231. Mr. *Kendall*. "What class of persons would you select for governors; is he to have a veto in all matters of dispute between the medical officer and the clergyman?—There would be a difficulty, I think, at first; the Government would be compelled perhaps to make the governors of some of our private lunatic doctors; I should not object to that, and for this reason; when you abolish private asylums you abolish the means of living of a great number of men, and I should not like to see that done; at least, it would be very cruel upon them that they should be deprived of those means of living, and I think if they, with their experience, were appointed, in the first instance, as governors, they might act very well as governors, and without suspicion of any misconduct, though as proprietors where their own interests are concerned they are not to be depended upon. *But I do not hesitate to say that I think the persons that ought to be employed by the Government are young men of the aristocracy, and young men of any liberal profession, and I have no doubt that you would find them.* No doubt as years went on, there would be many who would come forward, and that some would be found now. I think it would require men of well-educated, liberal, and delicate minds to undertake these cases; they also must be men of firm temper and resolution; I quite conceive that it would be a difficult thing to get many such men at first, but I think as the subject was discussed, and as men's minds opened to it, what is perhaps ridiculed now, they would really feel it to be an honour and a pleasure to be engaged in, that is in carrying out the benevolent objects of the Government."

As to clerical visitors, Mr. Perceval remarks:—

"Clerical men might see at first, but I think they are entitled to acquire experience in the working of these hospitals as well as medical men. The medical men have been walking the hospitals for years, and practising sufficient cruelty, and causing the death of many patients, and are at last only arriving at a certain amount of knowledge how to treat those disorders. Therefore, I think it no objection to

clergymen to say they may err at first in their treatment, and I think that they might be allowed to walk the hospitals and acquire information."\*

In his reply to the one hundred and seventieth query, Mr. Perceval gave as one of his reasons for the modifications he suggested, the protection of the patients from medical experiments, and yet he would make the poor lunatic the ground of a gigantic experiment with unskilled hands!

Finally, Mr. Perceval culminates in the following remarks and reference—

"The great object of all my observations is this—if I can, to break through that constant routine and reference to the medical man; and if I can, to elevate the view which the Legislature should take of this subject, and that they may consider more the spiritual and moral part of the subject than the medical part of it. I find that Lord Shaftesbury states, that only in one out of twenty boards did they find a case in which medical circumstances were combined with the disorder. I think that that is a proof how much the subject should be treated in a moral and a spiritual sense."†

And now to more serious matter again. Mr. Campbell was questioned upon the occurrence of gross acts of cruelty in both public and private asylums (Mr. Perceval having asserted the occurrence of such acts); he was asked if he had any reason to believe that these cases were numerous and frequent. Mr. Campbell answered, "I can hardly say numerous and frequent, but I am certain that they occur at the present time; it is very rare that several months pass by without some cases coming under our notice."‡ This is the reply of one of the Commissioners of Lunacy, and we might reasonably hope now that we have got upon some stable ground. We shall see in the sequel. Mr. Campbell was further asked:—

"404. Can you put in, on another day, the number of the entries as to violence which you or any other Commissioner joined with you in the visitations have made?—I can look over them. I wish to convey to the Committee my impression, that there is truth in the statement that violence is used towards patients by the attendants, and I wish strongly to urge upon them my opinion, that the persons employed as attendants in all asylums, both public and private, are all of too low a class; they are an uneducated class.

"405. You, stating as a public officer that that is your impression, the Committee have a right to know upon what facts it is that you base that opinion; because an impression is good or bad according as you can substantiate it by facts?—The reason why I think that superior persons ought to be employed is, that the duties of an attendant on an insane person are very trying and difficult.

"406. Could you not before the time when the Committee meets again,

\* Query 373.

† Query 377.

‡ Query 384.



refer to your books, and see whether, not merely as to your inspection, but as to the notice generally of the cases of supposed cruelty which have occurred either in public or private asylums, or in both, and, without enumerating them, give us upon your official authority something like an account of the amount of cruelty which exists in these asylums, and the report you have made in your visiting entries to the authorities of the asylums at the time?—I have no doubt that I shall be able to bring some cases before the Committee; but I am afraid they will appear very small, and hardly to back up what I have stated. I was only stating my impression.”

In his evidence on a subsequent day Mr. Campbell produced the evidence for his impression. He said:—

“I was requested to procure some documents in order to show that those acts of cruelty were occasionally committed in asylums; and I have accordingly searched a number of entries, which have been made for some time past; *I may say that we keep no register of those acts of cruelty, which are investigated on the occasion of our visits, and therefore it is with some difficulty that I have got at a few cases.* I have had to go through the entries.”\*

No register of acts of cruelty! Difficulty of referring to such facts! This seems passing strange. Let us proceed however.

We are told that the cases of complaint of acts of cruelty frequently break down on investigation. Next we are given to understand that only two cases of dismissal of attendants for cruelty could be found to have occurred in county asylums in 1858 and 1859; “but I have noticed in a register that we keep, that a fortnight ago two nurses were discharged from a county asylum in the neighbourhood of London for violence to a patient;”† discharged, that is, without the interference of the Commissioners. What follows of immediate interest to us is too important not to be given in Mr. Campbell’s own words:—

“462. From 1847 to 1853, what returns have been made to you of cases of cruelty, and the grounds upon which the allegations have been made?—They have been taken out as they stand in the book, and they are entered in the book according to the alphabetical arrangement of names; and I find that 49 male attendants have been discharged from county asylums for striking and ill-using patients.

\* Query 432.

† Query 445.—This is Mr. Campbell’s account of the cause of dismissal of these attendants:—“In the month of July, 1858, a patient at a county asylum stated that he had seen two other patients struck with a rope by one of the attendants. That complaint was investigated, I happened to be the Commissioner who visited the asylum. The facts of course were denied by the attendants, but we had them before us, and we came to the conclusion that the facts as stated were true, and that the man had been struck by one of the attendants with a rope. He stated it was a little piece of string which had come out of a bedstead. The patient stated that it was a heavy rope, and the result was that this attendant and another who was implicated were discharged on that occasion. We made an entry of this case at the time, and although the medical superintendent of the asylum stated that the men bore very good characters, they were discharged.” This is an example of cruelty.



"463. That is to say, the superintendents of the county asylums, or the committee of management, have dismissed those attendants?—Yes, they are cases which have been investigated and decided upon. 464. They are cases in which the superintendents of the asylums, or the committee of management, have dismissed the attendants for not discharging their duty?—Yes; that is, in which they found that the attendants had struck or injured patients. 465. Mr. *Briscoe*. Or otherwise ill-used them?—Yes. 466. Sir *George Grey*. The words in the Act are, 'Dismissal for misconduct of any nurse or attendant'?—Yes. 467. Do you include misconduct of every kind that has led to the dismissal of an attendant?—No; I have only directed such cases to be extracted as show real cruelty, in order to bear out what I stated on a former occasion. 468. In addition to those cases, do you believe that there are numerous other cases in which attendants have been dismissed for misconduct of another kind?—I know that there are a great many; I cannot say how many. 469. Are not those cases equally reported to the Commissioners under the terms of the Act of Parliament? Yes, and they are in the book; but I have not looked to see how many. 470. Are they numerous?—Yes; I may mention that not even cases of neglect are set down in this list. . . .

"480. Then the proportion of cases in which alleged cruelty was complained of have been, in the course of twelve years, forty-nine in 1000 or 1500 attendants?—Forty-nine men and twenty-five women; but I should remind the Committee, that these are cases which have not been complaints only, but cases which have been proved and followed up by dismissal, and in some cases by prosecutions, and fine and imprisonment. 481. Colonel *Clifford*. Have you not returns for two years which are more close?—I find that of those forty-nine male attendants who were discharged, ten were discharged in the years 1858 and 1859; and of the women, five were discharged within the same period. 482. Mr. *Henley*. Can you state how many were discharged in consequence of the recommendations of the Commissioners, as compared with those who were discharged by the managers of the asylums?—I have no means of knowing, but I suspect that these have been all discharged independently of the Commissioners. 483. If that be so, have you any reason to doubt that, as far as can be, a remedy is immediately applied in those cases where cruelties occur in these public asylums?—Where it is proved, I have not the slightest doubt that punishment immediately follows; I have no doubt that the managers of the public asylums at once dismiss the attendants who have been proved to have committed any act of cruelty. 484. Mr. *Tite*. Does that answer apply to private asylums as well as public asylums?—I think so. 485. As much to one as to the other?—I think it does. . . .

"502. Have you anything to add that will lead to the conclusion that there are more cases than those which appear to have been reported to your office under the directions of the Act of Parliament?—I have before stated that these cases do not include cases of gross neglect, or any minor instances of cruelty. 503. Will you be good enough to answer my question?—I have no more that I can bring forward. 504.

I am not inquiring into any cases of neglect; I wish to confine my inquiry to cases which come under the description of cruelty.—That has been strictly attended to in the lists which have been prepared. 505. You cannot add any facts but those which you have already stated?—No. 506. *Chairman*. Will you now, if you please, go to the private asylums?—The complaints in licensed houses, which I shall now mention, have occurred within the last two years, 1858 and 1859, and there are only four of them. 507. Those are cases which have been brought under the notice of the Commissioners?—Yes; in the metropolitan licensed houses. 508. Are they cases of dismissal?—In some cases, of dismissal. 509. Are these only reports of cases that you have received during the last two years?—No; these cases came under our own knowledge. 510. How many cases of alleged cruelty have been reported to you during the last two years in private asylums?—Nine males and one female in 1858 and 1859. 511. Can you give a comparison between 1847 and 1858?—The total was 48 male attendants in licensed houses discharged for violence towards the patients, and 20 females. 512. *Chairman*. Making together 68?—Yes. 513. *Sir Erskine Perry*. Does that number contain all: I understood you to say that you did not get all the returns?—I can only say that we sent the circular to which I have referred some time ago. . . .

“519. Were those persons discharged in consequence of reports made by the Commissioners, or were they discharged by the proprietors of the asylums?—I should say that they had all been discharged by the proprietors of the licensed houses. 520. Then with regard to the management of asylums, with reference to the cases of dismissal for cruelty, the private and public asylums seem to be pretty much upon a par?—It seems so by the return. 521. Have you any reason to believe, either as to the private or public asylums, that the managers of either one or the other do not take pains to dismiss attendants, either male or female, in cases of cruelty which are brought to their notice?—No; I have no reason to believe that. 522. Have you any reason to believe that they do not take sufficient pains to ascertain that the cases of cruelty are properly inquired into as soon as they occur?—No; I think all proprietors of asylums, as well as superintendents of asylums, are anxious to get the best attendants that they can. 523. Have you in your visits to asylums, whether public or private, heard any complaints made on the part of patients, that cases of cruelty have been brought to the notice of the superintendents, proprietors, or managers of those asylums, which cases have not been attended to?—Yes; I think I may say that that has been the case. 524. To any great extent?—No; a patient will come and say, ‘I complained that such and such a nurse had been rough with me, but Mr. So-and-so would not believe me.’ I have then seen the nurse, and I have said, ‘Is that true?’ and, as a matter of course, she has said that it was not true. 525. You have no reason to believe that cases of cruelty occur and are complained of, without their being attended to on the part of those who ought to take notice of them?—No, I have no reason to believe that. . . .

“531. *Mr. Henley*. Do you think that the fact of the number of the

complaints being sixty-eight in the private houses, and seventy-four in the course of twelve years in the public asylums, bears out the former part of your evidence, that you thought cruelty was especially practised in county asylums?—With reference to that, I beg to state that I contradicted myself, when I said especially; I believe I intimated to the Committee at the time that I did not mean especially in public asylums. 532. You stated in your former evidence that you agreed with what Mr. Perceval had stated in many things; do you wish to amend that part of your evidence?—I wish to take away the words ‘especially in public asylums,’ because I do not mean that. 533. Again, at Question 385, in answer to this question by me, ‘You have stated that it is especially so in public asylums;’ your answer is, ‘I think, perhaps, I may say so.’ Having given that opinion in two cases, do you wish to adhere to it?—I think I would amend it in this way; I may say in some of the refractory wards of county asylums.’

If we turn now to the Appendix of the Report, to see in what manner Mr. Campbell's returns of cases of *cruelty* bear out his impressions with regard to the occurrence of such cruelty, not forgetting that gentleman's assertions that he had “only directed such cases to be extracted as show *real cruelty*,” we find, first, that the whole of the returns of dismissals of attendants are simply headed for “*ill-treatment* of patients.” Again, of the 142 cases of dismissal recorded, forty-four were for “striking a patient;” one for returning a blow; one for impertinence to a patient; against two attendants only does it seem to have been necessary to proceed at law; one attendant was dismissed for maltreating a patient, though in a trifling manner; in three cases only does there appear upon the face of the return *cruelty*, properly so called; and all the rest were cases of dismissal for various degrees of ill-usage of, or harshness towards patients.

It is evident, therefore, that if Mr. Campbell's use of the word *cruelty* is to be received in the ordinary signification of that word, “inhumanity, savageness, barbarity,” his returns bear out his assertions very imperfectly. And thus it would appear that whether we take these returns at that gentleman's estimate, or if we take them at our own estimate, as obtained from the returns themselves, the charge of cruelty in asylums, as received, approved of, and expressed by this representative of the Lunacy Commission, is baseless. All the facts go to prove that, under present circumstances, instances of cruelty in our asylums are rare, and that the Commissioners of Lunacy are in a position to prove this.

It is much to be regretted that gentlemen occupying highly responsible official positions should make serious charges against a respectable body of men, without being able to support such imputations by a reference to specific facts.



Dr. Bucknill put the question of so-called cruelty on its right foundation when he told the Committee, speaking of public asylums, that he believed "cases of deliberate cruelty are exceedingly rare; but the stress upon the temper and patience of the attendants is so great that loss of temper is not uncommon."\* That stress will always remain unless automaton attendants can be invented, and the evils naturally resulting from it can only be met by strict supervision, and a large number of attendants. Mr. Campbell's own statements show how strict is the discipline kept both in public and private asylums. Immediate dismissal is the punishment of *any* violence or harshness towards a patient, except it be in the most manifest self-defence. This is the only plea allowed in exculpation, and so efficiently do the superintendents of public asylums, and the proprietors of private, carry this rule into action, that the Commissioners have very rarely to interfere.

We now come to the suggestions offered to the Committee.

First in importance are those of the Commissioners in Lunacy, contained in a memorandum printed in the Appendix to the Report.† These, however, although of most moment, require only to be briefly glanced at, since they formed the basis of the suggestions made by Lord Shaftesbury, and we noted their general character and objectionable points in reviewing the propositions contained in the proposed Bills discussed by the Committee of 1858-59. The Commissioners' suggestions contain the following provisions:—1. For an increased number of visits of the Commissioners and visitors to licensed houses during the year. Every house to be visited regularly six times a year by the visitors, and three times at least by the Commissioners, "altogether at least nine times, or, on the average, once in six weeks." 2. The Commissioners to be empowered to demand information as to the payments and expenditure for private patients.—No facts have been laid before the Committee warranting such a provision; it is based almost entirely upon an unjustifiable suspicion; and it is not needed, as the following extract from a letter of the Secretary of the Commissioners to the Lord Chancellor will show:—

"In the course of their visits, the Commissioners have from time to time had great reason to believe that the patients did not derive such comforts and accommodation from their income and allowance as they were entitled to, and they have, therefore, in many cases, required from the persons in whose care patients have been placed, and others, a statement of the patient's property, and of the sums

\* Query 1008.

† P. 209.

disbursed on their account. *This information has generally been very readily given, and for the most part with beneficial results.*”\*

Just so; give the Commissioners, if necessary, powers by which they could obtain the information required by the aid of the magistrates or some other tribunal, *upon due and sufficient cause being shown*; but to give them a general and unlimited power to obtain information which is already willingly given in most instances, would be a piece of the most vexatious legislation. The proposition is not a *bonâ-fide* one, and, supposing it enacted, if it were carried out in the spirit indicated in the evidence of the chairman of the Lunacy Board, it would probably lead to endless interference as to rates of payments, since the opinions of the members of the Board would become the standard of reference, not the professional character or position of the medical man to whose care the patient was consigned. — 3. More careful provisions respecting the signing of certificates for admission into asylums by relatives; for the discharge of patients; and for amendment of informal certificates. 4. Provisions for the better medical charge of licensed houses; every house for 50 patients to have a resident medical proprietor or medical officer; every house for 30 patients and less than 50, to be visited daily by a medical man, if one be not resident; every house for less than 30 to be visited by a medical man thrice a week, unless in cases of dispensation by the Commissioners or visitors. 5. Copies of Commissioners' entries to be sent to visitors; copies of both Commissioners' and visitors' entries to be laid before justices in Quarter Session. 6. Provision for discharging patients by Commissioners in certain special cases. 7. Provision by which Commissioners could grant leave of absence “on trial,” from an asylum to a patient. 8. Provisions for the registration of persons who take single patients under care, the Commissioners also to have the power to call “for any particulars relative to single patients or their property and payments which they may think fit.” The provision not to extend to persons residing with relatives, no one of whom, directly or indirectly, receives payments for the charge.—The unlimited power to demand information as to payments of single patients is open to the same objections as that referring to patients in licensed houses.—9. Provision that the definition of physician, surgeon, apothecary be conformable to the Medical Act. 10. Certain provisions facilitating arrangements for providing additional accommodation, whether temporary or not, and for obtaining burial grounds in connexion with public asylums.

Mr. Campbell laid before the Committee a separate memorandum† of suggestions, of which we may note the follow-

\* P. 214.

† P. 195.



ing particulars:—1. Every order, statement, and medical certificate, to be written in duplicate by the persons signing the same. One of the copies to be sent to the office of the Commissioners in Lunacy, instead of the copy now required to be made by the proprietor or superintendent. 2. Any one Commissioner to be empowered (in addition to the ordinary statutory visits by two Commissioners) to visit at his discretion any asylum, licensed house, hospital or gaol, and make such inquiries as he may think fit. “Give unlimited powers of inquiry, but add some of the most material matters, including for payments and dietary of all classes.”—Is not this highly significant of the mode in which the unlimited power sought by the Commissioners would be carried out?—3.—16 and 17 Vict. c. 96—“Provide that persons signing order, shall have seen patient within one week of signing such order, and have satisfied himself that the patient is insane; that he or some person deputed by him should visit patient within three months after first admission, and subsequently every six months. Medical statement accompanying the notice of admission to be much more specific, and give ‘facts or symptoms’ showing insanity. Empower Commissioners in all doubtful cases to call for second statement within a month.” 4. “Require a report from medical proprietor or medical superintendent or attendant after three weeks, and within four weeks, after admission of a patient, in such form as it by order may require. This to be in addition to the full statement required with the notice of admission. Add a penalty for failure. Where, upon such second report, the insanity of the patient appears doubtful, he shall be visited specially, within seven days, by a Commissioner or the medical visitor (in the case of a provincial licensed house), or (in the case of a hospital) by two members of the Committee, or (in the case of a metropolitan house) by a Commissioner.”

Mr. Purnell Bransby Purnell, Visitor of the several lunatic asylums of the county of Gloucester, laid before the Committee a paper containing his views respecting the Law of Lunacy as it referred to magisterial districts. We commend Mr. Purnell's paper to the notice of our readers, not that we coincide with many of its details, but because it bespeaks a careful and thoughtful consideration of the subject on which he writes. One remark of this gentleman, referring to magistrates, may be especially noted as having a much wider application. He says:—*“It becomes a mistake in legislation, as in the sections alluded to, by abridging their powers and duties, and transferring them to the Commissioners, to show a distrust either of the ability or fidelity with which they would exercise and perform them, the result being that magistrates the best qualified for*



*visiting might decline to act."* Mr. Purnell has, we think, overlooked the principle contained in this remark in his depreciatory observations on apothecaries, which observations are evidently founded on some erroneous conception of the qualifications of the apothecary, properly so called.

Of the suggestions and suggestive information scattered through the evidence, we may notice propositions for a greater freedom of correspondence by lunatics in asylums, and greater facilities of admission to friends. These are points with regard to which no definite rules can be laid down, as they must in the end be left to the decision of the medical man in charge, the friends, and the Commissioners. The Commissioners urge that higher rates of wages should be given to attendants in asylums, hoping thereby to attract a better class of persons to such posts. Dr. Bucknill doubts whether a better class could be obtained than now, and asserts that it is an increased number of attendants that is wanted. The instances of harshness now occurring from time to time towards patients, depend more upon the stress of duty upon the attendants from being insufficient in number, than upon their personal character. Dr. Coxé, one of the Medical Commissioners of the Scotch Lunacy Board, modifies our ideas somewhat respecting the working of the chartered asylums of that division of the kingdom. He tells us that on the whole the system works very well; but he thinks it a bad plan when the pauper and wealthier patients are kept under the same roof. He approves of the system most when the two classes are kept in different buildings—when, in fact, they are provided for in different, although it may be contiguous, asylums. He tells us also that the treatment is regulated by the payment,\* and that there is a considerable saving from the rate of maintenance paid for the private patients, which goes not so much to increase the comforts of the pauper patients, as to extend the institution.† Other, to us, rather serious objections, also are made known in Dr. Coxé's evidence, to which we would refer our readers on account of its quiet, substantial value. We so recently gave an analysis of the First Annual Report of the Scotch Lunacy Board, that we need not dwell any longer upon this evidence. Hitherto we have not alluded to the evidence given by Mr. A. Doyle, one of the Inspectors under the Poor-Law Board. This is, indeed, so important in regard to pauper lunacy that we have noticed it apart.‡

Before closing this abstract of the suggestions, we would briefly refer to one made by Dr. Bucknill—to wit, that an asylum should be established for the *testing* of doubtful cases of lunacy. This, to be termed a *Probationary Asylum*, he proposes to put under the

\* Qy. 1414.

† Qy. 1324.

‡ See page 109.

sole charge of the Commissioners in Lunacy, and that it should be available for all parts of the kingdom. The cases to be admitted are those which have already been sent to some asylum, but upon whose insanity doubt rests. Even on the supposition that this would be a feasible way of getting over the difficulty named, it would be necessary first to show that the difficulty really existed to an extent to warrant a special interference. No such necessity was, however, shown, and we regret that, by an ill-considered and gratuitous project, a portion of the medical evidence given before the Committee should have been made to approximate, however slightly, in laxity to some of the lay-evidence which we have had so strongly to condemn.

We have purposely avoided making any observations on the lay-evidence as it bears upon Chancery lunatics. The wild speculation thrown over that branch of the inquiry with which we are most familiar warns us against treading upon ground with which we have a slighter acquaintance.

Our examination of the evidence laid before the Committee of last session is now ended. The *first* conclusion to which we have been led by that examination has been this:—That the popular outcry which led to the parliamentary inquiry has been in a great measure devoid of foundation. The *second*, that, in so far as asylums are concerned, the majority of the suggestions brought forward for the amendment of the law, are based upon surmise, and not upon fact. The *third*, that, if legislation to any extent be carried out upon the said suggestions, it will simply complicate still more an already sufficiently complicated subject; it will, in fact, be vexatious, and would probably tend to increase the very evils it sought to amend.

Further, we doubt whether any of the propositions submitted to the Committee (except in relation to workhouses) will add to the protection already afforded to the lunatic, either before his admission into an asylum or after. It is not to increased legislation that we must look most for increased protection. The law gives the Commissioners in Lunacy even now more power for the care of the lunatic than they feel justified in using.\* Let the public be disabused of the erroneous notions it entertains respecting the treatment of lunatics, and it would soon perceive that under the care of the Lunacy Commissioners such evils as still beset the proper management of the insane are being gradually but steadily done away with, and that further improvement is to be attained rather by a right accord being kept between public feeling and the Commissioners on the one hand, and the Commissioners and the medical profession and proprietors of

\* See 13th Report of Commissioners, p. 52.



asylums on the other, than by legislation. The present popular outcry, in whatever manner it may have been apparently justified at the commencement, cannot be supported by any sufficient series of facts, upon the showing of the Commissioners; but being made by them a plea for further legislation, it must almost necessarily lead to harm, not solely by occasioning the enactment of unnecessary laws, but by directing public thought into a false channel.

Again, the grave, yet unsustained charges made by the Chairman of the Lunacy Commission, and not dissented from by the other Commissioners examined, against the medical profession practising in lunacy and the proprietors of private asylums, must tend to interfere with that cordial co-operation between the one and the other which is so important for the proper carrying out of the delicate and responsible duties of the Commission.

We might justly complain of the tone adopted by the official witnesses towards the medical profession in the course of this inquiry; we might rightly ask, how it happens that a profession which has lavished so much labour and pains upon the care of the lunatic, which has withheld none of its experience from the public, and to which the public is indebted for all the knowledge by which the condition of the insane has been ameliorated, is at this day exposed to wanton charges, touching nearly its moral character? But we forbear: we shall be content if we can disabuse the public mind of a portion of the errors which it entertains concerning the treatment of lunatics, and facilitate in some degree a clearer knowledge of what is required for further benefiting them.

We, however, protest against the persistent attempts made in the present inquiry by many of the witnesses to elevate the so-called civil rights of the lunatic above his rights as a sick man. Is the nascent lunatic to be matured into a perfect one, in order that a few individuals may parade, under a pseudo-philanthropic guise, their care for the "rights of the subject"? Has not the ailing subject a right to be cured, and is not this his primary right? But we have not a word as yet on the important question how this right is to be secured in the early stages of insanity, without needlessly affecting the liberty of the individual, or stamping him prematurely as a lunatic. Put it aside as we may, this is the great question in lunacy legislation. To set it rightly to rest would require a liberal appreciation, on the part of the people, of the duties of the medical man; and we greatly fear that the unfortunate tone assumed by the official witnesses in the present inquiry, will blast any hopes of this feeling being brought about rapidly among the public.



## ART. IV.—ON LESIONS OF THE CUTANEOUS SENSIBILITY AMONG THE INSANE.

By Dr. TH. AUZOUY, Médecin-en-chef de la Division des Hommes à l'Asile public d'Aliénés de Maréville.

(Translated from the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*.)

MANY causes combine to modify the physiological functions of the skin in persons of sane mind; but these alterations are infinitely more frequent and more important among the insane. This fact has often been incidentally remarked in reference to particular cases, but it is capable of much more general application than has been supposed. I have been convinced by experiments which I have perseveringly followed for a long time, that in the case of a large number of insane patients there exist functional disorders of the cutaneous organs, and that the most common of these disturbances is anæsthesia. This phenomenon so far as concerns idiots did not escape Esquirol. "Idiots," says he, "sometimes live under the utmost physical insensibility, although possessing their senses. Some of these unhappy beings have been known to bite and tear themselves, and to pluck out their own hair. I have seen one idiot who with his fingers and nails had pierced a hole in his cheek, play with a finger in the opening, and who ultimately tore it open as far as the commissure of the lips without appearing to suffer. There have been others who have had their feet frozen, without appearing to give the matter any attention." I have under my care at Maréville an idiot who amuses himself by running rough wooden pegs through his nose and ears, and who baffles the attention of those who would attempt to deprive him of this singular pastime.

It is far, however, from being the fact, that idiots alone possess the sad privilege of being insensible to pain. Long ago my honoured colleague and fellow-labourer M. Renaudin pointed out anæsthesia of the skin as furnishing the most certain elements of diagnosis in many instances of insanity. It was at his instigation that I patiently investigated this anomaly in the course of my attendance upon more than 600 invalids; and, to my great surprise, I found that more than half of them presented different degrees of analgesia of the cutaneous organ. This enormous proportion of analgesics will appear less extraordinary if it be considered what a large element of our population consists of the demented, idiot, imbecile and melancholy class.

One of our first physicians, M. Beau, has shown that pellagra and that form of analgesia which belonged to the *illuminati* or *convulsionnaires* of past times, who imbibed from the exaltation of religious monomania an exclusive concentration of sentiment and an absolute impassibility with regard to the most cruel tortures, depend upon the sensorial lesion inherent in certain nervous

disorders, such as hysteria, nervous delirium, and lypemania. M. Beau has also established a distinction as exact as it is ingenious, between anæsthesia in reference to pain (or *analgesia*), and anæsthesia in relation to feeling or sensation; he has justly remarked that tactile anæsthesia necessarily carries with it anæsthesia as to pain, but that the reciprocal proposition is not true. In fact, analgesia most frequently exists amongst the insane without the loss of tactile insensibility.

M. Michea has reported a series of observations which place beyond a doubt the existence of analgesia in the case of most persons afflicted with melancholia, and notably so amongst those suffering from religious and suicidal lypemania. With reference to this, M. Legrand du Saulle has quoted a remarkable case observed by him in the asylum at Dijon. An old man, called Mairêt, sixty-one years of age, believed himself to have been dead for forty years, and besought that he might be buried. In order to ascertain whether his delirium would survive the accomplishment of his desire, he was literally buried up to the neck, and if he complained of anything, it was that his interment was not completed. This patient shortly afterwards received a serious wound, which did not cause him any pain; no more did the application of cupping glasses and various irritants, which he scarcely appeared to perceive.

A melancholy patient in the asylum of St. Yon, one day after having stabbed himself with a knife several times in the vain attempt to kill himself, thrust the prongs of a fork into his breast, and perceiving that the instrument was not placed quite opposite his heart, pulled it out with great coolness, and stuck it in again on a level with the left ventricle, which he fatally reached this time by a voluntary pressure, and by setting his body against the table on which his meal was being served.

A girl named Marie Jallot, in the asylum of Fains, eighteen years of age, one day eluding the watch kept over her, suddenly opened a stove which was red hot, rapidly thrust in her head, and fixed her chin so well against one of the sides, that it was only with great difficulty she was snatched from her voluntary punishment, of which she seemed scarcely to feel the consequences. This patient has survived her horrible burns; her delirium is in no way modified.

The Brussels newspapers lately reported the following fact, which was thought to be unparalleled.

A workman employed by one of the principal gold-beaters of the town, and named X—, had quitted his work before the end of the day, feeling, as he said, a very violent headache. Next day he left the workshop for the same reason, and returned home. There his suffering continued, but his condition presented no



alarming symptoms. Suddenly, however, the unfortunate man sprang from his chair, and possessed by a horrible hallucination, threw himself upon the stove, which was then more than usually heated for some domestic purpose and almost thoroughly red hot; he embraced it with his arms, pressing it with all his force against his breast. The piercing screams of his wife, who endeavoured in vain to put an end to this fatal embrace, brought the neighbours to her assistance, and they succeeded ultimately in detaching the unhappy man from the stove, which he continued to clutch with the stoicism of a mad insensibility to physical suffering. But already the whole anterior portion of his body presented a frightful aspect, and fell off, so to speak, in rags, consumed by prolonged contact with the block of red-hot iron, which in like manner seared his arms and seamed them with horrible burns. At the end of a few hours X—— expired, in spite of the best medical assistance, and in the midst of unheard-of sufferings.

This example may be matched by the following, which was published in 1851, in *L'Union Médicale* by Dr. Morel, one of my honoured predecessors at Maréville.

A man still young had just celebrated his second marriage. In the midst of the preparations for the wedding-feast the bridegroom quitted the company, and after his prolonged absence had thrown the family into a state of some uneasiness, a search was made for him. On entering the nuptial chamber, the following spectacle presented itself to his friends and relatives. On a vast brazier lay a corpse half consumed, and the medico-legal examination which followed, verified the fact that the unhappy man, after having laid himself down on the fire, had preserved sufficient presence of mind to turn himself, and so render his combustion more complete.

The history of the shoemaker, Mathew Lovat, as reported by Marc, is pretty generally known. He commenced his long martyrdom by amputating his genital organs, which he threw out of the window. This horrible mutilation was scarcely healed when he crucified himself, after having made the most minute preparations for his torment, which he all but succeeded in consummating. With his feet and hands pierced with enormous nails, which he had obstinately thrust into them, his side laid open with a paring knife, he remained completely insensible during eight days, at the end of which period his capacity for pain returned.

The pathological anomaly of the general power of feeling has been pointed out by M. Renaudin as constituting the initiative phenomenon of monomania. Here, as in lypemania, the absence of feeling is not to be attributed so much to defective innervation as to the absorption of the sensitive faculty by the close and exclusive contemplation of some object which admits of no other



mental action. MM. Morel and Renaudin have quoted in their works the interesting observation of the case of a man named Creut, who is still at Maréville, with a tendency to dementia. He is a monomaniac with extatical hallucinations; and, being ambitious of imitating the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, on the festival of this saint he plunged his right arm into boiling water, and opposed the efforts of the attendants to pull it out with a resistance almost tetanic. He remained completely insensible to pain until the day following this act of supreme folly. I meet with facts daily showing how difficult it is to act upon this man with any stimulant.

M. P——, a judge at V——, who was affected with religious monomania, devoted himself to the stake in order to expiate his sins, and after having himself constructed the pile and lighted it, he there burned himself until his fat trickled upon the stones, the bones of his members were calcined and whitened, and nearly his whole body carbonized. The countenance of the dying man when his physician arrived denoted a state of beatitude; he betrayed neither pain nor emotion.

With some maniacs as well as with monomaniacs nervous centralization supervenes to such a degree that the faculty of receiving external sensorial impressions disappears. The state of torpor as to external feeling, although analogous in its expression to that which manifests itself in persons who are stupid and deprived of their senses, emanates from a cause totally different. In the one case it results from the absorption of psychical activity by an exclusive class of ideas; in the other, the sensorial lesion must be imputed to a state of defective innervation. Here the nervous fluid, without losing any of its energy, is concentrated upon one special object; there, on the other hand, according to the happy expression of M. Renaudin, it produces *une véritable nevrorrhagia*.

Physical insensibility manifests itself sometimes in a transitory form, and exists only during the continuance of the paroxysms in certain maniacal fits. We have at Maréville a young patient who exhibits one of these deliriums of action, which only shows itself in an instinctive automatism without his having any delirious conception or incoherence either in his words or writings. Arthur D——, a youth of good talents, and till then tractable, became suddenly undisciplined and rebellious beyond measure; he gave himself up to the worst tendencies, and was on the point of imperilling his own honour and the repose of his family. He answers clearly, but with contrition and shame, that his perverse acts were dictated by an inclination stronger than his will, and that it was not in his power to act otherwise than he did. His appearance is such as to banish all idea of mental alienation, and a superficial

examination would have led to his being treated as a bad character of the ordinary stamp ; but the investigation which was undertaken by my colleague brought to light a state of complete cutaneous insensibility, which was evidently the pathological key to the position. Since his admission to Maréville, Arthur has from time to time experienced several intermittent attacks of anæsthesia, the appearance of which invariably coincides with irresistible longings of the worst description, while the return of cutaneous sensibility is immediately followed by moral dispositions of a totally different character.

In some cases of mania, and of acute and nervous deliriums, it happens that anæsthesia of the skin is not accompanied by coldness of the periphery ; but, on the contrary, there is an increase of calorificity. The eyes are brilliant and animated, the face flushed, the skin bathed in perspiration, and the patient greatly agitated. Invalids in this state are inaccessible to all physical pain. They have been known to lean with impunity upon members horribly fractured, to mutilate and tear their own flesh with pleasure. At the Fains Asylum I have reduced serious fractures in the cases of two lunatics afflicted with acute delirium ; I have made deep incisions and sutures on the cranium of an oinomaniaque without any of the patients appearing to be aware of the operation.

It is especially amongst individuals afflicted with stupor that the annihilation of general sensibility attains its climax. MM. Baillarger and Delaisauve have remarked this as one of the most constant symptoms. *Hands have they, and they handle not, &c.*, may be truly said of melancholics whose mental faculties are completely torpid (*stupides*). The greatest obtuseness takes possession of their sensations as of their sentiments. Lypemania, adds our colleague of Bicêtre, by the aggravation of its determining lesion, is apt to lead to torpor, and sensational paralysis is necessarily excited by the prostration attendant upon lypemania. On the other hand, when monomaniacs and lypemaniacs pass to a state of dementia they show themselves less tenacious of their opinions and less obstinate in their silence ; they recover a factitious animation, and in the midst of a morbid condition more alarming in character, they put on outwardly a deceitful amelioration. These invalids, in fact, recover, with the disappearance of nervous tension, a certain amount of purely ephemeral sensibility ; for their external impressions are not slow to become confused, and as the nervous system becomes weaker, cutaneous anæsthesia sets in again and progresses indefinitely. The result of my own observation is, that in the case of demented persons, imbeciles, and idiots, the lesion of the general sensibility is with very few exceptions in direct proportion to the lesion of



the intellectual faculties. The tegumentary envelope of these weakened and depressed beings, in whom the physical and moral faculties verge equally towards torpor and inertia, and in whom spontaneity tends gradually to vanish, participates passively in the general cachexy of the organism.

Notwithstanding, however, that perceptive sensibility is so often diminished or destroyed during madness, it is sometimes greatly increased. Cases of hyper-æsthesia are met with especially amongst maniacs and lypemaniacs labouring under hallucinations. The sufferings of these last, though imaginary, are none the less felt with extreme acuteness. There are beings with such impressionable organizations that the slightest external agent produces on them the most intense and painful effects: to them the wind is always in the east. I once knew a lady who persistently avoided walking in the open air, on the sole ground that the leaves falling upon her from the trees caused her such frightful bruises and such atrocious pain, that she preferred death to it. On the other hand, some idiots experience vivid sensations of enjoyment when they are touched or lightly caressed on the nape of the neck. They have retained an aptitude for the sense of pleasure as well as pain, and are excessively pusillanimous. Fear or the sight of suffering suffices to draw from them plaintive cries and torrents of tears. Hypochondriacs experience visceral hyper-æsthesia produced by the increased energy of the ganglionic nervous system. The great sympathetic in them, indeed, acquires an increase of sensibility in proportion to the diminution which takes place in that of the cerebro-spinal system. . . .

Whenever I examine a patient, I endeavour to ascertain the degree of physical sensibility which he possesses. This examination, as might easily be anticipated, has naturally led me to vary the means of exploration. In order that my experiments should be devoid of all inhumanity in their character, and not calculated to alarm the lunatic, I have sought carefully for stimulating agents of such a nature that they might also be available in the treatment of the malady. I hasten to declare that although the application of blisters, moxas, setons, the actual cautery, the use of cupping, &c., has occasionally furnished me with useful data by which to judge of the cutaneous activity, I have used these means with great reserve; never prescribing their application but in such cases where the special pathological condition imperatively called for their use. Punctures and pinchings, practised either with the hand or with blunted pincers curbed so that they cannot be perfectly closed, resemble too much means of torture to be employed except very rarely. Cold affusions, sudden besprinkling with a water-can, or garden-pump syringe, hydrotherapeutics applied without



especial apparatus and according to the resources which I had at command, frictions with stimulating applications or with congealed snow, have been frequently and very advantageously made use of. I have used largely muscular exercise and manual labour, which at one and the same time stimulate the inertia and moderate hyperexcitation. At my request a gymnasium has been formed at Maréville for young subjects, and for those adults whose age or certain special conditions debar from the labours of the wood-yard or the workshop. This institution is certainly efficacious in reanimating the benumbed functions of the tegumentary system. Lastly, I have had recourse to urtication in some cases of stupor and excessive torpidity, in order to recal to the cutaneous surface its lacking activity; and I must say that the different means which precede, singly insufficient, can by a gradual and rationally conducted combination, lead to very satisfactory results. Nevertheless it is not sufficient to arouse solely a certain degree of sensibility in the periphery; it is requisite also to combat the fixed ideas of monomaniacs and melancholics, to break the exclusive concentration of their ideas, to reanimate the deadened intelligence of the torpid, and to give somewhat of elasticity and energy to the mind of the demented. In order to attain this end there are still other means than those which I have already enumerated. M. Moreau (de Tours) has extolled and tried with success the internal administration of hachish in analogous cases; but not having for the moment at my command the extract of Indian hemp, I have been obliged to postpone its administration to my patients. I have had recourse to anæsthetic agents, previously successfully experimented with at Maréville, by M. Morel, especially in reference to diagnosis and legal medicine. They ought to render me, and have rendered me, indeed, very great services. To use artificial anæsthesia with an analgesic may seem at first paradoxical; in examining, however, the mode of action of anæsthetic inhalations, we recognise that it exhibits several different periods, of which it is possible to profit according to the indications which we seek to satisfy. To arrest the inhalation as soon as the period of excitement has arrived, and to maintain for a certain time this physiological effect, such is the end that we ought to propose generally for the group of depressed patients in whom psychical force is wanting. It is thus that I act with regard to subjects attacked with inertia and stupor. The action of chloroform being very rapid and inducing very promptly the period of resolution, it becomes difficult with this substance to prolong without danger the excitation. In consequence of this I prefer æther. Ætherization may be prolonged with impunity during a period of time sufficient for a very marked effect to be produced upon the subject. The sole precaution required, in

order to avoid overstepping the limit of excitation, is to suffer the patient to breathe the air, the inhalation of the æther being continued at intervals, in order to prolong its effects.

Pushed until the period of resolution and complete insensibility, ætherization occasions muscular fatigue and a favourable stupefaction, notwithstanding the reaction which succeeds them; in individuals who are affected with acute delirium accompanied with sleeplessness and uncontrollable agitation. If the first essays do not always induce the quietude desired, it is rare, if we persist, that we do not finish by obtaining more or less marked tranquillity. One of the most remarkable results that æthereal inhalations have given to us has been the transformation of delirium, which often changes its type and character in consequence of their employ. The enfeeblement of the mental malady, or the substitution for it of a form more accessible to the ordinary means of treatment, would be assuredly a great benefit gained. But better still than this, we owe to the use of artificial anæsthesia many cases of cure. . . .

Among our more energetic therapeutical agents it is of importance to choose one which permits us in some sort to dose the disorders of innervation among the insane, to measure the different degrees of their sensibility, which can, in fact, serve us as a sensitive thermometer. [This means of investigation is at hand in the form of electricity, and the mode of applying this force, and the results obtained from its use at Maréville are as follows] :—

Our patients are, for experiment, fixed in an arm-chair in such a manner as may be requisite, and placed in front of a little table upon which rests the electro-magnetic machine. Nothing is easier than to submit them to the action of a current by means of metallic conductors, sometimes furnished with humid sponges, and held by the operator by means of non-conducting handles. I shall now sum up as accurately as possible the facts that M. Renaudin and myself have demonstrated in our different experiments.

M. Renaudin has accumulated in the female division of the asylum observations respecting six cretinous idiots, eighteen idiots, and thirty-two imbeciles; total, fifty-seven patients.

*Cretinous Idiots.*—Of the seven cretins, in four there was no sensibility whatever, and the strongest electric current did not disturb their impassibility; in two, the skin had a very obtuse sensibility, appearing to be affected feebly, and the manner in which they supported themselves indicated how confused was the sensation which they experienced; in the seventh, the sensibility was nearly normal, the electric shock being very sharply felt.

*Idiots.*—Experiments were made upon eighteen patients of



this category. In four of them the skin was every way insensible; submitted to the maximum intensity of the electro-magnetic action, these women did not suffer from any painful sensation, but solely exhibited very lively muscular contractions; in seven others the skin was arid and dry, but preserved traces of obtuse sensibility. In these subjects the electric fluid produced tolerably energetic contractions and a sensation which was made manifest by groans, but which was evidently less intense than it ought to have been, because the perception of it was imperfect; in five of these patients, the skin had maintained its normal suppleness and impressionability: the electric shock was felt with vivacity. Lastly, in two others the skin was very impressible, being unusually sensitive to the electric current. The shock extorted from them tears and piercing cries.

*Imbeciles.*—The observations made and repeated upon thirty-two of them led to their being subdivided in the following manner:—Five patients, in whom the skin was absolutely insensible to punctures, pinches, and to the most energetic stimulants, underwent but slight contractions, although not the least painful sensation, when the maximum current acted upon it; nine had scarcely a remnant of aptitude to feel exterior agents, and the current, of which the strong shock agitated them a little, caused them rather surprise than pain; nine others, who felt but confusedly, were impressed by fluid. This impression, in other respects obtuse and vague, vanished without leaving a trace. Seven had normal sensibility in the periphery; hence the electro-magnetic current acted energetically; the contractions were strong, hasty, and painful. Two, lastly, were pusillanimous in the last degree; the current terrified them and extorted from them the most bitter groans.

I have submitted to the influence of the electro-magnetic current about the fourth of the population in the male division of the asylum. 150 lunatics, taken indiscriminately, have been submitted to repeated experiments, of which the results have been noted exactly.

*Cretins.*—Two cretins in our wards are entirely insensible to exterior stimulants, whatever be their energy. The maximum of the current excited in them but slight contractions, accompanied by an air of stupid hilarity.

*Idiots.*—Of nineteen idiots who were electrified, nine did not feel any shock, and were even quite unconscious of the operation. Their cutaneous sensibility was absolutely nothing: a seton was applied to them, as one would stitch a mattress. In four, the tactile sensibility was very obtuse, scarcely affected by the action of fluid; four others retained a vestige of physical sensibility, and were moderately impressible; and lastly, there were two in whom



the sensitiveness of the skin was nearly normal, and who uttered acute cries when the current acted upon them.

*Imbeciles.*—Twenty-six imbeciles were electrified. Three of them, anæsthetic in the highest degree, were with regard to the fluid, as the most degraded cretins and idiots; eight, very nearly insensible, were very slightly aroused, and gazed on all sides, more affected by the unaccustomed apparatus displayed around them, than with the effect it produced upon them. There were six in whom the deadened sensations were feebly awakened by electrization, which caused the muscles to contract, and provoked astonishment, rather than pain. Seven imbeciles had some aptitude to feel external stimulants; the electricity caused them to flush, and at the end of some instants' application it extorted from them complaints. Finally, there were two extremely impressionable, upon whom the current produced instantly pain, which was shown by tears, and the most violent cries.

*Epileptics.*—From what precedes, we see, that a true gradation is observed in the manner in which idiots and imbeciles of both sexes feel pain. The electric agent measures, with a degree of exactitude at which we could never have arrived without its aid, the physical sensibility of each subject. That which is most striking in our experiments, is that the accessibility, and the suffering provoked, coincide with the moral aptitude, and that electrization acts more or less energetically upon the sensibility according as the individual is besides endowed with the faculty of forming his ideas more or less clearly, according as he is more degraded in the intellectual scale, or more perfect in his psychical aptitudes. The rare exceptions that we have met with to this rule, have all been idiots or imbeciles, who have been epileptic. This redoubtable neurosis places them in pathological conditions so abnormal, that I have thought it my duty to be extremely reserved in regard to them, and I have not continued to submit epileptics to electrization.

*Demented.*—Twenty-nine of the demented were discovered to be anæsthetic in various degrees. Electricity constantly had upon them an action in relation with their sensitive aptitude; six felt no more the operation, than if other individuals than themselves had been operated upon; nine felt very feebly: the contractions were lively, but nothing indicated a painful sensation; six were accessible to the electric influx, but in a very limited manner; they flushed easily. Five were impressed in a very real but transitory fashion; the experiment finished, they lost immediately the remembrance of it. Lastly, three were vigorously shocked, uttering cries, and weeping. I remarked that among these patients, the demented paralytics were the least accessible

to pain, but that they were also those who flushed the most easily. The patients attacked with consecutive dementia were much more refractory to the current than those affected with primary dementia. It is among these last that we ought to rank those that the shock impressed with some vivacity. We noted also, that the destructives were all anæsthetic, and that, when the cutaneous sensibility reappeared, their destructive propensities ceased.

*Lunatics in a State of Stupor.*—Nine torpid lunatics appeared to us to be deprived of all tegumentary sensibility. They all, at first, maintained a complete impassibility to the exciting agents.

It was requisite to persevere in the experiments upon these patients. Two even to the end were rebellious towards an agent which hitherto has proved powerless in respect to them, but which, in three others, has momentarily awakened a little activity and overcome an obstinate mutism. In two lypemaniacs struck with stupor, our success has been more decisive; the induction shock has gradually reanimated the physical sensibility and markedly ameliorated the patient's condition. Two other cases have been indebted to electrization for a prompt cure.

*Melancholics.*—In the seventeen which I have observed, there were seven of whom the cutaneous sensibility was quasi-normal, and that faradization succeeded so far as to overcome voluntary mutism and obstinate refusal of food. In the ten others, the cutaneous sensibility diminished progressively; four felt freely the shock; the six others were in the highest degree analgesic and impassible to excitation. Their muscular contractions were always energetic.

*Monomaniacs.*—Thirteen monomaniacs, examined with care, furnished six cases of well-marked analgesia. In nearly the whole of the others there existed, in different degrees, a diminution of sensitive aptitude. The action of the pile, insignificant at the beginning, in the six analgesics became more active in them in proportion as the experiments were prolonged and repeated. Four, in whom the sensibility is variable, were greatly disturbed, and the three last were susceptible in the highest degree. The greater portion professed a deep aversion to the operation that they underwent; they protested and declared that it was supernatural and illegal. Three of these lunatics, under the influence of the current and the pain which it determined, renounced plainly their delirious ideas; they were momentarily reclaimed to a feeling of reality, and they abdicated their chimeras and gave true and conclusive explanations of their situation. Although transitory, this result is not the less important, and it permits us to hope for more desirable results



in those subjects in whom the idiosyncrasy is less rebellious and the delirium less inveterate.

*Maniacs.*—The maniacs are, of all the insane, those who appear the least likely to derive any benefit from an electrical treatment. I have, nevertheless, applied it to thirty-five of these cases, and I confess to have been little encouraged to reiterate often my essays upon them. Patients suffering from chronic or remittent mania, preserving their nearly normal sensibility, are sharply agitated and disturbed by the passage of currents. Some, indeed, struggled and upset the apparatus, vociferating and even defecating involuntarily during the operation. In their paroxysms they feel no pain, it is true, but their muscular contractions are so hasty and disordered that their agitation is rather increased than diminished. This result need not surprise, if what I have said respecting the action of electricity in other forms of insanity be remembered. We have seen it suspend momentarily the delirious conception of the monomaniac, in modifying, for an instant, that nervoso-cerebral concentration which is peculiar to these lunatics; we have aroused the cerebral activity of the lypemaniac, of whom all the sensibility had been concentrated in the ganglionic nervous system. Lastly, we have succeeded in reanimating the vital energy of the demented, in whom the innervation is incomplete; but do we encounter in the maniac any one of these indications? Evidently not. Here, there is no concentration in one sense or the other; there is a convulsive state more or less permanent, and that which I have said of the action of electricity in epilepsy explains sufficiently why this means is inefficacious and even noxious in acute mania, and why it leads to few results in chronic mania.

I cannot then admit that mania may be cured by electrization, neither can I admit that electricity is a simple and commodious means of coercion, and that it may advantageously replace the camisole, the douche, &c. The manipulation of an inductive apparatus presents difficulties and exacts precautions which render necessary the constant intervention of the physician in their application. Admitting the hypothesis even that sedative effects may be obtained from its use, these would be too transitory, too fugacious, to dispense with the use of the camisole and the ordinary soothing means, of which the principal inconvenience, in my opinion, consists solely in the abuse to which they are liable, and which has happened sometimes. . . .

I believe that I have sufficiently shown in the course of this paper, that analgesia is a pathological state which constitutes not solely a fortuitous event peculiar to some cases of mental alienation, but rather a very frequent symptom of which the appearance is intimately bound with the generality of the types of insanity.



This immunity from pain, independent of the alterations of which the sense of touch may itself be the object, is witnessed in various conditions, according to the form of delirium that it accompanies; it is in general proportioned to the moral lesion, increases or decreases with it, and influences powerfully the development and progress of the diseases incident to the insane. The history of mental alienation furnishes numerous examples of this physiological and pathological modification which had given rise to a prejudice long fatal to the insane; because, if it were an epoch when their clothing was neglected, or they were left to stagnate in cold and damp huts, and when their nourishment in the hospices was the remnants of that which had been served to the rational infirm, those who were reproached for these culpable neglects answered then that lunatics felt nothing. But, if they felt not the impression, it is rare that they did not feel the effects, especially when this anæsthesia was the result less of a disorder of the sensibility, as the expression of a notable diminution of the vital energy.

I have then had principally at heart to prove that the practitioner ought to regard analgesia seriously, and not to neglect any of the agents capable of modifying the general sensibility. It was to this end that I undertook, with the intelligent assistance of my *internes*, and especially of M. Kuhn and Dr. Schællhammer, my researches upon ætherization and electrization of the insane. They are far from having been sterile: if they have not yielded, in a curative point of view, all the results that it is possible to attain, at least those we have obtained are not to be disdained. The action of the electro-magnetic current, always inoffensive and exempt from danger in its application, contributes in a most efficacious manner to reinstate the sensibility in that place where it is wanting, and to give elasticity and energy to the deadened muscular system. This medication, new in mental alienation, is not then rash; perhaps even subsequent essays, carried out by hands more able than ours, will ultimately prove that we have not attributed to it all the therapeutical value that it merits.

An essential point with us was the power to demonstrate with some precision the degree of anæsthesia, of pain or of analgesia, that lunatics present in the course of their mental affections. Has this end been attained? The affirmative cannot be doubted, because we seek vainly a physical agent which permits us to appreciate with more exactitude the degree, and the kind of sensorial lesion of each individual. The electrical influence being in direct ratio of the exterior sensibility, and of the intellectual development of the subject, whatever be besides the particular type of his madness, it results that the electricity of induction can be considered as a precious means of diagnosis. This element

of exploration, common now at Maréville, is then fitted to render useful services to mental pathology.

As a therapeutical agent, it is especially with a view to impress upon the economy a salutary perturbation that I have used electrization. In the case where the madness is accompanied by depression, when it is manifested with apathy or stupor, electrization becomes sometimes, in the hands of the practitioner, an heroic remedy. It communicates to the nervous system a dose of activity which, although factitious, accelerates the circulation, and favours the functional activity of the cutaneous system. It serves advantageously to vanquish resistances which it is important to overcome, such as the refusal of food, voluntary mutism, inertia, &c. With its help, we can suspend momentarily the delirious conceptions, and even bring about little by little their suppression.

I am convinced that cataleptics, so refractory to all stimulants and external agents, would undergo happy modifications if they were submitted to an electro-magnetic treatment. Catalepsy is so rare an affection, that I have not yet had an opportunity of treating it with electrization.

The legal medicine of the insane it seems to me ought also to derive some advantage from this source. If we have been able by the aid of ætherization to unmask the feint of individuals who simulate folly, with greater reason may we anticipate, by the means of electrization, to recognise frauds of this nature. The individual who is subjected to an energetic current cannot dissimulate that which he undergoes; a force superior to the most tenacious will obliges him to throw off the mask and reveal himself such as he is. Electro-magnetic testing has powerfully seconded my investigations, when I have had to ascertain the mental state of a young conscript placed under observation in the asylum, and whose alleged imbecility was rightly doubted.

In that which refers to the anæsthetic action of electricity, our observations do not throw any light upon a question lately raised by eminent practitioners. The minor operations are ordinarily effected without pain upon lunatics, on account of the spontaneous anæsthesia which exists in the most part of them. We have not then experimented with faradization in reference to the deadening or suppression of physical suffering. The effects of stimulation and of excitation are the sole that we have at present examined, and that we have obtained, in the application of electricity to mental medicine. In treating here of the principal questions relative to the intervention of electricity in the medicine of the insane, my intention has been particularly to call the attention of my brethren to some important facts, of which the study has appeared to me too much neglected, whilst, on the



contrary, the other branches of the curative art have found in electricity an efficacious auxiliary. This is the reason why I have sought to investigate solely the actions of this agent in reference to mental alienation, and to prepare the elements of an ulterior experimental research; never forgetting that if it be useful to make known the good results produced by the electric current, it is not the less necessary to guard against thoughtless infatuation.

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#### ART. V.—WILLIAM CULLEN:—A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.\*

WILLIAM CULLEN was born at Hamilton, in Scotland, on the 15th of April, 1710. Of his boyhood little is known, save that he was a lad of lively manner, uncommon quickness of apprehension, and great retentiveness of memory. From this text the psychologist seeks to ascertain in what manner grew an intellectual superiority which placed its possessor among the giants of medical science, and in what that intellectual superiority chiefly consisted. The substratum, so far as known, cannot be said to be a rare one; for there are few schools in which could not be found lads whose disposition, readiness of apprehension, and power of memory might not be described in terms similar to those which have been used to distinguish Cullen's boyish characteristics. Hence it may be that, in tracing the development of Cullen's mind, we may learn in some degree why it is that Cullens are so few, while the species of soil from which he grew is plentiful.

Cullen received his preliminary tuition in the Grammar School of Hamilton, at the hands of a teacher of much repute. That this instruction was solid and substantial is certain from the circumstances under which it was given; that Cullen benefited by it to the full is evinced by the opening of his medical studies. From the Hamilton Grammar School he was sent to the University of Glasgow. We know little of the character of his studies in that university, except that his name is to be found in the list of students who, in 1727, attended the mathematical lectures of the celebrated Dr. Simson. The principal facts of this period of Cullen's life are these:—He was bound an apprentice to a Mr. John Paisley, a member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons at Glasgow, and in extensive practice in that city, and

\* "An Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings of William Cullen, M.D., Professor of the practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. Commenced by Dr. John Thomson and Dr. William Thomson, and concluded by David Cragie, M.D." Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1859.



while with that gentleman he had an advantage which may be fairly presumed to have been a chief fostering cause of Cullen's future greatness.

Mr. Paisley was a man of studious disposition, and he had collected a large and valuable medical library. To this Cullen had free access. He had received an education fitting him to comprehend what he read; he had a master who knew the value of reading; he had books—at that time a rare advantage—and so prepared and so guided, he early cultivated a taste for reading. Thus, while he listened to professorial lectures, while he was enabled to mark the practical working of the medical art, he had at his command the teachings of the great masters of that art. That this latter advantage was the differential element which determined the active habits of inquiry that marked the whole of his life, may be assumed from the literary characteristics of that life, and from the value which he attached to the use of a library by students during his professorial career, as shown by the following incidents.

When Cullen, many years after his apprenticeship, became a lecturer in the University of Glasgow, the library of Mr. Paisley, as a mark of regard to Cullen, was thrown open to all his students; and, subsequently, in Edinburgh, Cullen gave to his class the use of his library.

"Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits," is as true of the student who has read little as of the untraveller. Books are the world of the student, and he who has not made good use of them while a student will be apt to turn out a mere academical mental instrument. It may be a highly polished and well perfected one, but one which the possessor knows not how to use, or sees the necessity for using. For if he lack a wider acquaintance with those giants of humanity whose thoughts govern the world's mind, than what is contemplated in an academical course, he will be apt to lack the means wherewithal truly to gauge his own knowledge, and will fail of those great mind-born incentives to research and labour which stir up the thoughts of man from the foundation. He will be apt, indeed, to look upon his academical career as the highest aim of his intellectual life, and not the means to a higher life; to regard as the culmination of his mental training what should be simply the foundation of his own self-dependent efforts of research. In Mr. Paisley's library we deem that Cullen laid the groundwork of his after fame.

"—— Blest

Is he whose heart is the home of the great dead,  
And their great thoughts."

During his student life Cullen was noted for great diligence, and an active observation. If, when in conversation with his fellow-students, any subject was introduced with which he was imperfectly acquainted, he would take little share in the conversation; but if, at some future period, the subject were again broached, he would show that in the meantime he had gained an accurate familiarity with it in all its details. A disposition of this kind lets few things escape it; hence we are not surprised to find during the course of Cullen's life, that he manifested an intimate knowledge of many subjects.

Very early in his medical career he had directed his attention particularly to the subject of *Materia Medica*, and when studying at the University of Edinburgh, he, along with other students of congenial habits, formed a society for mutual improvement, which proved the foundation of the Medical Society of that city. After leaving Edinburgh and commencing the practice of his profession at Hamilton, he devoted considerable attention to the study of general literature and philosophy, and about the same period, "being much addicted to study," as he himself says, he began to review the system of medicine then taught in Scotland. Indeed, during his several years' residence at Hamilton, he devoted himself unremittingly to a critical study of medicine and the collateral sciences, as well as to the actual practice of his profession; and there first were developed those medical notions, as well as that exact acquaintance with disease, which many years afterwards caused his name to become so celebrated as a philosophical physician, and a teacher. At this period of his life, he pursued his researches in physical science experimentally as well as theoretically, and he collected a library containing a number of the most rare and valuable books on medicine. After this probation of severe study and observation, he removed to Glasgow, and very shortly after taking up his residence there, he commenced lecturing on the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University; and subsequently he lectured also upon *Materia Medica* and Chemistry, delivering the Physic and Chemistry lectures annually, until, in 1755, he was appointed to the chair of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh.

When Cullen took up his abode in Glasgow, the medical curriculum of the University was very imperfectly carried out, and it was Cullen's ambition to found at Glasgow a medical school similar to that which had been already established at Edinburgh. To achieve this aim he laboured with characteristic diligence and ardour, until he removed to Edinburgh.

The readiness of apprehension, retentiveness of memory, and energy of disposition which had distinguished Cullen as a boy, characterized him also as a man; but, matured by persistent study,

these qualities were manifested by great accuracy of observation, clearness of perception, precision in reasoning, and soundness of judgment. Whether as the medical practitioner, the magistrate, or the professor, he was the same energetic, precise, clear-headed man. As a doctor he early inspired unbounded confidence; as a magistrate he was much looked up to from the minute knowledge he displayed of rural and agricultural affairs, and from the activity he showed in local improvements; and as a professor, his facility of diction, aptitude of description, and above all his admirable method of tuition, quickly secured the admiration of students, and cannot well be surpassed.

At the very outset of his professorial duties he cast aside the effete scholasticism which hung about the academical medical tuition of the period, and addressed himself to the task of conveying in the clearest modes the truths which he had to teach. He laid aside Latin, then the received language for conveying scientific instruction, and adopted the vernacular, delivering his lectures from notes. In the first lecture he gave in the University of Glasgow, he remarked, "written lectures might be more correct in the diction and fluent in the style, but they would have taken up too much time, that may be rendered otherwise useful. I shall be as correct as possible, but perhaps a familiar style will prove more agreeable than a formal one, and the delivery most fitted to command attention."

The great feature of his lectures was the mode in which he laid before the students his own peculiarly careful but sagacious habits of thought. Every stage of the processes by which he had arrived at this or that conclusion was fully set forth, every word clearly defined, every fact or theory methodically arranged; so that each series of lectures constituted not merely a course of tuition in the principles of this or that science, but an invaluable practical illustration of the right mode of thinking. His teaching was free from oracular dogmatism, and consisted mainly in the submission of facts, theories, and opinions to the students the value of which it might rest with them to demonstrate or controvert. Hence the doubtful points were carefully noted, and a method of testing clearly indicated. He, indeed, spoke and wrote as he had thought. His lectures were an appeal to the students' reason rather than their memory. To comprehend the lecturer, it was necessary to think after him, and thus, while the most certain facts of medicine and the collateral sciences were taught by Cullen, he aroused the reflective powers of his hearers, which course, while it raised them in their own estimation, gave birth to a healthy emulation in their studies, and to an attachment towards their teacher which brightens the whole course of his history.

It is impossible to depict Cullen except in his own words, and



from the wealth of illustrations contained in his writings and works we shall endeavour to cull sufficient to exhibit his habits of thought.

Let us look upon him first in the chair of Chemistry, the philosophy of which lay almost entirely unexplored when Cullen began to teach. To quote his own story of the position of this science at the time :—

“Chemistry is an art that has furnished the world with a great number of useful facts, and has thereby contributed to the improvement of many arts; but these facts lie scattered in many different books, involved in obscure terms, mixed with many falsehoods, and joined to a great deal of false philosophy; so that it is no great wonder that chemistry has not been so much studied as might have been expected with regard to so useful a branch of knowledge, and that many professors are themselves but very superficially acquainted with it. But it was particularly to be expected, that, since it has been taught in universities, the difficulties in this study should have been in some measure removed; that the art should have been put into form, and a system of it attempted, the scattered facts collected and arranged in a proper order. But this has not yet been done; chemistry has not yet been taught but upon a narrow plan. The teachers of it have still confined themselves to the purposes of pharmacy and medicine, and that comprehends a small branch of chemistry, and even that, by being a single branch, could not by itself be tolerably explained. I do not choose the invidious task of derogating from established reputations, but, were it necessary, I could easily show that the most celebrated attempts towards a system or course of chemistry are extremely incomplete, as examining but a few of the objects of chemistry; that of those examined a very scanty and imperfect account of their relations to other bodies is given, and that even what is given is in a method inconvenient and faulty.”

The desire to reduce the facts with which he had to deal to a methodic and comprehensive plan, not only as the most philosophical course, but as the one best facilitating study and research, was one of the most marked of Cullen's habits of thought. It was the reflection, moreover, of a deep belief in the uniformity of the laws governing every portion of the realm of nature, and by his systematic arrangements he sought an approximate expression to these laws. Yet to himself, as to his students, he never for a moment concealed the fact that the method of arrangement which he adopted did not terminate, but simply aided research. Several years subsequent to the delivery of the lecture from which the foregoing paragraph is quoted, he said to his class :—

“After teaching for so many years, it might be supposed that my plan was exactly fixed and sufficiently known: but truly I am yet far from being satisfied with the perfection of my plan, and very certain

that it is neither so complete, nor so exactly suited to your purpose as I could wish. It will, therefore, be a long time yet—I hope at least it will be long (for it will only be when the languor and debility of age shall restrain me)—that I shall cease to make some corrections to my plan, some additions to my course.”

Equally illustrative of the character of the man is a paragraph immediately following the one we have quoted on the state of chemistry. It is this:—

“From what I have now said, you will judge of the state of chemical learning, and what a difficult task I undertook when I engaged to teach chemistry ; and it is very necessary to tell you, that I did not engage in it from any confidence of my abilities, but because it was thought proper to be undertaken, and nobody else was found to do it, and if I can be so lucky as to engage you to apply to the study, I dare say that the more you become acquainted with it, the less will my performance need an apology to you.”

The example which Cullen held up to his chemical students for emulation is one which in no small degree applies to himself. He said :—

“If I were now to point out a model for the imitation of the students of chemistry, I could prefer none to this excellent chemist (M. Maargraaf, of Berlin). The curiosity of his researches, his judgment in the choice of experiments, the accuracy of his execution, the perspicuity with which he narrates them, and withal his temperance in theory, are qualities that deserve to be much admired and constantly imitated.”

Cullen for several years devoted the whole of his energies to the experimental and philosophical study of chemistry. He succeeded in taking the science out of the hands of artists, metallurgists and pharmaceutists, and exhibiting it as a liberal art, the fit study for a gentleman ; and had not his talents been diverted into another course, in all probability his efforts would have been crowned with the richest discoveries. Cullen appears to have been the first who made use of diagrams to illustrate the obscure questions of double elective affinities. It may be noted also that among his pupils was the celebrated Dr. Joseph Black, the discoverer of *latent heat*.

When Cullen began to lecture on medicine, the writings of Boerhaave constituted the chief authority upon the subject in the majority of the medical schools of Europe. This distinguished physician, guided by his profound learning, and by the extensive knowledge he possessed of the then existing state of medicine and the collateral sciences ; influenced also by the psychical and vital theories of his distinguished contemporaries, Stahl and Hoffman, had clearly seen the errors of the iatro-chemical and iatro-mathematical schools of biologists, and adopted a system of eclecticism



which long formed the basis of medical teaching. He admitted that there were many truths in medical physiology which could only be arrived at by the aid of chemistry; but with Boyle, Hoffman, and others, he contended against the whimsical chemical theories of life and disease which had obtained vogue, and asserted that one of the most valuable uses of chemistry was to expose these pseudo-chemical errors. He contended also against the opinion that the *microcosm*, as well as the *macrocosm*, was governed by mechanical principles. He held that, for the formation of a complete medical physiology, it was requisite that the anatomist should faithfully describe the organism; that the mechanician should apply his particular science to the solids; that by hydrostatics the laws of the fluids in general should be explained, and by hydraulics, their action as they move through the various canals of the body; and, lastly, that the chemist should add to all these, whatever his art, when fairly and carefully applied, had been able to discover; "and then," he remarks, "if I am not mistaken, we shall have a complete account of medical physiology."

While, therefore, this learned teacher had, as it were, selected all that was most worthy from the different physiological systems in vogue, and approximated the necessary elements of a sound system of medicine, he had failed to link them together by any comprehensive idea of the nature of the living body—his physiology lacked life. This defect was early seen by Cullen. He says:—

"When I studied in this university (Edinburgh), about forty-eight years ago, I learned the system of Boerhaave; and, except it may be the names of some ancient writers—of Sydenham, and a few other practical authors, I heard of no other names of writers on physic; and I was taught to think the system of Boerhaave to be very perfect, complete, and sufficient. But when I returned from the university, being very much addicted to study, I soon met with other books that engaged my attention, particularly with Baglivi's specimen *De Fibrâ Motrice et Morbosâ*, and, at length, with the works of Hoffman. Both of these opened my views with respect to the animal economy, and made me perceive something wanting, and to be added to the system of Boerhaave. I prosecuted the inquiry; and, according to the opportunities I had in practice and reading, I cultivated the new ideas I had got, and formed to myself a system in many respects different from my masters. About twenty years after I had left this university, I was again called to it to take a professor's chair, when I still found the system of Boerhaave prevailing as much as ever, and even without any notice taken of what Boerhaave himself, and his commentator, Van Swieten, had in the meantime added to the system. Soon after I came here I was engaged to give clinical—that is, practical lectures; and in these I ventured to give my own opinion of the



nature and cure of diseases—different, in several respects, from that of the Boerhaavians. This soon produced an outcry against me. In a public college, as I happened to be a professor of chemistry, I was called a Paracelsus, a Van Hellmont, a whimsical innovator; and great pains were taken in private to disparage myself and my doctrines . . . I truly esteem Dr. Boerhaave as a philosopher, a physician, and the author of a system more perfect than anything that had gone before, and as perfect as the state of science in his time would permit of. But with all this I became more and more confirmed in my own ideas; and especially from hence, that I found my pupils adopted them very readily. I was, however, no violent reformer; and, by degrees only, I ventured to point out the imperfections, and even the errors, of Dr. Boerhaave's system; and I have now done the same in the preface which I have given to the new edition of the First Lines."

Cullen was peculiarly influenced by the doctrines of Hoffman, and subsequently by the physiology of Haller, who had seen that "*la physiologie n'était que l'anatomie animée; physiologia est animata anatome;*"\* and he endeavoured to effect for physiology what he had attempted for chemistry. He sought to grasp those laws which bound together the complex functions of the human organism. In so doing he fashioned into a more comprehensive and simpler system the vast accumulation of facts and opinions under which physiological and medical science still languished; and he stands prominent as one of the great architects, who in successive periods have added another story to the slowly erected structure of scientific medicine.

The point of chief moment in Cullen's physiology, was the importance which he attached to the nervous system in the animal economy. He believed that upon the functions of this system "life depends, and that its energy, therefore, is necessary to the whole." His contemporaries, Haller, Whytt, and Gaubius had already beaten this track, but probing their notions, as it were, with the more abstract ideas of Hoffman, Cullen methodized, improved, and extended the ideas entertained of the influence of the nervous system in the animal economy. This was an important step in advance, and gave an immense impulse to the philosophical study of practical medicine in this country; for upon his conceptions of the influence which the nervous system exerts upon the organism, were mainly founded the opinions which Cullen taught concerning the causes of disease and the operation of medicines.

It is sufficient that we should simply note the direction which the growth of medical science took under Cullen's hands, as indicating his habits of thought, without pursuing the subject with any degree of minuteness. We have to deal with those points which may serve to show the fundamental tendencies of his intellect.

Now Hoffman was the most distinguished of those biologists who have been classed by Whewell as the vital-fluid school. They held that the whole of the peculiar functions of *life* depended upon the agency of a subtle ethereal substance diffused throughout the frame. The iatro-mathematical school had left unsolved an essential question in the phenomena of organic life. Motion being given, it was possible to construct on mathematical principles a scheme of its modifications and transference. But in the living organism there was manifested a spontaneous commencement of motion, which was not explicable by any mechanical action. Hoffman attempted to solve this difficulty by the assumption of a principle higher in kind than that of mechanical force. He held that the Ether, a hypothetical material agent of extreme subtilty and energy, supposed to permeate all nature, was the active agent by which was brought about the whole of the phenomena of organic life. He conceived that in animals this agent was separated from the blood, and stored in the brain, from which, by means of the nerves, its energizing power was extended to the whole body.

The influence of Hoffman's views upon Cullen appears to have been in directing his attention markedly to the nervous system as the great source of animal energy and power. Gaubius' philosophical views on the reciprocal influence of the mind and body upon each other, Haller's profound researches upon "irritability," and Whytt's ingenious speculations and experiments upon vital and other involuntary motions, and his observations upon the connexion of sympathetic movements with the nervous system, as well as the scattered opinions and inquiries of other physiologists, all contributed to support Cullen's conception; and in this matrix he developed those views of the nervous system which play so essential a part in his physiological and pathological writings. He bound together the scattered physiology of the period into a connected and coherent system, and this with a philosophical acumen and depth of thought that has hardly yet been appreciated.

Rejecting the notions which Hoffman attached to his hypothesis of a vital fluid, and of the mode in which it was distributed in the body, he nevertheless adopted the phrase *nervous fluid* to express the capacity possessed by the nervous system to transmit impressions. "By nervous fluid," he says, "I mean nothing more than that there is a condition of nerves which fits them for the communication of motion."

It is difficult to conceive a more inapt term to convey so clear and philosophical an expression of the nature of nervous action. The one devoid of theory, eminently calculated to facilitate inquiry, and far in advance of the physiological speculations of the



period ; the other conveying the notion of a medium of action absolutely hypothetical, and yet in its nature such as to give a certain definite familiar notion to every one, and to furnish a seemingly ready explanation of an abstruse subject. That the term has been often retained by the followers of Cullen, while the signification he attached to it has been lost, and that his doctrines have at times suffered from this cause, is, we think, certain.

No more striking illustration of this source of error in Cullen's teaching, and at the same time no better example of his careful distinction of theory from fact, can be given than in his definition of the words *excitement* and *collapse*, the former of which in the hands of one of his disciples became the exponent of one of the boldest and most unscrupulous theories that ever disturbed medicine. Cullen writes :—

“I take it for granted that when you consider the weakness and manifest mistakes of any other hypothesis, you will readily, with me, think that the condition of the nerves fitting them for the communication of motion, consists in some state of the matter of the nervous fluid itself, and of its having more or less mobility, in some cases being capable of being moved with more ease and vigour, while in other cases it is unfit for either. Now, I say, merely to avoid long expressions, I shall choose shorter ones, and shall speak of the moveable state of the nervous fluid, or of that condition of the nervous system which fits it for the communication of motion, under the term of its *excitement*, and a deficiency or lesser degree of this, I shall call *collapse*. Now, you must merely consider these as terms employed for what I take to be matters of fact, the increased or diminished force of the animal power or energy of the brain, and not as imparting matter of theory, or as expressing anything with regard to the action of the nervous fluid, or wherein these different states of the nervous system consist. Whatever hypothesis I may have fancied to myself, I consider these as hypotheses still, and dare not trust you with them, unless you take them as they pass in my mind, and be very certain never to apply them in particular cases.”

Elsewhere Cullen has remarked, “My business is not so much to explain how this and that happens, as to examine what is truly matter of fact.” “My anxiety is not so much to find out *how* it happens, as to find out *what* happens.” This, indeed, constituted a chief feature of his intellectual character and teaching, and it is evinced in the carefulness with which he defines the signification which he attaches to the words he makes use of, as in the instances cited. But it unfortunately happened that the terms mentioned necessarily involved in their mode of use a theoretical form of expression, if not a theory, and the onward impulse given to medicine by Cullen was quickly clouded in no small degree by theories based upon these very terms. No more instructive



illustration could be advanced of the evils arising from the introduction of common words into science as technical terms, where the meaning cannot be fixed without ambiguity.

The same remarks are also applicable to the use which Cullen made of the term *spasm*, to express the state of the vascular system in the different stages of fever. The word had been long a common one in medicine, and was familiarly employed to express certain well-known phenomena. Hence the precise conception which Cullen wished to attach to it was exposed to the chance of being jumbled up into a confused meaning, with every individual's peculiar apprehension of the import of the word. Cullen's views of the nature of fever were singularly enlightened and advanced, but the word adverted to has been an unfailing theme of contention and misapprehension from his own to the present time. Read his description of fever without the use of the word, and we must admit that we can add but little to the general expression. He says:—

“I suppose that in every fever there is a power applied to the body which has a tendency to hurt and destroy it, and which produces in it certain motions which deviate from the natural state, and at the same time, in every fever which has its full course, I suppose that, in consequence of the constitution of the animal economy, there are certain motions excited which have a tendency to obviate the effects of the noxious powers, or to correct or remove them. Both these kinds of motion are considered as constituting the disease. But the former is, perhaps, strictly the morbid state, while the latter is to be considered as the operation of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, of salutary tendency, and which I shall hereafter call the REACTION of the system.

“In what manner the state of debility brings on, with respect to the heart and arteries, a seemingly contrary state of force and activity, is a difficulty which we do not pretend entirely to remove. We can only refer it to a general law of the system, which, however, is very well established, and is shortly this:—That where a deviation from the natural state of health happens, from the nature of the economy this deviation naturally produces a tendency in the system to restore itself to its former condition. This, I say, constitutes the *vis preservatrix* and *medicatrix naturæ*.”

And yet no man was more alive than Cullen to the necessity of the accurate use of terms. Explaining the reason why he entered very fully into the meaning which should be attached to the word symptom, he remarked:—

“The use of such generalities will not be immediately obvious, but some accuracy in your ideas and language with regard to them, you will find on many occasions to be of consequence. It is proper that you should be sometimes exercised in forming abstract and general notions. Without these you may think of acquiring a greater number

of particular facts; but till the terms in which these particular facts are expressed are accurately defined, and till the facts themselves are digested into a system, they will not be very useful or even of much practical application."

Cullen's views regarding the nervous system as the connecting medium between the immaterial and material parts of man were far-sighted and profound. He considered that mental changes and certain physical alterations in the nervous system were interdependent; he says:—

"Although the soul is certainly a distinct substance from the body, it appears highly probable that the soul, while connected with the body, seldom acts, but in consequence of motions first excited in the latter. . . . The soul is, indeed, a necessary part of these motions, but it cannot be said to direct and govern them independently of the conditions of the body. . . . Whatever share the soul may have in supporting the motions of the body, we can have no art of physic but in so far as we suppose that the causes operating upon the body act by a physical necessity, and that by a knowledge of such causes we can produce certain changes in the state of the matter and organization of the body."

The opinions with which Cullen set out in the formation of his celebrated *Nosology* were eminently philosophical, and well calculated to illustrate his method of thinking. In a clinical lecture he delivered the year previous to the publication of his first edition, he said, after reviewing the defects in the *nosologies* then existing:—

"These are the faults in the systems hitherto given. I must offer you another. The matter is so difficult that I have hesitated much about making an attempt; but I hazard something to be useful, and an imperfect attempt is allowable here, though not fit to be offered to the public. As it is now given out, it is to be regarded as a sketch not finished."

He aimed at simplifying the existing systems of Sauvages and others, and giving more accurate descriptions of the principal genera of diseases. In the preface to the second edition of the *Nosology*, he stated that probably as long a period would intervene between the publication of Sauvages' *nosology* and a good system, as did between the first attempt at botanical arrangement by Cæsalpinus and the writings of Linnæus, adding that he aspired to the humble merit of exciting others to the study of his favourite science.

In no respect were Cullen's remarkable practical tact and philosophical sagacity brought more effectually into play than in the reformation of the *Materia Medica*. Previous to the time when Cullen's influence as a teacher of *Materia Medica*

became apparent, although many preparations belonging to mystical medicine had been excluded from the London Pharmacopœia, and several from the Edinburgh, both works still retained much of the character of Dr. Hornbook's pharmaceutical repertory.

“Calces o' fossils, earth, and trees;  
True Sal-marinum o' the seas;  
The Farina of beans and pease,  
He has't in plenty;  
Aqua-fontis, what you please,  
He can content ye.

Forbye some new, uncommon weapons,  
Urinus Spiritus of capons;  
Or Mite-horn shavings, filings, scrapings,  
Distill'd *per se*;  
Sal-alkali o' Midge-tail-clippings,  
And monie mae.”

Thus, along with a redundancy of vegetable samples, the pharmacopœias of both countries contained among the animal substances, the fat of the goose, duck and swan, cobweb, the entire toad, the spawn of the frog, ants entire, and ants' eggs, the human skull and mummy, snails, earthworms, millipeds, the excrement of the dog, scorpion, viper, &c. Among the compounds were the Mithridate or Confection of Damocrates, consisting of forty-seven ingredients with a proportion of Canary wine, and the Theriac of Andromachus, consisting of sixty-four ingredients with Canary wine. In the fifth edition of the Edinburgh Pharmacopœia many of these things were excluded, and in the sixth, chiefly through the influence of Cullen, the work was almost entirely depurated. Of the preparations and animal substances named, millipeds only were retained. The London College had been the first to commence the reform of the Pharmacopœia, but the Edinburgh first achieved a complete reform. Cullen, also, greatly curtailed the list of vegetable simples in the Pharmacopœia.

The reforms briefly glanced at, however, were the necessary result of Cullen's essentially practical but highly philosophical method of teaching *Materia Medica* and *Therapeutics*. The former he reduced to a system which occupies a very important position in the history of medical science, and the latter he taught in its widest scope and truest form. The term *therapeutics* had previous to his time been almost solely confined to the study of those general principles which should guide us in the administration of remedies as means of curing diseases, while the study of the means of preventing diseases had been supposed to constitute another branch of medicine—Hygiene.



Cullen, however, rightly held, that "Hygiene and Therapeutics must form one and the same general doctrine."

As a clinical teacher Cullen was eminently practical, taking advantage of every circumstance that could awaken the observation of the students, and drawing particular attention to diseases of ordinary occurrence, which must form the groundwork of all sound medical experience. He taught also from the commencement of lecturing the great advantages of simplicity in prescribing, a rare novelty in those days of bewildering compounds. He showed how simplicity was necessary for the right appreciation of the effects of such drugs as were administered, and to secure their legitimate operation.

In everything that Cullen directed his attention to, he displayed the same untiring energy, activity of thought, and comprehensive method of dealing with, methodizing, and extending existing information. He sought to clear away the redundancy of theory which hampered the writings of the great authorities in medicine and the collateral sciences, and to reduce these to a system founded chiefly on observation and experience, and thus place them on a firmer foundation for subsequent research and advancement. This high and philosophical aim he achieved. He never lost sight himself of the true character of his researches, and he terms his most important attempts at generalization simply "approximations to truth." No man, moreover, ever exhibited a juster medium between philosophical speculation and practical application. It is one of the necessary consequences of medical science that an immediate practical end must almost invariably be kept in view. Physicians seek that they may relieve, and they are always liable (to use the language of Bacon) to—

"Turn with premature and hasty zeal to practice, not merely on account of the advantage to be derived from it, but in order to seize upon some security in a new undertaking of their not employing the remainder of their labour unprofitably, and by making themselves conspicuous, to acquire a greater name for the pursuit. Hence, like Atalanta, they leave the course to pick up the golden apple, interrupting their speed, and giving up the victory."\*

Cullen never lost sight of the great object of medical science, but he so tempered his practice with speculation, and his speculation with his practice, that each became the legitimate helper of the other, and they advanced with equal steps.

It is instructive to note the varied manner in which Cullen employed his talents, in addition to those labours upon which his fame rests. He had an accurate and critical knowledge of

\* *Norum Organum*, Aph. 70.

botany; he thought much and deeply upon agriculture, and of the application of chemistry to it; and in December, 1749, we find Lord Kames writing to him, "My sedate purpose is, that your name shall be carried down to posterity by a treatise on agriculture better than the world ever yet saw." He wrote upon "the mechanical principles on which ploughs have been constructed, to find out what is the importance and effect of each part, and to examine what variation each or all of them require, according to the difference of soil in which they are employed." Alluding to this essay, Lord Kames remarked, in a letter to Cullen, "a thought has struck me in the head within these few days relative to *your engine*, the plough;" and an intelligent farmer who submitted to Cullen a proposition to substitute iron for wood in the construction of ploughs, observes that Cullen was "the first person in Scotland who has attempted to account for the structure of that machine upon mathematical principles." Cullen also suggested certain important improvements in bleaching, and projected a process for the purification of salt.

Among the most notable features of Cullen's mental habits were his equanimity of disposition, and his rare power of winning the affection of those with whom he was thrown most immediately into contact. Notwithstanding the opposition with which his views were at first received by his fellow professors in Edinburgh, he never recriminated, however painful the assault upon him might have been. The interest he took in his pupils was unwearied. He delighted to encourage their efforts and remove their doubts, and this begat a mutual confidence which was marked on the professor's side by genuine kind-heartedness, and on the student's by affectionate respect. The friendship which arose between Cullen and his more emulous and distinguished students endured until death, and the correspondence which passed between him and them after they had been launched into active life, is most pleasing, in the kindly and affectionate interest displayed on both sides. "Dear Joe," and "Dear Willie," are the terms in which he commonly addresses his celebrated pupils Joseph Black and William Hunter, and in the same familiar phrase he wrote to other pupils. In a letter to Dr. Black, Cullen writes:—

"I received your packet of chemistry, which rejoiced me extremely. A new experiment gives me new life; but I wonder at the reserve and ceremony you use with respect to me. Did I learn chemistry from you, only to be a bar to your inquiries? The subject is not so limited as to be easily exhausted, and your experiments will only advance me so much farther on."

On the other hand, when it became probable that the chair of

Chemistry at Edinburgh would become vacant, Dr. Black at once communicated the fact to Cullen, adding :—

“From some hints I have received, I have reason to suspect that I am not excluded the possibility of an offer ; but I assure you, doctor, I am absolutely resolved to refuse it, if there is any hopes of its being of any advantage to you.”

In 1745, William Hunter writes :—

“Dear doctor,—I could not let slip the opportunity of thanking you for your kind letter ; and in answer, I wish I could say anything that might convince you of my sense of your goodness in everything, but particularly in this case. You have interested yourself warmly in my brother’s (James’s) health ; and in the hurry of business and lecture-reading, have taken time to write to me of him. Indeed, it was kind ; I thank you in his name, and I thank you for myself. You see I pretend to gratitude ; so love me, God, as I am sincere. . . . Well, how does the animal economy appear to you, now that you have examined it, as one may say, with precision ? I have good reason to put the question to you, because, in my little attempts that way since I began to think for myself, nature, where I am best disposed to mark her, beams so strong upon me, that I am lost in wonder, and count it sacrilege to measure her meanest feature by my largest conception. Ay, ay, the time will come when our great philosophers will blush to find, that they have talked with as little real knowledge, and as peremptorily of the animal powers, as the country miller who balances the power of Europe.”

Then we have Cullen writing to William Hunter :—

“I value your friendship in the highest degree, and owe so much to it that I think you have the best title to advise me—direct me with regard to my sons. I sent them to London in high expectation of the benefits to be received from your friendship and instruction, and I had some confidence in their conduct, else I had not trusted them in London ; but in the last article I have the highest satisfaction in finding that they have got your approbation, who are so good a judge, who never did a foolish thing yourself, and therefore may be a little rigorous with respect to others.”

We find Dr. Cullen writing to other pupils :—

“Dear Fordyce,—Your letter last night was very welcome. I suspected that your laziness had banished you from me for ever. I won’t tell you with what regret I felt that ;—but the sight of your hand was very agreeable. . . . I shall be glad to see your specimens, and more so to see yourself, when you have been exotic.”

Again :—

“Dear Fourie [Balfour Russell],—I shall always be glad to have your letters, when they inform me of your own success and happiness, though they tell me of nothing else. . . . I would fain play off Fordyce and you against each other. Fordyce set out with as handsome a margin



as you gave me, but he has very discreetly filled it afterwards. I expect no margins from you hereafter, especially after so long a letter as this is. I mean to show you that one may write a long letter to a friend without saying anything. I may perhaps show you that I can send a letter to another quarter of the globe with no more in it than what I would say in yawning at my own fireside."

As with his pupils so was Cullen with his patients. Dugald Stewart, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen, was attended by Cullen for a slight indisposition and was recommended by him to relax his studies, and have recourse to some light reading, *Don Quixote* being suggested :—

"In subsequent visits to this patient," Dr. John Thomson states, "Cullen never failed to examine him in the progress he had made in reading the humorous story of the great pattern of chivalry, and to talk over with him every successive incident, scene, and character in that history. In mentioning these particulars, Mr. Stewart remarked that he could never look back on that intercourse without feeling surprise at the minute accuracy with which Cullen remembered every passage in the life of *Don Quixote*, and the lively manner in which he sympathized with him in the pleasure he derived from the first perusal of that entertaining romance."

Of Cullen's family habits of thought, a charming illustration is preserved in a letter addressed to one of his sons, then leaving home for the first time. As we read this delightful epistle the inmost peculiarities of the man's thoughts appear to be opened out before us.

"Edinburgh, 11th November, 1765.

"Dear Jamie,—I am afraid you do not consider the anxiety we have about you, or you would have continued to give us a letter from Glasgow ; but I hope you will mind better for the future to take every opportunity of giving us accounts of you. We have received your letter to-day, and Mr. Leitch and your brother Patrick came home before dinner. Your letter is a little concise, and I beg you will be always as full as you can, for we wish to know every particular that happens to you. Keep memorandums of what you may write ; so that, when you sit down, your materials may be ready. It is common in sea journals to set down occurrences, though not relating to the reckoning. I wish you would mark as many as you can, if not in your journal, at least in another book. One cannot begin too early to make remarks on everything. It is a very improving exercise, and through life, attention and observation are the foundation of success, and distinguish the able and wise from the weak and foolish.

"I hope you have got everything necessary, and a proper chest to put them in. I beg you will study to keep it always in good order, and all your clothes in good condition ; and, particularly, I expect to observe

that while you have perused your books you have also kept them clean. As I hear that Mr. Kippen is not well, if he is not able to go with you, it will pretty certainly take you into the store at Antigua, which I shall think very lucky ; but I tremble for your handwriting, and I beg of you, in the most earnest manner, to take pains on that article. If you have any regard to my satisfaction you will ; and, for your own sake, consider that nothing so much gives the appearance of mean and low breed as bad writing. Take every opportunity, therefore, to practise with attention, and, if possible, never without it. As you are not to go to Ireland, you may find the two dissertations an agreeable present to some doctors in the West Indies. I find Mr. Anderson refuses to take your money, but press him to it again, and at least to keep it to lay out for you. If he declines it in every shape, I desire you may leave it with Mr. Hamilton, as I have much use for it. In the meantime, let me know what he lays out for you. Dear Jamie, I hope to write to you, and, perhaps, to send you letters for Virginia. I shall be glad to know what letters you get from your uncle. I hope few advices are now necessary. Study your trade eagerly, decline no labour, recommend yourself by briskness and diligence, bear hardships with patience and resolution, be obliging to everybody, whether above or below you, and hold up your head both in a literal and figurative sense. I trust that honour, truth, and discretion, shall always guide you, and give the utmost comfort to, my dear Jamie, your affectionate father,

“ WILLIAM CULLEN.”

It is requisite to note that Cullen's kind-heartedness rendered him indifferent to pecuniary success, and when he died he left to his family little else than his great fame.

Among the intimate acquaintances of Cullen were David Hume, Adam Smith, Lord Kames, and Robertson the historian, and there is little doubt that the writings and companionship of these gifted men exercised no small influence upon Cullen's tone of thought. Contemporary with him, in the medical profession, were Huxham, George Cleghorn, Sir John Pringle, Donald Monro, Francis Home, Brocklesby, the two Linds, and Sims—all men who laboured to establish medicine upon observation and experience alone, and whose writings contributed rich material for the active, generalizing mind of Cullen. He had, as his biographer remarks, “ fallen on good days ;” but these days were necessary for the development of a Cullen. The most powerful genius would abort unless the circumstances necessary to its development were present. The great man may be said to be as much the product of the epoch in which he lives as of his own intellectual greatness. Both elements are necessary for the full birth of mental grandeur. When Cullen began to study,

theoretical medicine had commenced to wane, and the sciences of organization and medicine were fast becoming matters of true observation and experiment. Many inquirers were in the field, and facts and observations accumulated rapidly; but both medicine and the collateral sciences lacked connexion and coherency. Cullen's sagacity early saw this, and he set himself steadily to work to remedy the evil in so far as medicine and the sciences most immediately connected with it were concerned, and in this endeavour he succeeded. He was eminently qualified for the task by his untiring perseverance, accurate observation, cautious, but sound judgment, and intimate practical and experimental acquaintance with the subjects to which he chiefly devoted his care. He linked together the floating facts of the different sciences, and consolidated them into systems in which there was only so much theory as to give a healthy vitality to them. Thus he gave a vast impulse to, and built a sound foundation for, the future study of medicine; and the subsequent history of the science shows how deeply we are indebted to Cullen for its vigorous growth since the period when he taught.

Cullen died on the fifth day of February, 1790, aged seventy-nine years and eleven months. The story of his mental life is one of rare interest. His early cultivation of habits of independent thought, and the never-tiring assiduity he displayed throughout life, show that he won his way to fame by the old, old path of hard, relentless work. Hence the story is one that appeals strongly to the true student. We have assayed to tell somewhat of its character, but he who would rightly know it must turn to the invaluable volumes from which we have derived our knowledge.

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## ART. VI.—INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE ASYLUM OF QUATRE-MARES.

BY DR. LEGRAND DU SAULLE.

IF we recollect rightly it is more than twenty years since Drs. Parchappe and Deboutville started a class of vocal music in the important asylum of St. Yon, and gave there a series of private concerts, and even an annual public *fête*, in which the chorus took the principal part. This tradition is preserved at St. Yon, and the establishment at Quatre-Mares, which was opened for patients on the 1st January, 1852, has soon followed the example



of its senior. Some difficulties, however, presented themselves upon the separation of the men from the women. Nothing, in fact, is more difficult than to make lunatics of the same sex sing in different tones, whatever may be their voice, and nothing becomes more tiresome than a psalm-tune sung by forty or fifty voices in unison. In Germany these things come about differently. There the appreciation of varied intonation is developed naturally and without instruction; the least well-to-do classes of the population possess this musical taste, which with us, in most cases, is only obtained as the result of care and study. In all probability many years will elapse before our Orpheists will have been able to propagate this taste, which we are, perhaps, too much in the habit of considering as an aptitude inherent in certain nationalities.

However this may be, Dr. Dumesnil, chief physician of the asylum at Quatre-Mares, soon ascertained that all the efforts of a professor would have little or no success in any attempt to teach part singing methodically to a number of lunatics.

But, seconded by a very zealous superintendent, M. Goubaux, and by a very distinguished professor of instrumental music in Rouen, he saw a possibility of teaching the patients under treatment to perform some pieces together upon wind instruments. Several of the attendants also gave their assistance to the work, but these two elements taken, so to speak, from the most mobile portion of the inhabitants, were not sufficient to form a proper nucleus. It was then attempted to incorporate in the band patients considered to be incurable, and the sojourn of whom in the asylums of the Seine-Inferieur sometimes continues for twelve or fifteen years.

The success obtained by M. Dumesnil is truly surprising, and we have been told that the inspector-general, M. Parchappe, at his last visitation of the asylum, exhibited very marked satisfaction, and even a certain emotion, on seeing poor invalids whom he had long left in an intellectual condition not susceptible of cure, answer correctly numerous questions on the principles of musical art, and play with precision and considerable taste, a series of pieces which would do honour to more than one society of amateurs. We can speak of this from our own knowledge, for during a recent excursion we made in Normandy, we received, on the strength of our having been a former medical resident in the asylum, a serenade at our arrival and departure. We were fully sensible of this unexpected honour, and we felt the greatest pleasure in listening to a series of selections from, and overtures of, standard operas. For about two years, fifty or sixty lunatics have taken part in these exercises. There are never less than fifteen

patients there, and it is seldom that a convalescent leaves the asylum, however little disposed towards music, without having been a member of the musical corps.

This useful and powerful distraction gives the performers an unwonted expression of countenance; the features of the demented and melancholic become animated, and assume an air of gaiety; even the maniac under a certain degree of excitement, follows his notes with regularity, and beats measure with an imperturbable manner, though marking his stops perhaps by reflections, signs, and gestures, which are not all on the programme! Dr. Dumesnil is convinced, together with his colleague, Dr. Viret, that the hallucinated patients, and even those who are only present as spectators, escape from their delirious conceptions during these performances. This favourite influence is not less marked over the minds of the other invalids whether they are confined to their several departments, or whether with drums and music at the front, they take long walks in the domain of the establishment, or in the neighbouring woods.

These remarkable results have so struck the Administrative Board, that every demand to facilitate and propagate musical taste amongst the insane has been warmly welcomed by the Commission of Inspection, and immediately approved by the Prefect of the Seine-Inferieur. We know for a fact that a single purchase of brass instruments alone has been made to the amount of 1500 francs. But in no direction does the superior administration exhibit more benevolent care, greater sacrifices, and more sympathizing interest than in the department relating to the treatment of the insane. We also congratulate M. Dumesnil in that he never has occasion to present any request for the well-being of the unhappy sufferers, to whom he consecrates with such success the remarkable administrative capacity, the consummate medical tact, and the prodigious activity with which he is endowed, without such request being at once understood and granted.

May the *harmony* of the Asylum of Quatre-Mares have more than one echo in our other lunatic establishments. Some are said to stand in much need of it.

(*Annales Medico-Psychologiques.*)

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## ART. VII.—THE STATE OF LUNACY IN IRELAND.\*

TWELVE months ago, when examining the Report of the Royal Commission, appointed in 1856 to inquire into the state of Lunacy affairs in Ireland, we had occasion to express the opinion that the Commissioners had dealt but scanty justice towards the asylums of that portion of the kingdom, and their management. It appeared to us that the Commissioners had adopted a standard of comparison which was scarcely applicable under the circumstances, and that, in consequence, existing and presumed faults were presented in a somewhat exaggerated light. We turned, therefore, with more than ordinary interest, to the first Report which has been published by the Irish Lunacy Inspectors, since the appearance of the Report of the Royal Commissioners; for we expected to learn much from the former Report in confirmation or correction of the opinions we had formed concerning the latter one. We have not been disappointed, and we are glad to add that our favourable impressions are abundantly supported.

The present Report of the Irish Lunacy Inspectors is not merely of local interest; it is a most carefully digested work, of much practical and scientific value, apart from its more immediate object. It admirably fulfils its special purpose, and yet it claims the attention of all persons interested in the welfare of lunatics, and who are wishful to advance our knowledge of mental alienation. The statistical Appendix to the Report is of great interest, and the tables may be instanced as types of asylum returns.

The Report refers to the two years ending 31st March, 1859, and from it we learn that the working of the asylums during that period has been highly successful, as evinced by a greater number of recoveries in them, and by a less mortality than has been observed elsewhere in kindred institutions.

In Ireland, as in other parts of the kingdom, the great difficulty to be contended with is the provision of increased accommodation for the care of the lunatic poor. The asylums are choked with chronic cases, and the space at disposal for recent ones is necessarily brought within a narrow verge, while there is still outside the asylum walls a large lunatic population for whom accommodation is required. The asylums opened within recent years have not been sufficient in number to effect much change in this state of affairs, although sensibly relieving the localities in which they have been erected, from the more pressing necessities felt with regard to their lunatic inhabitants. There is, in fact, a great deficiency of asylum accommodation in Ireland, and this throws serious, and, in some instances, insuperable difficulties in the way of effective improvement in the state of the floating lunatic population. The defects experienced in the provision for the insane are, indeed, similar in kind, but differing in degree, from those felt in England and Scotland, and the great problem with the Irish Lunacy Board, as with

\* The Ninth Report of the District, Criminal, and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland. Blue Book. 1859.



the English and Scotch Boards, is the most practicable mode of providing increased asylum accommodation. In Ireland, however, the stress is more severely felt than in other portions of the kingdom, and it is requisite to have recourse to the gaols for the security of many lunatics. In some instances, as in both ridings of Tipperary, the prisons contain almost as many lunatics as ordinary convicts.

Asylum management, and the care of lunatics generally, under circumstances such as these, are questions of considerable complexity, and it redounds in no small degree to the credit of the Irish Inspectors, that they have been able to effect, year by year, a steady and persistent improvement in the condition of the insane.

The chief aim of the Inspectors, for the present, seems to be centred in the provision of new asylum accommodation; for without this, any further marked improvement in the condition of the lunatic poor cannot well be anticipated. Regarding the nature of the accommodation required, their views coincide with those of the English and Scotch Commissioners. They would divide the insane into two classes. In the first, they would include urgent and curable cases, as well as cases which, though not admitting any reasonable hope of recovery, still require peculiar treatment, whether from dangerous tendencies, violence, or peculiarity of habits; in the second, they would include the idiotic, the great majority of epileptics, and the domestic, whose mental and corporeal powers decline *pari passu*, but who cannot be rightly cared for except in establishments solely devoted to their use. For the former a more expensive organization is required in regard to staff, building, and appliances; for the latter plan, airy, inexpensive, but commodious buildings, with ample means of occupation, both in and out of doors, would be sufficient.

In what manner these suggestions might be best carried out is carefully and clearly considered by the Commissioners, the obstacles lying in the way being fully noted. This the most important portion of the Report in its local bearing is of least interest to the English reader, as it would require a certain degree of familiarity with local, fiscal, and territorial arrangements, in order rightly to appreciate the details given by the Inspectors. There seems to be good reason for hoping that the principles of improvement laid down, and the legislative changes which would be requisite for their fulfilment, will be eventually carried out.

One very important piece of knowledge possessed by the Inspectors is this: an accurate acquaintance with the sum total of lunacy, and of the condition of all the lunatics in Ireland,\* so that the amount of additional asylum accommodation required may be calculated with precision.

It is worthy of remark, that on account of the unbroken prosperity of Ireland for some years, together with a diminished agricultural population, many union workhouses have become comparatively untenanted. It has been proposed to make these buildings available as asylums for the idiotic and epileptic. Again, it has been suggested that plain, substantial buildings should be erected for the class of

\* See Vol. XI. of this Journal, p. 107.

patients named, in close proximity to existing asylums. By this arrangement one staff could take the charge of both buildings, at a considerable saving of expense, and many improvements be effected in common. The Commissioners think that the first proposition could be carried out with advantage in a few instances, it being understood that the house should be entirely appropriated to lunatics, and properly fitted up for them. They doubt whether this scheme would be as economical as it appears, as the buildings would have to be gutted and refitted properly, and the expense would doubtless be little inferior to the better scheme of erecting special buildings contiguous to other asylums.

On the whole, it would appear that the current rate of asylum expenditure in Ireland is less “(probably by 30 per cent.) than what obtains generally throughout England, where, no doubt, the interior fittings and arrangements of hospitals for the insane being adapted to the habitual comforts of its population, are more expensive, but, considering the social condition of the two countries, not affording to their inmates greater relative advantages. It cannot, therefore, but be gratifying to us [continue the Inspectors] to be enabled to assure your Excellency that while all our public asylums are steadily progressing, and from day to day assuming, from in and out door improvements, an air of neatness and of culture, many of them, in point of cleanliness, regularity, and order, notwithstanding the domestic deprivations and former mode of living of three-fourths of the patients, are highly commendable. In some institutions a more liberal spirit pervades the minds of the governors, particularly in regard to articles which cannot perhaps be said to be absolutely necessary to the well-being of the inmates, but the granting of which materially tends to both their comforts and amusements.”—(P. 8.)

The total number of patients under treatment in the district asylums, during the two years, amounted to 10,420. Of these, 594 died, and 1738 were discharged, of whom 1267 had recovered, and 345 were improved. The proportion of cures during the same period, calculated upon admissions, amounted to 48·71 per cent., as against 36·99 in Scotland, and 38·49 in England. Independent of the recoveries in the asylums, “there were also discharged, improved, 13·26 per cent. of the admissions, representing, under both heads, 62 per cent. Of the daily average, 16 per cent. recovered, and 4·20 improved; and in like manner, on the total under treatment, 12·15 and 3·30 respectively.”—(P. 11.)

The figures also tell in favour of the Irish asylums, if they be calculated upon the daily average number under treatment, or on the total number in hospital during the year, as well as on the admissions. It would appear also that the average of cures in the Irish asylums is “nearly three per cent., or, in the abstract, relatively speaking, almost a fifth over those of France.”—(P. 11.)

The mortality in the district asylums during the last two years amounted to 7·42 per cent., as compared with 8·37 in the Scotch, and 10·30 per cent. in English asylums. In this respect the Irish district asylums have again the advantage. Eight of the deaths were of a suicidal, and one of a homicidal, nature. “Heretofore such fatal



occurrences as those just stated; or casualties terminating in the loss of life, have been almost unknown in district asylums, averaging for the last eight years little more than two annually, or one in the proportion of every 2300 patients under treatment.”—(p. 11.) The annual average of deaths from violence and suicide in English asylums during four years, as reported in 1857 and 1858, amounted to 31. The proportion to patients under treatment is not given, but the Commissioners remark :—

“It may appear extraordinary that in an excitable race, as the Irish are generally reputed to be, deaths by violence should be so few. It may probably be owing to the circumstance that the more openly dangerous and uncontrollable the patients, the more they are watched. We have reason to believe that the parties who attempt to injure themselves or others, being apparently the most tranquil and amenable, are frequently allowed a greater latitude of freedom than their companions in confinement—hence too much care cannot be employed in the selection of persons of intelligence as attendants on the insane, who, to guard against accidents, require unceasing supervision.”—(p. 12.)

The Commissioners also add, in reference to the comparative statistics they have given, the following observations :—

“It is, we trust, unnecessary to state that, in making the preceding observations we are not influenced by a desire to draw any invidious contrasts, being fully aware how much the success of asylum management depends on circumstances, and that no professional or moral treatment, however judicious, can overcome certain forms of mental disease. Still it may be pardonable in us to compare generally the results obtained in the asylums of other countries with those under our immediate control, and refer thereby to the more successful issue of the latter, and their consequent utility; not that we mean to deny the existence in them of numerous faults and imperfections, but which it is to be hoped will gradually disappear.” (p. 12.)

In reference to the assigned causes of insanity, the Commissioners state, that of 2003 cases, no less than 755 were traceable to hereditary transmission or intemperance. They also remark that moral predominate over physical causes among women, adding in reference to puerperal mania, that they are disposed to regard this form of insanity as being “almost as much a matter of legal as of medical investigation, from the fact that no inconsiderable proportion of the cases registered on the books of asylums under that denomination had been already subjected to inquiry in courts of justice.” (p. 12.)

Illustrative of the degrees of relationship existing at times between lunatics in asylums, the following facts are mentioned. Within the two years there were admitted into the Limerick Asylum ten, and into the Waterford six individuals having the relationship of brothers and sisters; and into the Carlow Asylum nineteen persons in the relation of first-cousins.

The sanitary condition of the Asylums was very favourable throughout the two years. The cases of relapse amounted to about one in six of the admissions. “They were not, however, from recoveries within any particular period, many of them having been discharged from asylums from three to ten years before. We mention this circumstance as showing the liability to a relapse after a long interval of



sanity. The longest that has come officially within our knowledge was eighteen years, during which the party enjoyed the best health both mental and bodily. The second was a severe and protracted attack, followed, however, by a perfect recovery." (p. 13.)

The Commissioners lay stress upon the advantages derived from religious ministrations in the asylums, and point out the necessity which exists for legislation in order to secure the same.

The bill providing for the superannuation of managers and servants works well, and the non-professional superintendents of asylums have been gradually superseded by professional men, one of the former only now remaining. The Commissioners urge the importance of establishing clinical instruction in the asylums; and look upon the appointment of visiting Physicians as important, particularly from giving confidence to the public in the management of these institutions. The success arising from the encouragement of literary pursuits in the Irish Asylums has not been great, from the deficiency of preliminary instruction among the patients; prints, pictures, and ornaments attached to the walls of the corridors are, however, found to be to the taste of the inmates.

The poor-houses, as with us, are stated to be unsatisfactory domiciles for the insane, and for the same reasons; and many disadvantages arise from the committal of lunatics to gaols. The Central Criminal Asylum works well; and speaking of the general habits of the patients, the Commissioners say:—

"It may be remarked that they scarcely ever allude to their own offences, or to the nature of the institution itself, by drawing a distinction between it and others. Strong objections exist, and perhaps justly, to convicted thieves and felons, who become insane in prison, being mixed up with ordinary lunatics in County Asylums, as the *morale* of the institution, and the self-respect of untainted parties, might be injuriously affected by the association. Even were there no other reason, from this consideration alone we would recognise the advantages of a central establishment such as that at Dundrum. No doubt individuals committing offences very different in degree are detained in it, but practically no inconvenience has arisen therefrom. The lesser and greater criminals, if criminals they be, meet together, and never feel themselves so exempt from blame as to cast reproach on others. The sane no doubt suffer from a protracted intercourse with their maniacal and idiotic companions, an inconvenience which can only be obviated by fostering the hope that though their detention is rendered necessary by a due regard to public prejudice and the public safety, their liberation is to be dependent upon their own good conduct. The principal difficulty to contend with arises from a perversity of disposition displayed by convicts, principally on admission. They give a bad example to their fellows, so much so, that the resident physician would, if the arrangement of the house admitted it, have them placed apart in probationary wards—a practical suggestion which may be of much value in the future construction of similar establishments."—(p. 21.)

The condition of private asylums is reported to be in several instances very creditable, in others much improved. The mortality in these establishments during the two years has been remarkably low, amounting only to 6.50 per cent. on the average under treatment; and the proportion of recoveries very satisfactory, being 36.59 per cent.

as calculated upon admissions. In two instances only have special investigations been necessary, and in both they had reference to the escape of patients. The sources of complaint by the Commissioners respecting patients in private asylums rest principally on the same grounds as with us, to wit, the neglect exhibited towards patients by relatives; want of sufficient care in filling up certificates by medical men, even in well-marked cases; and the inability of permitting patients to leave the asylum on probation. The want of accommodation for persons of limited means is also much felt. The Commissioners direct attention, moreover, to the anomalous state of the law regarding lunacy inquisitions, and suggest a modification of the same.

In concluding our notice of this Report we would again direct attention to the valuable statistical appendix. We shall not enter into any details upon this portion of the Report, as comparatively recently we had occasion to present to our readers a summary of Irish Lunacy Statistics, and we shall, sooner or later, have to recur to the subject. We would, however, point out a defect in the tables which we think might be readily remedied in the preparation of other Reports, adding thus to their value, as well as to the comfort of readers. We allude to the want of summaries of the different tables, as well as of a summary of the results of previous years. By the latter addition a comparison of results would be practicable, accuracy would be secured, and the scientific value of the tables increased; by the former much labour would be saved which is now needlessly entailed upon readers, and which might be avoided by a slight additional expenditure of type on the part of the printer, and of calculation or writing on the part of the compiler.

From the whole of the Report we conclude that there is a steady and most gratifying improvement in all that relates to lunacy matters in Ireland, with one exception. The prime workers in the improvement, and the men upon whom it most depends, seem to have been forgotten; we allude to the Inspectors in Lunacy. Their salaries are quite incommensurate with the duties they perform, and as compared with those attached to several legal posts of secondary importance in the Irish Government, or with those of our own Commissioners in Lunacy, they are most parsimonious. We have had to allude to this subject on previous occasions, and we regret to find that there is still no appearance of justice being done in this respect to the Irish Inspectors in Lunacy.

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## ART. VIII.—PAUPER LUNATICS.

## I. THE COMMISSIONERS IN LUNACY AND THE POOR-LAW BOARD.

## II. STATISTICS.

## I.

IN April last a Supplement to the Twelfth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy was published, containing an account of the condition, character, and treatment of lunatics in workhouses. The matter of this supplementary report appeared to us at the time so important that we devoted an article to the question of Pauper Lunacy.\* From the statistics accessible to us we came to the conclusion that there was a steady and progressive increase in the amount of *pauperism* from lunacy in the country; that the explanations advanced to show that this was more apparent than real were not satisfactory; and, on the authority of the Lunacy Commissioners, we ventured to express the opinion that it seemed as if our workhouses, in reference to lunatics, were "little better than *hot-beds* in which pauper lunacy was fostered and matured." The Lunacy Commissioners had, indeed, asserted that the detention of lunatics in these institutions was "one of the most fertile causes of the increase of lunatic paupers throughout the country. It is this that mainly tends to fill our county asylums with hopeless chronic cases, and is most directly responsible for the heavy and permanent burdens upon parish rates."† Moreover, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Lunatics, Session 1858-59, Lord Shaftesbury, the Chairman of the Lunacy Board, had stated the condition of lunatics in workhouses in stronger terms even than those used in the Supplementary Report of the Commissioners.

The very grave charges advanced by the Commissioners have not been suffered to pass unnoticed by the Poor-Law Board; and Mr. Andrew Doyle, one of the Inspectors of the Board, gave evidence before the last Select Committee on Lunatics, with an intention to show that the Lunacy Commissioners had been guilty of great exaggeration in what they had reported concerning workhouses. As we had conceived that, from the evidence adduced in the text and appendix to the Commissioners' Report, we were warranted in assuming the correctness of their conclusions, it is but just that we should put our readers in possession of the principal objections made by Mr. Doyle.

This gentleman characterizes the statements of Lord Shaftesbury and the Commissioners' Report in the following terms:—

"I have to observe of the evidence of Lord Shaftesbury, as of the statements published by the Commissioners, that they are general allegations, almost impossible to lay hold of, but that whenever I have been able to put my finger upon particular statements, I have found nine out of ten, in some important respect or other, at variance with the facts as I have found them upon investigation.

"Do you confine your contradiction to your own district only, or do you

\* See Vol. xii. p. 337.

† Supplementary Report, p. 34.



apply it to the rest of the kingdom generally?—I apply it emphatically to the whole of the kingdom, upon evidence which I am prepared to give before the Committee. I shall show that the cases selected by the Commissioners, as illustrations of the bad condition of workhouses, are the only cases that have occurred, and that their complaints are, in nine out of ten cases, inconsistent with evidence in the office of the Commissioners in Lunacy. That I am prepared to prove.”\*

Mr. Doyle, however, makes an important distinction between the Special Reports of the Commissioners on different workhouses and their General Report. He says:—

“As I have stated before, I have not found, so far as I can judge, one word of exaggeration from the beginning to the end of the Reports of the Commissioners. Accidental mistakes I have found. *But I have found exaggeration, misstatements, and incorrect quotations of the Reports of the Commissioners in this Supplemental Report.* Of the separate Reports of the Commissioners, as to their impartiality and general fairness, I cannot speak too highly. It is impossible that any document can contrast in those qualities more remarkably with them than the Supplemental Report which professes to be founded upon them.”—(Qy. 1983.)

In support of these assertions, Mr. Doyle instanced, first, a statement made respecting the Blackburn workhouse, at p. 23 of the Supplemental Report. It is there said that, “at an inclement season of the year, there was not more than one blanket on any bed, and on many there were none whatever.” In the special reports on the Blackburn workhouse contained in the appendix to the General Report, it is stated, under the date of 29th October, 1859, simply, that “only one blanket is allowed to each patient in the coldest weather;” and under date of 31st July, 1858, that the beds were clean, “but there is no blanket either above or below the patients.” Mr. Doyle remarks that when the last statement was referred to the guardians, their answer was, “that there were no blankets upon the beds, in consequence of the heat of the weather, the paupers having requested that they might be taken off.” This was given as one illustration of inaccuracy and misstatement, and may be fairly granted.

Again, the Commissioners recorded several examples of the dangers arising from discharging imbeciles or idiots from workhouses without medical sanction. In the Newark workhouse there had been found, “among other instances,” two females, “who, although classed as of weak mind, were in the habit of discharging themselves, and after a short absence returning in the family way.” Upon this statement, Mr. Doyle remarks—“That is perfectly true; the guardians assumed that they had no right to detain them.” In the Walsall workhouse an idiotic female was found who had had four illegitimate children. It would appear, however, that the youngest was six years old before the woman was admitted to the workhouse. This, therefore, is not a legitimate illustration. In the Monmouth workhouse two imbecile paupers were met with, “each of whom had had three illegitimate children, and one of whom was again pregnant.” To this Mr. Doyle answers, that “*they were not certified as idiots, and the guardians could*

\* Report of Select Committee on Lunatics, Session 1859. Queries 1972—1974.

*not detain them.*" This is simply a quibble. In the Tamworth workhouse there were two idiotic women who had each had a child, but it would seem that they first came into the workhouse pregnant with those children. The last case referred to by Mr. Doyle occurred at the Mortley workhouse, in Worcestershire. "A female who had for some time been classed as of weak mind, was struck off the list in 1856, and was allowed to leave the house for the purpose of saving expense to the parish by earning something at hop-picking. This woman had *previously had two illegitimate children by paupers in the house*, one of whom had died; the other (a girl about ten years of age) she took with her, on quitting the house, to her mother's home. When there, she and her daughter slept in the same room with her father-in-law and her mother, and in the same bed with two of her brothers. The result of this indecency was, that she returned to the workhouse in the family way, and was delivered of a child, the father of which she distinctly stated to be one of her brothers, but which she was unable to specify. This woman, though able to perform some useful work, *was decidedly of weak mind*, and there can be no doubt that, under the circumstances, the guardians were justified in detaining her in the workhouse, and that they ought not to have sanctioned her quitting it." Mr. Doyle's explanation of this is, that the woman was not classed as an idiot in 1856, she having been struck off the list of idiots, by the medical officer in October, 1855, and that "the statement that the guardians had the power to detain her was perfectly preposterous, even if their medical officer had not certified that she was not an idiot."—(Qy. 1997.) This may explain the mode in which freedom of action was given to an erotic imbecile, but it is no justification of that freedom. For the credit of humanity we will admit that the guardians did not allow the woman to leave the workhouse in 1856 "for the sake of saving a few shillings;" but can we justify them for not having taken the necessary steps to remove her to an asylum if she could not be legally detained in a workhouse? Could any argument show more emphatically than this last story and the exculpation offered for it, the unfitness of workhouses for the confinement of lunatics or imbeciles. This woman had had two children to paupers in the workhouse (a curious comment on the propriety of keeping persons of weak mind in these institutions), and although manifestly an erotic imbecile, as the remarks of the visiting Lunacy Commissioner and the history of the case show, she is allowed to leave the house uncontrolled, under the cover of a legal quibble—for Mr. Doyle's objection amounts to nothing more than that. We admit the inaccuracy of the illustrations from Walsall and Tamworth; but Mr. Doyle's explanations have clenched the truthfulness of the remainder.

Mr. Doyle next makes a trifling objection to a remark concerning the Blackburn workhouse, and he then proceeded to the question of restraint, and said:—

"I find it stated by the Commissioners that mechanical control 'is habitually employed to restrain the idle and mischievous propensities of patients.' I have gone through the whole of the Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy (for two years) that were accessible to me, nearly 600 out of the whole 650, and I find the number in which they complain of restraint being imposed *is only*



*nineteen from the whole of the workhouses to which they refer. . . With the exception of, I think, three, every one of those cases of restraint being, in my opinion, open to satisfactory explanation.*"—(Queries, 2015, 2017.)

The Commissioners had asserted that the law respecting the removal of pauper lunatics to asylums was constantly evaded; Mr. Doyle states that of the total number of 7000 lunatics found by the Commissioners in workhouses during the period referred to in their report, "they recommended the removal of only 153."—(Qy. 2018.)

These objections are certainly of considerable importance, and would incline us to modify our views in several respects as to the *extent* to which the evils animadverted upon by the Lunacy Commissioners exist.

Mr. Doyle is less happy in several other objections, but we need only mention one of these. He remarks, in reference to certain observations in the Supplementary Report which "would lead any man to state that the poor in workhouses are 'stinted or starved,'" that "nobody who is acquainted with the practice of the Poor Law Board can appreciate the pains they take to ascertain that every dietary table which is issued contains an average quantity of nutritious food. In point of fact, every dietary table of every union in England is submitted to the Poor Law Board; it is analysed scientifically by them before it is issued, and upon that analysis they frequently make suggestions for improvement; and no dietary table can be issued in any workhouse without having the seal of the Poor Law Board, after having undergone that examination, affixed to it."—(Qy. 2056.)

Mr. Doyle had surely forgotten the examples of *minimum* workhouse diets recorded in the Supplementary Report when he made this statement. At the Hailsham workhouse the lunatics have but one spare meat dinner during the week, four ounces of meat only being allowed to the men, and two and a half ounces to the women; while bread and cheese, without beer, constitute the dinners on four other days, and pudding on the remaining two. In the Amesbury workhouse the inmates are restricted to bacon twice a week (four ounces for men, and three ounces for women) pudding twice, and a very weak soup twice. "In many other workhouses," the Lunacy Commissioners assert, "meat is only given to the insane once a week, and even then in very small and insufficient quantity."\* Mr. Doyle seems also to have forgotten that, shortly before he made his statement respecting workhouse dietaries, the following passage had been read to him from a report made by three local magistrates, concerning the treatment of lunatics in the workhouse at Dursley.

"We saw and ascertained that about one quarter of the dinner given to the females in the idiot ward consisted of boiled sweet turnips, an article grown for the consumption of cattle and sheep, but not of mankind; that it is used for the inmates generally, as well as for the three or four females of this class, may be inferred from the strong smell arising from its being boiled pervading the house.

"PURNELL B. PURNELL."

\* Supplementary Report, p. 18.



Mr. Doyle and the Commissioners of Lunacy regard the subject of the care of lunatics in workhouses from very different points of view. The latter use the term lunatic in its widest signification; the former would restrict its meaning very considerably, hence it is that he says:—"In nine out of ten unions I find no lunatics at all, or only two or three harmless people out on the land working, and if they are women, in the body of the house, doing household work; in fact, they are servants of the establishment, and not lunatics or idiots in the sense in which any man of common sense would call them so; they may be brought, by the very large definition given by the Commissioners of Lunacy to the medical officers, within the scope or the meaning of lunatics and idiots, but lunatics and idiots, properly speaking, they are not."—(Query 2054.) Unfortunately, Mr. Doyle had a few moments before spoken thus of his knowledge of lunacy:—"I have no knowledge whatever, and I have no pretension to give an opinion upon the question with respect to the treatment of lunacy or lunatics.—Or with regard to the characteristics of insanity?—Certainly not."—(Queries 2035, 2036.) Common sense, therefore, as used by Mr. Doyle in the above expression of opinion, must mean entire ignorance. The Commissioners conceive that workhouses cannot, under any circumstances, become a satisfactory place for the care or treatment of lunatics or idiots. Mr. Doyle believes that these institutions are well fitted for the care of idiots, imbeciles, and chronic cases of insanity; but by the announcement of his ignorance both of the characteristics and treatment of the insane he has cut the ground from under his feet entirely. The Commissioners knowing what insanity is, and what is required even for the ordinary care of the mildest or the most confirmed case, and seeing how impracticable it is to mould the rules necessary for the government of a workhouse, or the accommodation requisite for paupers, into a form adapted for lunatics, idiots, or imbeciles, have concluded the worst from the facts ascertained during their inquiry. They have painted their picture, therefore, in gloomy colours. Mr. Doyle has evidently never before given much attention to the lunatic inhabitants of workhouses; he regards the workhouse as the proper place for the pauper; he can see no reason from want of previous attention to the subject, why the quiet lunatic, idiot, or imbecile should not be treated simply as a pauper; he has admitted his ignorance of the very points which would alone have enabled him to judge rightly of the general question, but strong in his convictions, he has opposed a vigorous, if not very coherent, defence against the assertions and conclusions of the Commissioners. He has said amply sufficient to show (if any one, indeed, needed that showing) that Lord Shaftesbury was not justified in asserting that the idiots in our workhouses were exposed to the "very greatest cruelty," and that "we are now returning, in these workhouses, to the system of things that prevailed in 1828, there being no means of classifying these persons; a large proportion of these were then chained down, and kept in the most horrible state of filth and suffering." He has said sufficient also to convince us that the impression we had derived from the Supplementary Report respecting the general treatment of lunatics in workhouses

is a somewhat exaggerated one, and so far wrong; but he has said nothing to convince us that the evils detailed in that Report are not peculiar to, and probably inseparable from, the rules regulating workhouse management, and that the opinions founded upon these evils are not, at the bottom, essentially correct. Mr. Doyle has painted his subject in the brightest colours, but we cannot avoid thinking that he has helped to bring out in a clearer light the unfitness of workhouses either for the detention or treatment of lunatics.

With the exception then of modifying our notions somewhat as to the extent to which the grosser evils arising from the detention of lunatics in workhouses prevail, we see no need to alter the conclusions we arrived at in our article on "Pauper Lunacy."

## II.

The following interesting and valuable statistics are from the remarks of Frederick Purday, Esq., Principal of the Statistical Department of the Poor Law Board, appended to the Parliamentary Return of Insane Paupers chargeable on the first of January, 1859.

1. The statistics of pauper insanity contained in this paper have been compiled from the lists of "Lunatics, Idiots, and other Persons of Unsound Mind," who were chargeable to the poor rates on the 1st January, 1859. These lists are made out annually by the Clerks to the Guardians, and transmitted to the Poor Law Board, in compliance with the 16 and 17 Viet. c. 97, s. 64.

2. In tabulating the numbers under "Lunatic," or "Idiot," this classification has been observed. All cases of congenital insanity, under whatever name returned, have been entered as "Idiots," all the other cases as "Lunatics;" whether the insanity commenced at a stated age or at an "unknown" age.

3. Returns were received from 645\* unions and single parishes under Boards of Guardians; the population of these places, according to the census of 1851, was 17,669,448; but, estimated to the 1st January, 1859, it was 19,430,000. The number of insane paupers chargeable to the Poor Rates in those places, on that day, was as follows:—

Number of Paupers on 1st January, 1859.	Whereof were Insane Paupers.	Namely:—	
		Lunatics.	Idiots.
867,543	30,318	21,432	8,886

Thus 3·50 per cent. of the pauperism, on the 1st January last, is ascribable to insanity; the lunatics being 2·47 per cent., and the idiots 1·03 per cent.

\* "Besides these Unions, some places, which do not make the usual returns of Pauperism to the Poor Law Board, have transmitted lists of insane paupers. The total number of insane paupers so returned is 98; viz., 75 lunatics, and 23 idiots; the particulars are printed, with the other Unions, at p. 26, *et seq.*

4. In regard to the sexes, 13,389 were males, and 16,929 females:—

Insane.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Lunatics	9280	12,152	21,432
Idiots	4109	4,777	8,886
Total.	13,389	16,929	30,318

It is worthy of remark that, while the females considerably preponderate among the lunatics, they do not much exceed the males among the idiots. But, taking the two classes together, the ratio of females to males is not so great as it is in the pauperism at large, where, among the adults, the female are more than double the number of the male recipients of relief. The returns of pauperism do not distinguish the sexes of the children, but there is no reason to suppose that, if they were discriminated, the proportion would be materially changed.

5. In the subjoined table, the number of lunatic and idiot paupers is shown for each division of England and Wales.

Divisions.	Number of Paupers in Receipt of Relief on 1st January, 1859.	Whereof were Insane Paupers.	NAMES:— LUNATICS AND IDIOTS.			
			—	Males.	Females.	Total.
I. The Metropolis . . .	97,707	4661	{ Lunatics { Idiots	1712 223	2507 220	4219 443
II. South Eastern . . .	97,610	3207	{ Lunatics { Idiots	917 486	1271 533	2188 1019
III. South Midland . . .	77,379	2293	{ Lunatics { Idiots	673 354	804 377	1567 731
IV. Eastern . . . . .	76,236	2063	{ Lunatics { Idiots	602 286	839 345	1432 631
V. South Western . . .	107,405	3303	{ Lunatics { Idiots	926 523	1300 554	2226 1077
VI. West Midland . . .	92,706	3773	{ Lunatics { Idiots	1119 532	1403 725	2521 1257
VII. North Midland . . .	49,493	2033	{ Lunatics { Idiots	618 340	721 404	1339 744
VIII. North Western . . .	92,016	3370	{ Lunatics { Idiots	1095 464	1326 495	2421 949
IX. York . . . . .	59,075	2233	{ Lunatics { Idiots	744 293	836 360	1580 653
X. Northern . . . . .	42,713	1249	{ Lunatics { Idiots	396 194	461 193	857 392
XI. Welsh . . . . .	75,199	2073	{ Lunatics { Idiots	479 413	603 576	1082 991



6. The ages of 19,886 lunatics are given in the following summary:—

Years of Age.	Number of Lunatics.	Years of Age.	Number of Lunatics.
Under } . . . . .	4	30 Years . . . . .	4400
5 Years } . . . . .	31	40 „ . . . . .	4638
5 „ . . . . .	633	50 „ . . . . .	3659
10 „ . . . . .	2729	60 „ . . . . .	2429
20 „ . . . . .		70 „ and upwards . . .	1363

7. The ages of 8,792 idiots were as follows:—

Years of Age.	Number of Idiots.	Years of Age.	Number of Idiots.
Under } . . . . .	10	30 Years . . . . .	2012
5 Years } . . . . .	100	40 „ . . . . .	1621
5 „ . . . . .	1094	50 „ . . . . .	986
10 „ . . . . .	2159	60 „ . . . . .	537
20 „ . . . . .		70 „ and upwards . . .	273

8. In 13,672 cases classed as lunatic, the returns, in stating the length of time “supposed to be of unsound mind,” as well as the age of the person, have supplied the means of arriving at the date of the attack. This is shown in quinquennial periods, and in respect of 5923 males, and 7749 females, in the next table.

Years of Age.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Years of Age.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Under } . . . . .	109	57	52	50 Years	828	342	486
5 Years } . . . . .	150	64	86	55 „	633	239	394
5 „ . . . . .	296	132	154	60 „	473	206	272
10 „ . . . . .	912	418	494	65 „	273	106	167
15 „ . . . . .				70 „	171	65	106
20 „ . . . . .	1665	777	888	75 „	91	25	66
25 „ . . . . .	1964	837	1027	80 „	34	15	19
30 „ . . . . .	1829	820	1009	85 „	12	4	8
35 „ . . . . .	1743	742	999	90 „	3	1	2
40 „ . . . . .	1407	582	825	95 „	1		1
45 „ . . . . .	1186	491	695				

9. The 30,318 Insane Paupers were maintained in the following establishments, or were lodged with strangers, or resided with their relatives; namely—

- 14,481 in County or Borough Lunatic Asylums.
- 2,076 in Registered Hospitals, or in Licensed Houses.
- 7,963 in Union or Parish Workhouses.
- 906 in Lodgings, or Boarded Out.
- 4,892 Residing with Relatives.

Of the small number returned as “In Lodgings, or Boarded Out,” 326, or more than *one-third*, are chargeable to parishes in Wales.

10. The average weekly expense of each insane pauper has been estimated by the respective unions. But it is termed, in conformity to the Schedule, the "Average Weekly Cost of Maintenance and Clothing." This does not appear however to be altogether an accurate description of the expenditure. The cost in county or borough asylums may be illustrated from the example of the Chester Asylum, where, according to the 13th Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, p. 112, the weekly charge for paupers belonging to the county, or to boroughs in the county, is 8s. 2d.; for paupers of other counties or boroughs, 14s. The cost to the asylum is made up thus:—Provisions, 4s. 3d.; clothing, 7d.; salaries and wages, 2s.; necessities, 9d.; surgery and dispensary, 1d.; wine, spirits, and porter, 1d.; furniture and bedding, 5d.; garden and farm, 2d.; miscellaneous, 3d.; total, 8s. 7d. The charge in licensed houses will be made up, it may be presumed, of similar expenses, with some addition as the proprietor's profit. The charge in workhouses is the expense of food, clothing, and necessities, supplied for the in-door paupers.

11. The proportion of Idiots to the total number of Insane Paupers is between *one-third* and *one-fourth*, i.e., 29·3 per cent. for the whole country. But there is considerable variation from this proportion in different union-counties, and in different divisions. In the metropolis, where it is the lowest, the ratio is 9·5 per cent.; and in North Wales, where it is highest, it is 52·3 per cent. The following is a list of the divisions, arranged according to the greatest proportionate number of Idiots:—

Ratio per cent. of Idiots on total number of Insane Paupers.

Welsh . . . . .	47·8	Northern . . . . .	31·4
North Midland . . . . .	35·7	Eastern . . . . .	30·7
West Midland . . . . .	33·3	York . . . . .	29·2
South Western . . . . .	32·6	North Western . . . . .	28·2
South Eastern . . . . .	31·8	The Metropolis . . . . .	9·5
South Midland . . . . .	31·8		

In *twenty-two* union-counties the ratio *exceeds one-third* of the total of Insane Paupers; namely—

Ratio per cent. of Idiots on total number of Insane Paupers.

North Wales . . . . .	52·3	Berks . . . . .	36·8
South Wales . . . . .	48·8	Worcester . . . . .	36·5
Westmoreland . . . . .	44·8	Bedford . . . . .	36·4
Northumberland . . . . .	43·6	Cambridge . . . . .	36·3
Derby . . . . .	42·2	Northampton . . . . .	35·8
Hereford . . . . .	41·5	Somerset . . . . .	35·5
Chester . . . . .	40·0	Stafford . . . . .	35·5
Salop . . . . .	39·2	Buckingham . . . . .	35·4
Wilts . . . . .	37·8	Huntingdon . . . . .	34·5
Nottingham . . . . .	37·6	Hertford . . . . .	33·5
Sussex . . . . .	37·2	Lincoln . . . . .	33·5

12. The ratio of Lunatics, and of Idiots to the total number of Insane Paupers, in the different divisions, is as follows:—

Ratio per cent. of Insane to total Pauperism.

The Metropolis . . . .	4·77	South Western . . . .	3·07
North Midland . . . .	4·21	South Midland . . . .	2·97
West Midland . . . .	4·07	Northern . . . . .	2·92
York . . . . .	3·78	Welsh . . . . .	2·76
North Western . . . .	3·66	Eastern . . . . .	2·72
South Eastern . . . .	3·29		

## MEDICO-LEGAL TRIAL.—DISPUTED WILL.—PLEA OF MENTAL INCAPACITY.

COURT OF PROBATE, December 8.

Before Sir C. Cresswell and a Special Jury.

SKIPPER AND SKIPPER *v.* BODKIN AND OTHERS.

Mr. Sergeant Pigott, Dr. Tristram, and Mr. Couch were counsel for the plaintiffs; Mr. Edwin James, Q.C., Dr. Phillimore, Q.C., and Mr. Coleridge for the defendants.

The plaintiffs in this case, John Skipper and William Skipper, are the executors of the will of the Rev. William John Smyth, of Cringleford, near Norwich, who died on the 23rd of April last. The defendants are John James Bodkin and William Thomas Bodkin, the nephews, and Mrs. Maedermott, the niece of the deceased; and they opposed probate of the will propounded by the plaintiffs on the grounds that at the time of its execution the deceased was not of testamentary capacity, and that he was induced to execute it through the undue influence of the plaintiffs and of other persons.

The deceased was the son of Colonel Smyth, and the last representative of an old Gloucestershire family. He had one sister, who many years ago married Captain, afterwards Major, Bodkin, and upon his death married a surgeon, also named Bodkin. Mr. Smyth was educated at Emmanuel College, was ordained, and held a curacy until 1812. In 1808 his father, Colonel Smyth, died, and he came into possession of landed property of the value of from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* a-year. He lived from 1812 until his death at Cringleford, in Norfolk, seeing little or no society. Mrs. Smyth, his mother, lived with him, but she died in 1834, and his property was then increased to the extent of about 7000*l.* In 1832 he made a will, by which he devised the family property to his sister, Mrs. Bodkin, and the property which had been purchased to a Mr. H. Gilbert, a medical man at Norwich, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. A few years afterwards he gave Gilbert an annuity of 100*l.*, and in 1836 executed a deed of gift to him of landed property worth about 3000*l.* Gilbert about that time married, gave up his intimacy with Mr. Smyth, and resumed the practice of his profession. Mr. Smyth then became intimate with Mr. Alfred Massey, the son of a brewer at Norwich, paid the expense of sending him to college, and announced his intention of making him his heir. In 1838 Mrs. Bodkin died, and her death was announced to Mr. Smyth by her son. Mr. Smyth continued his friendship for Massey until 1848, and made various wills in which



he was named residuary legatee of the real estate. About 1848 Massey went to live at some distance from Cringleford. Mr. Smyth then became intimate with the family of the Delfs, which had occupied farms on the estate for a great number of years. He became very friendly with Samuel Delf, and continued that friendship up to the time of his death. In 1854 and 1855 he was also on intimate terms with a Mr. Newton, and executed deeds of gift and wills in his favour. On the 16th July, 1857, he went to the office of his attorneys in Norwich, Messrs. Skipper and Sons, and gave instructions for a fresh will. A will was accordingly drawn up in pursuance of those instructions, and was executed by Mr. Smyth on the 31st of the same month. Its effect was to appoint Massey residuary legatee of his real estate, charging it with an annuity of 50*l.* to Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, his servants, for their joint lives and for the life of the survivor, to confirm and ratify the various deeds of gift that he had previously executed, and to appoint John Skipper and William Skipper his executors, giving them legacies of 50*l.* each. This was the will now propounded. The attesting witnesses were Dr. Hutchison, his medical attendant, and a Mr. Dunnan. It is necessary to mention that in all the various deeds of gift, except that to Gilbert, a condition was inserted purporting to reserve the rents to the donor for his life, and as the donees did not enter into possession, he continued to receive the rents, amounting to about 1800*l.* a year, until his death, although he had by that time conveyed away the whole of his property. He died on the 23rd of April, 1859, aged eighty-one.

Mr. John Skipper, an attorney who had practised at Norwich for the last 47 years, said he had been acquainted with Mr. Smyth for 40 years, and had acted as receiver to his estates from 1829 until his death. The amount of the rents and the investments on mortgage varied from 1700*l.* to 2000*l.* a-year. On the death of his mother, Mrs. Smyth, in 1834, an annuity of 300*l.* a-year fell in. Mrs. Smyth left a legacy to Mrs. Bodkin, and made Mr. Smyth her residuary legatee. Mr. Smyth was a great will maker, and he had prepared wills for him in 1832, 1834, and 1835. Major Bodkin and his wife stayed at Cringleford for a few days in 1834 to settle the affairs relating to Mrs. Smyth's will. Mr. Smyth always manifested a great dislike to the Bodkins, and in 1842 he gave instructions for a will by which they should be expressly excluded. He executed a will in that year by which he left the bulk of his real property to Mr. Alfred Massey, gave 3000*l.* to witness and his sons, and legacies to various other persons. In 1844 he executed another will, by which he gave the real estate to Alfred Massey in tail, with remainder, in default of issue, to witness, and confirmed the bequest of 3000*l.* to him and his sons. By a will of 1846 he left the property to witness and his son in trust for the use of Massey, alleging as a reason that Massey was rather given to gambling, and was not competent to manage it. Upon Massey's marriage, in 1846, he executed a deed of gift of a farm to him, and in August of that year, by codicil, substituted a legacy of 1000*l.* for the 3000*l.* previously given to witness and his sons. Of this alteration Mr. Skipper gave the following explanation:—He had 2000*l.* in his hands belonging to Mr. Smyth, and he proposed that he should take the money then, instead of waiting until Mr. Smyth's death, and give Mr. Smyth an agreement to pay him interest upon it during his life. Mr. Smyth concurred in this arrangement, and the agreement was given. Mr. Smyth had lent 500*l.* each to two of his sons, and subsequently he released them from this debt, but revoked the bequest of the remaining 1000*l.* Thus the entire legacy was revoked, and he received the interest on the 3000*l.* until he died. In 1847 he made another will, giving a farm to Samuel Newton Delf. In September, 1848, there was a codicil executed, devising to the same person a further portion of the estate. By a codicil of December, 1849, a farm was given to Dr. Hutchison; by one of July, 1850, another farm was

given to William Skipper, in lieu of one given by a previous will, and then transferred to Delf; in December, 1850, an annuity of 100*l.* was given to Dr. Hutchison, but was afterwards revoked. Massey still continued a residuary legatee. In 1841 Mr. John James Bodkin, the son of Major Bodkin, went to see his uncle. He had written to announce his visit, and Mr. Smyth replied that he lived a very retired life, but Mr. Bodkin might come for three days. He accordingly stayed at Cringleford for that time. In 1855 Mr. Bodkin came to Mr. Skipper's office, and said he wished to learn the particulars of some difficulties in which his uncle had become involved. Mr. Skipper told him about the different wills and conveyances he had executed, and that nothing had been left to the Bodkin family. Mr. Bodkin said he never expected anything, and that he had conversed with his uncle for two hours, and he was quite competent to take care of himself. In 1854 Mr. Smyth gave Mr. Skipper instructions to convey another farm to Delf. Mr. Skipper advised him not to execute any more conveyances, and refused to act upon his instructions, whereupon Mr. Smyth took offence, and although Mr. Skipper continued to receive his rents, he went for about 18 months to another attorney. Mr. Skipper considered him perfectly competent to make a will in July, 1857. He was never paid any commission for receiving the rents, but he had the usual fees as steward of the manor, and charged for his professional business.

Cross-examined by Mr. E. James.—The round value of the estate given to my son was 3000*l.* I prepared the conveyance. My son mortgaged it for 1900*l.* It was given by Mr. Smyth out of friendly feeling. Delf was 21 or 22 years of age when he first made acquaintance with Mr. Smyth. Massey was about the same age. Newton was between 20 and 30, and was the son of a well-known land surveyor at Norwich. I did not visit Mr. Smyth, because I could not descend to the level of his character and habits. I heard that he was fond of licentious and lascivious conversation, but he never said anything improper in my presence. The value of the estate was about 60,000*l.*, and he had disposed of all of it by the time of his death, but he continued to receive the rents. Gilbert was a surgeon, the son of a magistrate for the county. He sold the estate that Mr. Smyth gave him about three years after it came into his possession for 3300*l.* Gilbert had lived at his house for two or three years. Mr. Smyth was a man of very eccentric habits. His eccentricity consisted in withdrawing himself from the society of persons of his own station and associating with persons of inferior education. He never complained to me of bills of exchange having been obtained from him. He told me that he had borrowed 8000*l.* on mortgage, for the purpose of purchasing a farm which Delf had occupied, and that Delf had obtained possession of it. He said Delf had promised to secure 200*l.* a-year to him, but had not done so, and by his instructions I drew up a deed for the purpose of securing it, but I could not get Delf to sign it. Delf paid the interest on the mortgage. Mr. Smyth also told me on one occasion that Delf and Newton had got possession of the family plate, and I applied for it, but Delf produced a memorandum signed by Mr. Smyth, and I was not able to recover it. That was towards the end of 1856. Mr. Smyth also complained that Massey had taken away the title-deeds of Cringleford without his consent. I wrote to Massey for them, and he replied that they were not in his possession, but in the hands of a mortgagee. In 1857, Massey brought an action against him on a bill of exchange. I pleaded to the action, and in the affidavit which it was necessary to make in order to obtain leave to plead, I said that Mr. Smyth had been subject to long attacks of debilitating illness, and his memory was so impaired that he could not give information as to facts which had long ago happened. Mr. Smyth was liable to be imposed on and led away by importunities. The reason he gave for the voluntary conveyances that he executed was that the persons he



wished to benefit had contributed to his comfort. I frequently asked him about the conveyances, because I thought he might be acting under threats of some kind, but he always denied it.

Mr. William Skipper, the son of the last witness, was examined and cross-examined at considerable length with regard to the various transactions of which his father had spoken. He stated that on the 16th of July, 1857, Mr. Smyth had come to his office and given instructions for another will. The will was prepared, and he called again on the 23rd, but when it was read over he suggested an alteration as to the manner in which the legacies to the Edwardses were to be paid. It was therefore necessary to re-copy the will, and he made an appointment for the 31st to execute it. The witness was not present at the execution, but said that Mr. Smyth was perfectly competent to understand the effect of what he was doing. He further said that in 1852 Mr. Smyth conveyed an estate to him which he mortgaged in the following year for 1900*l*. In 1855 Mr. Smyth wished to raise some money, and the estate was sold, the proceeds, after payment of the mortgage, going to Mr. Smyth. By a codicil of January, 1857, to the will of 1854, Mr. Smyth revoked a will he had made between 1854 and 1857 in favour of Newton, revoked the residuary bequest in the will of 1854, and confirmed all conveyances previous to that date.

Mr. James Stark Skipper, a brother of the last witness, was present at the signature of the will, and proved its due execution. He also stated that early in 1856 it was discovered that Mr. Smyth had drawn out the whole amount of the rents deposited at his banker's a few days after the audit, and suspecting that he had been induced to sign blank checks, Messrs. Skipper proposed that all the payments and receipts should pass through their hands, and that he should receive 20*l*. a month for small expenses. That arrangement was carried out and continued up to his death. His explanation of the matter was that his name had been forged, but it was thought more probable that he had signed checks and forgotten it.

Dr. Hutchison said that he had attended Mr. Smyth since 1836, and was one of the attesting witnesses to the will. He was of perfectly competent understanding, and he said the will had been read over to him and it expressed his wishes. He had for many years suffered from hernia. He was of nervous temperament and anxious about his health. In 1853 he conveyed a farm of 36 acres to Mrs. Hutchison, but he received the rents during his life. When he spoke of the Bodkins he said they should have none of his property, because Major Bodkin had insulted him.

Cross-examined.—Mr. Smyth was a quiet, retired man, but he was fond of loose conversation. Mrs. Hutchison did not visit him, because there were rumours about his habits which made it improper for ladies to go to his house. For some time he paid a regular sum, 5*l*. a-quarter, instead of fees, for medical attendance, but at the beginning of 1857 he said he could not afford that sum, and proposed to pay in future by fees. For the next six months the bill for medical attendance amounted to 64*l*., as they were almost daily visits. Mr. Smyth objected to the charge, and in August, 1857, he ceased to attend him. Mr. Smyth had in previous years given him various sums of money, which he looked upon as presents, but which were due for medical attendance, but never more than 100*l*. at a time. In November, 1856, he attested the execution of a will at Massey's house. (By this will the bulk of the property was left to Massey.) He also attested the codicil of January, 1857, executed at his own house, and prepared by Mr. Skipper. Mr. Smyth was a man of eccentric habits, fond of playing on the piano, and he could run over the keys in a masterly manner, but could only play one tune—"God save the Queen." He would sometimes show off his agility by dancing and running. He had heard from Mr. Smyth of a charge of



indecent assault that was made against him several years ago. He never knew until after Mr. Smyth's death that a farm had been left him by one of the wills.

Robert Duman, accountant to the Norwich Equitable Fire Office, and the other attesting witness, also proved the execution of the will. Up to 1853 he had kept Mr. Smyth's accounts, as he was unable to add up three figures. He could not understand the effect of wills and conveyances unless they were explained to him. Witness had often cautioned him against Newton and the Delfs, and said they would reduce him to a wheelbarrow. No person of any respectability associated with him. He had told witness that he intended to leave him 200*l.*, but he had always refused to accept it. His reason was that he did not wish to be classed with the young men with whom Mr. Smyth associated.

Mr. H. B. Miller, an attorney, gave an account of the mortgage transactions in which Delf and Mr. Smyth had been engaged, and said that Mr. Smyth was quite competent to understand them.

Cross-examined.—In 1855 or 1856 he gave the Rev. H. Delfosse, Dissenting minister, a small farm of about 1000*l.* value, upon which witness in the following year advanced 600*l.*

The Court adjourned at the conclusion of this witness's examination.

*December 9th.*

At the sitting of the Court the examination of witnesses in support of the will was resumed.

Mr. Hardy, a grocer of Norwich, said the testator had dealt with him for many years, and used to drive or walk to the shop, give his orders, and pay his bills. There did not appear to be any defect in his understanding. He did not pay his own bills after 1856.

Mr. Cannell, an overseer of Cringleford and collector of the poor-rate, proved that he was generally paid by Mr. Smyth. Five or six years ago he wrote a check for 90*l.* instead of 19*l.*, but discovered his mistake and wrote another. In the quarter before he died he complained that the rate was rather high, and said, "D—the poor, if I had my own mind, they should be sent to their own parishes." He added that he would rather give his money to them than to his relatives. On a previous occasion he said he would rather burn his money than let his relatives have it.

Cross-examined.—Alfred Massey is now living at Cringleford. He and I have been out shooting together once, but we are not on intimate terms. Sometimes Mr. Smyth did not know me when I first went in. Either Edwards or Mrs. Edwards was with him when he paid the rates during the last three or four years of his life.

Mr. Steward, a solicitor, who had advanced 8000*l.* on an estate called Topcroft, in 1854, proved that Mr. Smyth had executed the mortgage and given authority to Delf to receive the money.

Mr. Swatman, a solicitor at Norwich, who had been engaged in the same transaction on the part of Mr. Smyth and Mr. Delf, said that Mr. Smyth told him the money was to be given to Delf, and Delf was to pay the interest. He had not the slightest doubt of Mr. Smyth's competency.

Mr. White, a London attorney, who had prepared and attested the will of 1856 in favour of Massey, stated that he had received his instructions from Mr. Smyth, who expressed his confidence in Mr. Massey, and seemed perfectly to comprehend the business.

The attesting witnesses to a number of the various wills and codicils were also called, and gave their opinions that Mr. Smyth was of testamentary capacity.

Several letters written by Mr. Smyth to Mr. Massey and to Mr. Skipper

were read, extending from 1849 to 1855, containing nothing at all remarkable either in matter or in manner. Two receipts, with his signature attached, dated the 22nd of February, 1859, and 24th March, 1859, for the monthly 20*l.* paid him by Messrs. Skipper, were also put in evidence.

Mr. Edwin James said that no witnesses would be called for the defendants.

Mr. Serjeant Pigott therefore summed up the plaintiff's evidence. He submitted that as there was no evidence at all of undue influence, the only question was that of incompetency. Even if the jury thought that the testator was a man of immoral habits and liable to let his associates take advantage of him, that was no reason for invalidating his will. His disposition of his property might appear whimsical, but he had no relatives about him. He was alone in the world. He assigned reasons more or less valid for the benefits that he conferred on different persons, and it clearly appeared to be his intention that none of the Bodkins should have his property if he could help it. Various calumnies as to his mode of life had been insinuated in the course of the case, but they were not consistent with his letters and his acts, and no evidence had been given to show what foundation for them, if any, existed. There was nothing unusual or improper in the manner in which the instructions for the final will were given, or in which the will itself was executed, and both at the time of the execution and subsequently he gave indications of perfect testamentary capacity. It was several months afterwards that he objected to the charge of Dr. Hutchison and employed another medical man. The learned serjeant concluded by calling upon the jury not lightly to set aside a will, as they were all interested in upholding wills unless it could be clearly proved that they did not carry out the intentions of the testators.

Mr. Edwin James, in his address to the jury for the defendants, said that the ground upon which the will was opposed was, that this weak-minded and vacillating old man, not being of mental capacity to resist the dark and mysterious influence of his associates, Massey, Newton, and Delf, made various conveyances to them at different times, and confirmed all these conveyances by the will, not knowing that it would have that effect. The object of Messrs. Skipper in inducing him to execute it was to obtain the entire control, as executors, of the whole property, thinking there would be no one to call them to account. Mr. Bodkin, who was a gentleman of landed property in Ireland, and had represented Galway in Parliament, learnt in 1855 that his uncle was perfectly incompetent, and had got rid of all his property; but, instead of annoying the old gentleman by issuing a commission in lunacy, he took the proper course of waiting until he died, to see whether Messrs. Skipper would dare to set up such a will as the present. The learned counsel then went through the evidence, arguing that it proved that the old man was a mere automaton in the hands of Messrs. Skipper, or of any one who could get hold of him. He signed whatever was given to him, and became at last so utterly incapable of managing his own affairs, that he was only allowed a miserable 240*l.* a-year out of his 1800*l.*, and all his concerns, even the most trivial, were managed by Messrs. Skipper. He had accused Massey and Delf, the one of stealing his plate and the other of stealing his deeds; he had called Newton a rascal, and yet all his conveyances were confirmed by a compendious line in his final will. His conveyances to various people—Alfred Massey, William Massey, a Mr. Tyler and his wife, Hutchison's wife, Delf, and his relative the Rev. H. Delf, and others—comprised property to the value of no less than 60,000*l.*, and the will confirmed them all. The learned counsel commented in severe terms upon the conduct of Messrs. Skipper in their dealings with Mr. Smyth. They had, he said, the greatest interest in the result of this case, and it was their evidence alone which was relied on to uphold the will, because they had neither dared to call the Edwardses, who knew more about the deceased than anybody

else, nor Delf, nor Massey, nor any of his intimate associates. In conclusion he expressed a hope that the jury would defeat the attempt now made to establish the validity of these suspicious transactions.

The learned Judge then summed up. With regard to the first issue he directed the jury that the deceased would not be incapable of making a will if he was able to understand the nature of the property he was disposing of, to bear in mind his relatives, and the persons connected with him, and to make an election as to the parties he wished to benefit. It was not enough, on the one hand, that he should be able to say "yes" or "no" to a simple question; nor, on the other hand, was it necessary that he should be a well-informed man or a scholar. He might be stupid, dull, or ignorant; but if he understood the nature of his property, and could select the objects of his bounty, that would be sufficient. With respect to the second question, in order to establish undue influence it was not enough to show that a man had been persuaded or cajoled by pretended friendship, nor that he had been induced by importunities or requests made from time to time. If that were sufficient, in how many families would wills be set aside! The influence of attachment, argument or importunity, would not suffice, unless the importunity was carried to such an extent that it amounted to depriving the testator of his free judgment, and of the exercise of his free will. If the will was the will he wished to make, by whatever means he might have been induced to make it, or by whatever persuasion, barring fraud, it would be a good will; but, if he made it in consequence of pressure, it was no longer his will, and must be set aside. With regard to Mr. Skipper, his Lordship observed that he would unquestionably have stood better before the public if he had not been so largely benefited by this unfortunate old man during his life. No doubt Mr. Smyth, early in his career, had been driven from society by some grievous imputation; and Mr. Skipper said that, in consequence of that stigma on his character, he did not visit him. Mr. Skipper would have done well to follow the example of Mr. Dunnan and refuse to take any benefit from him. His Lordship then read over the material parts of the evidence.

The jury retired at half-past five o'clock, and returned at the end of an hour and a half with a verdict for the plaintiffs upon the issue of capacity, and for the defendants upon the issue of undue influence.



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ART. I.—ON HABITS OF INTOXICATION AS CAUSING  
A TYPE OF DISEASE.

"DOCTOR, I will give you a wrinkle," said a friend to us not long ago, as we were gossiping concerning wine, and an attendant was directed to descend into the cellar, and bring from a particular bin a bottle of champagne. It may be as well, perhaps, to remark, lest the uninitiated should stumble over the term, that a *wrinkle*, in the refined slang of the day, signifies a little bit of practical wisdom. The phrase is highly metaphorical. Worldly wisdom increases with years; so also do the furrows which indent the forehead. Therefore an increase of wrinkles on the brow may be regarded as an index of increasing sapience, and a wrinkle may legitimately stand as a figurative synonym for an item of practical wisdom. This by the way. The champagne was in due time placed upon the table, and the sparkling fluid had a most agreeable taste and refreshing effect, for the evening was hot and stifling. "Well, how do you like the wine?" inquired our friend. "A pleasant drink for a scorching day," we replied. "Read that," he said; putting into our hands the cork which had just been extracted from the bottle, and pointing to the inner extremity—that which had been in proximity to the wine. There we saw and read, not a little to our astonishment, the formidable word MORT, printed in clear bold letters. "That," said our friend, "is a trade-mark, and when you see it affixed to the cork of a champagne bottle, you may rest assured that no grapes ever contributed towards the formation of the wine."

This was the *wrinkle*; but the singularity of the trade-mark awoke other thoughts than those immediately connected with the utility of knowing it. Should there have been a full stop after

the different letters—each having a specific signification, the formation of the word being merely accidental? Or was the trade-mark such as we read it, *Mort—Death*—and if so, was its adoption a Mephistophelian satire of the wine-merchant on the wine vended? Truly, a reversed cork so stamped and placed upon the plates of the guests at a feast might well serve the purpose of the puppet-mummy introduced during the course of an ancient Egyptian banquet; or might convey as homely but as forcible a lesson as that taught in Holbein's drawing of the toper in the Dance of Death, in which Death is represented as officiously pouring the inebriating drink into the mouth of one of the carousers. Or may we regard this trade-mark as a foreshadowing of that time, which Dr. Magnus Huss tells us, in his work on *chronic alcoholism*, he doubts not will sooner or later arrive, when alcohol will no longer be known as *aqua vitæ* but *aqua mortis*.

And, indeed, as we become more and more familiar with the remote effects of alcohol upon the system, in whatever form the potent spirit be consumed, we cannot resist the conclusion that, as too commonly used, it would be more correctly termed *aqua mortis* than *aqua vitæ*. It will be well briefly to recall a few of the reasons which justify this inference, as in so doing we shall best pave the way to the subject-matter of this article.

Mr. Neison, in his researches on the "Rate of Mortality among Persons of Intemperate Habits," shows that in the instances he investigated, at the term of life 21—30 the mortality was upwards of *five times* that of the general community; and that in the succeeding twenty years of life it was about *four times* as great, the difference becoming less and less as age advanced. "If there be anything, therefore," he adds, "in the usages of society calculated to destroy life, the most powerful is certainly the inordinate use of strong drink."\*

Again, of the immediate causes of death among the intemperate, Head diseases (Nervous system) ranked most prominent, while diseases of the Digestive organs and dropsy, and diseases of the Respiratory organs were about on a par, although showing a comparative difference of very considerable importance. Now the deaths from Head diseases among the population of England and Wales, aged twenty and upwards, constitute only 9·710 per cent. of the deaths from all causes at those ages; but Mr. Neison tells us that "among the intemperate classes they constitute 27·100 per cent., being nearly three times as great. With other diseases," continues this gentleman, "similar differences will be found. In the general community, the deaths from diseases of the respiratory organs, at the same period of life, amount to 33·150 per cent. of the

\* *Vital Statistics*, 2nd edit. p. 205.



deaths from all causes; while among the intemperate group they are only 22·980 per cent. of all the deaths.\* Of the Head diseases among the intemperate, upwards of 50 per cent. were recorded as "delirium tremens."

Further, while the mortality from the two groups of Head diseases and of the Digestive organs forms 15·950 per cent. of the deaths from all causes, at corresponding ages, the mortality from the same groups of diseases among the intemperate forms 50·40 per cent. of all the deaths that take place, or more than *three times the general average*. "These may, therefore," writes Mr. Neison, "be regarded as the distinctive type of the causes of death among intemperate persons; and the predominance of deaths assigned to such causes in any particular collection of facts, may fairly, in the absence of other and more direct evidence, add to the inference of irregularity of habits having prevailed to an unusual extent."†

If, then, the inordinate use of alcoholic beverages exercises so lethiferous an influence, it must be conceded on this ground alone, that the subject is one of sufficient gravity to claim the most careful attention of the practical physician. In our systems of medicine it is, however, customary chiefly to direct notice to the more immediate results of excessive indulgence, and these alone find a place in our nosological arrangements and mortality records. Not that the more remote effects of intemperance have been, or are overlooked or forgotten. Far from it; for the subject is one having such important bearings upon the moral, intellectual, and physical deterioration of individuals and of nations, and even upon the extinction of families and races, that much research has been and still is being devoted to it. And yet with all this the more remote morbid results of intemperance have not been so fully appreciated as to receive a legitimate position in systematic medicine, and until this requirement be fulfilled several evils must be perpetuated. First, the records of mortality and of sickness being thus far imperfect, from them no satisfactory measure can be obtained of the lethal or deteriorating influence of intemperance on the whole population. The nosological system adopted by the Registrar-General marks in two instances only—*intemperance* and *delirium tremens*—death as a result of excessive indulgence in strong drink. It is manifest that these examples can embrace but a small amount of the mortality arising directly from intoxication. The nosology of the Registrar-General is that, however, which principally governs the systematic teaching of physic in our schools of medicine. Hence a second evil, to wit, that the attention being fixed mainly upon the immediate ills arising from intemperance, we are apt to

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 222.



under-estimate the more remote and even more important, because less apparent, more insidious, and, in the end, more disastrous evils. Nor is this all; for the morbid effects which may be developed by the free usage of alcoholic drinks, short of intemperance, and which we think are still very imperfectly understood, are liable to be altogether overlooked in practical medicine.

The time has now come, however, when we think, that with no small advantage to medicine, and the community at large, the morbid effects of alcohol may rightly receive a more prominent position in the systematic teaching of the medical art than it has yet received. In 1852, Dr. Magnus Huss, of Stockholm, showed that the remote, as well as the immediate effects of intemperance upon the nervous system had a specific character, and that they could be clearly distinguished from other affections of the brain and spinal cord. The more remote effects of intemperance Dr. Magnus Huss designates by the term *chronic alcoholism*, by which he wished to be understood, "the collective symptoms of a disordered condition of the mental, motor, and sensory functions of the nervous system, these symptoms assuming a chronic form, and without their being immediately connected with any of those modifications of the central or peripheric portions of the nervous system which may be detected during life, or discovered after death by ocular inspection, such symptoms, however, affecting individuals who have persisted for a considerable length of time in the abuse of alcoholic liquors."

Adopting, then, the terminology of Dr. Magnus Huss, the poisonous effects of alcohol, in whatever form taken, would be designated by the general phrase *alcoholism*, these morbid results being further described as occurring either in an *acute* or *chronic* form. Or else, using the ordinary term *intoxication*, we should speak of acute and chronic alcoholic intoxication, including under the former phrase *drunkenness*, ordinarily so termed, and *delirium with tremor*; under the latter, the collective symptoms described by Dr. Magnus Huss.

Alcoholism is, perhaps, not a very euphonious term, but yet, for scientific usage, it is much preferable to intoxication. The latter is in common use to signify drunkenness, and its adoption as a technical phrase having a very different and much wider meaning than drunkenness, in the usual acceptation of that word, would most probably lead to confusion. It is well to avoid, if practicable, in scientific language, a word which has a technical and popular meaning differing the one from the other. Hence we prefer the term alcoholism.

A modification in the use of the term *chronic alcoholism* would, we think, also be advisable. The expression, as defined

by Dr. Magnus Huss, and generally adopted by those who have written upon the subject, includes a wide range of symptoms, frequently differing greatly in intensity and duration, and to which the term *chronic* is not always very applicable. Dr. Leon Thomeuf, in a recent clinical essay (an inaugural thesis) on alcoholism,\* describes three phases of the disorder, using the phrase alcoholic intoxication:—

1. *Acute alcoholic intoxication*, in which the effect is always immediately linked to the action of the cause, and this being exhausted, the disturbance to which it has given rise quickly vanishes. This, the more immediate or primitive phase of intoxication, includes drunkenness, oinomania, and delirium with tremor, and it is characterized by expansive sentiments, agitation, and fury.

2. *Subacute alcoholic intoxication*, which supervenes subsequently to the immediate action of the cause, and which corresponds sometimes to the alcoholic insanity of M. Marceel, at others to a peculiar form of melancholy, which is accompanied by certain disordered states of motility. This phase is marked by depressive sentiments.

3. *Chronic alcoholic intoxication*, which determines certain structural or functional changes in the central nervous system, giving rise to the ordinary symptoms of different forms of insanity.

Dr. Thomeuf's arrangement was derived from observation of cases at Charenton, of which asylum he was an *interne*, but we think that much advantage would be obtained from adopting this threefold division, and extending it to the whole phenomena of alcoholism, as observed as well in private and general practice, as in the special practice of a lunatic asylum.

Dr. B. A. Morel, in his recent important treatise on mental disorders, classes chronic alcoholism among the mental perversions produced by the use of divers inebriating matters. He writes—

“The continued and progressive ingestion of certain intoxicating substances, as, for example, alcohol, constitutes a malady which latterly has been designated *chronic alcoholism*. When we employ this term, we wish to design a pathological state, as well physical as moral, in an individual who, enjoying primitively his reason, suffers himself to slide progressively into habits which, becoming inveterate, present themselves in the form of irresistible tendencies, and determine in the organism lesions of a special nature. This does not, however, exclude the existence of other pathological, pre-existing conditions which influence the disposition that an individual may show to indulge to

\* *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, 1859, p. 565.



excess in alcoholic drinks. Thus, it is not uncommon to see, at the commencement of mental disorders, and particularly of general paralysis, persons who have always been cited for their sobriety, suddenly manifest great depravity of the instincts. Alcoholism, in cases of this kind, is a result of pre-existing disease; and, if this mode of considering the subject is of a character to throw light upon diagnosis and prognosis, it also has an important bearing in regard to the legal medicine of the insane.”\*

The question of the influence of alcoholism as a cause of insanity has been so recently raised, in the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees which sat during the last and preceding sessions of Parliament, to inquire into the care and treatment of lunatics, that it may be useful to glance for a moment at the statistics in reference to this subject which have been noted by Dr. Thomeuf.

It would appear that 350 lunatics were admitted into Charenton in the two years 1857-58. Of these cases, 102 were caused principally, if not solely, by the use of alcoholic drinks, that is, 29·1 per cent. of the whole were cases of alcoholism. The different characters presented by these cases were carefully recorded and are of great interest. They were as follows:—

Delirium tremens	15 per cent.	Melancholia	24 per cent.
Drunken mania	6 „	Anomalous psychical	
Congestive mania	1 „	symptoms, after	
General paralysis	34 „	delirium tremens	4 „
Epileptiform convulsions	2 „	Folie circulaire	3 „
		Stupidité	2 „

It will be understood from this list how it happens that, if the immediate cause of death in cases of alcoholism be the fact entered in our registers of mortality, which is the rule, the lethal effects of the disease will lie in a great measure hid among the records of deaths from idiopathic affections.

A requisite step to the admission of alcoholism in its fullest acceptation into our nosological arrangements, is a fuller appreciation than is yet generally possessed of the specific character of the subacute and chronic forms of the affection. Whatever tends to promote this end is of moment. We would, therefore, direct attention to a little work on the subject, which has recently been published by Dr. Marcet,† and which, although it professes chiefly to have a therapeutical object, is exceedingly well calculated to convey a clear notion of the nature and symptoms of chronic alco-

\* *Traité des Maladies Mentales.* Par le Dr. B. A. Morel. Paris, 1860. p. 214.

† *On Chronic Alcoholic Intoxication, or Alcoholic Stimulants in connexion with the Nervous System: with a Synoptical Table of Cases.* By W. Marcet, M.D., F.R.S., Assistant-Physician to the Westminster Hospital, &c. Churchill, 1860.



holism (using that term with the signification attached to it by Dr. Magnus Huss), as this affection is most commonly met with.

"The symptoms of the disease," writes Dr. Marcet, "depend on a functional disturbance of the properties of the nervous system, which may last for weeks, months, or years, even after the habit of excessive drinking has been given up. On first applying to his medical adviser, the patient will probably not state the cause of his illness, and thus seriously mislead the physician in his estimation of the nature of the complaint. If we try to account for this difficulty of establishing the cause of the disease in cases of chronic alcoholism, it will be found that in some instances the patient is ashamed of his intemperance, and will not confess it. In others, he considers that the nature of his occupation is such as to require an excessive amount of drink; he is seldom or never drunk, in his opinion he takes no more than is absolutely required, and he is not aware of his suffering from alcoholic stimulants. Some will positively disbelieve that their illness can be owing to the abuse of alcoholic liquors, as they have been under a pledge to drink very little or none at all for some time previously; but it will be noticed, in the course of the examination, that before taking the pledge these individuals were thorough drunkards, and had been obliged to give up drinking on account of their health. Finally, in those instances where the mind has been affected through frequent fits of drunkenness and repeated attacks of delirium tremens, the patient may have great aversion from giving plain answers to the questions of the physician, and thus lead him to understand that he never indulged too freely in spirituous drinks.

"There is something peculiar in the look and gait of individuals in the habit of drinking to excess, or even of habitual tipplers, which will greatly assist in discovering the nature of the complaint, even before addressing the patient. His peculiar complexion, often sharp features, or, if he be fat, the injected cheeks and nose, and their violet appearance, the trembling of the limbs, often of the whole body, or a want of steadiness and co-ordination in the movements, not very unlike incipient chorea—all these are so many symptoms that the medical practitioner will not fail to observe. On conversing with such patients, their intellect will not often be found blunted, and the account they give of their sufferings is perhaps remarkably clear. It may be, however, that the patient has fallen into a state of melancholia, and fancies his doctor is attempting to do him some injury, in which case the sufferer will endeavour to turn aside the conversation, and adroitly avoid the subject. I have observed a well-marked instance of this kind in a boy of eighteen whose case I had great difficulty at first in making out; but a fortnight afterwards, his health having much improved, he gave me a clear account of his illness. Another patient, although he had given up the habit of drinking to excess, taking no more on an average than two pints of beer daily for the last six years, yet assured me that he was occasionally unconscious of what he was doing, and that his friends sometimes thought he was insane."—(pp. 6-9.)

The chief symptoms of chronic alcoholism are trembling of the feet and hands, gradually increasing weakness, and in the fully developed cases paralysis, startings of the tendons, and cramps. The sleep is much disturbed by frightful dreams, or it cannot be obtained either on account of formications or prickings, or neuralgic pains in the limbs, or extreme restlessness. In the more advanced stages of the disease, the night not unfrequently becomes a period of horrible suffering. The patient in vain seeks to place his limbs in a position which would afford relief to the uneasy sensations or burning pain which affects them, and if sleep or drowsiness steals upon him, it is presently driven away by convulsive startings, which seem to tear asunder the muscles. The neuralgic pains which at first haunt solely the night begin to affect the patient and increase upon him by day. Vertigo often happens, and at times the vision is clouded, or the patient feels as if he had been suddenly plunged into darkness. Hallucinations are of common occurrence. Dr. Marcet writes:—

“ They mostly affect the organs of sight and of hearing. For instance, one of my patients, when walking in the street, had seen ropes dangling about his head; to another, objects appeared as if they were double; some perceived occasionally insects creeping about: the various visions often disappearing as soon as the attention was directed to them. These factitious perceptions of the sight appear sometimes so real that the individual moves aside to avoid an imaginary object standing in his way. A cabman (Case 47) I was treating for chronic alcoholism told me he frequently pulled up his horse suddenly, or drove to one side of the street, lest he should run over some obstacle he distinctly saw in front of his horse, and which he afterwards found not to exist in reality. In his case objects appeared to be multiplied to as many as ten times their real number, so that if a lamp-post, a man, or a cart, happened to be near him, he perceived ten lamp-posts, or ten men, or as many carts. He could not possibly make out which object was really to be avoided, and was obliged to give up driving on account of the risk of an accident. In most cases the patient is occasionally, or perhaps constantly, troubled with shadows or a black mist, or flying specks (*muscæ volitantes*) passing rapidly before his eyes, and causing a dimness of sight, especially when he is looking attentively at something; in the act of reading, for example, the book is suddenly darkened, and a state of almost complete blindness ensues, lasting a few minutes. I have met with one instance where the patient perceived spots of all kinds of colour.\* During the long and sleepless nights, aberrations of the sight frequently happen. The wife of a patient I was treating for chronic alcoholism told me her husband often fancied, whilst lying awake, that he saw rats and cats, and various other de-

\* Magnus Huss has observed cases of chronic alcoholism where objects appeared peculiarly coloured. He reports having met with two instances of hallucinations of the smell, and also with hallucinations of the taste, the patients believing they were drinking brandy instead of water.



scriptions of animals, on the bedclothes ; he used to doze at intervals, and in the morning could not remember anything of the nightly visions. The aberrations of the sense of hearing are not so frequent, but I have met with patients who occasionally heard voices addressing them when nobody was present."—(pp. 11-14.)

The intellectual and moral faculties, particularly the latter, are invariably perverted to a greater or less extent, and too commonly the patient becomes completely debased and brutalized, heeding nothing but the cravings of his own appetites or the pricks of his own sufferings. The digestive functions are more or less interfered with, and the kidneys and liver are very liable to be morbidly affected, the former with granular degeneration. Frequently, also, the heart is enfeebled by fatty degeneration of its structure. Wasting sets in, and the patient in the end may sink from exhaustion, or an induced lesion of liver, kidneys, digestive organs or heart may cut his life short, or, which is the commonest result, he dies apoplectic, or maniacal, or demented, or paralysed from head to foot, intellect and feeling being first alike abolished.

Such are, briefly, the symptoms which commonly mark the progress of chronic alcoholism. They may not all be found to occur in each case, for every degree of intensity in the manifestation of the psychical or physical symptoms is found in different instances ; but there never wants that grouping together of certain mental, motor, and sensory perversions which is characteristic of alcoholic poisoning. No better example could be given of a special form in which chronic alcoholism is sometimes observed, and of the significant grouping of particular symptoms already described, than the *alcoholic melancholia* remarked by Dr. Thomeuf, at Charenton. Fifteen instances came under the scrutiny of this writer, and the symptoms noted may be summed up as follows :—

*Psychical Symptoms.*—Hallucinations were the dominant symptom. Disordered sensations induced delirium, and were followed by perversion of the emotions and instincts. The hallucinations were of peculiar importance, because they may be regarded as pathognomonic of the affection. At the first glance they seemed to differ much : this patient beheld men who wished to assassinate him ; that, while he sat at a *table-d'hôte*, heard voices mocking him ; while another saw and felt vipers and toads which nipped him. But in almost every instance the hallucinations caused a painful moral impression, and often even profound terror.

Hallucinations of the hearing occurred twelve times in the fifteen cases ; hallucinations of the sight eleven times ; of the touch twice ; and of the taste once.

Dr. Thomeuf never encountered in this affection an hallucina-



tion of a lively character, and the delirium always was of a melancholic and sombre cast. The delirious conceptions were marked by profound sadness—by ideas of persecution. Thus one patient accused himself of being a drunkard, and he sought to escape from this reproach by attempting to cast himself from the window. The tendency to suicide was, indeed, frequently observed. Another patient conceived that he had violated his daughter, and wished to deliver himself up to justice in order that he might be punished. A third heard voices which said to him that he was a wretch because he had had the small-pox; he believed himself to be rotten. Lastly, a fourth was convinced that he was no longer a man, but a woman, also a bitch.

The attention was always more or less affected. It was invariably necessary to elevate the voice in order to attract the patient's notice, or to repeat a question in order to procure an answer. The memory was generally enfeebled. The affections were either perverted or abolished, the patients hating those who were formerly most dear to them. Jealousy was occasionally a conspicuous passion, and the instincts themselves were not unfrequently perverted.

In the majority of the cases sleep was diminished, or even lost, during the whole progress of the malady. Frightful hallucinations or dreams, in several cases, prevented all rest at night. This is not difficult to be understood. Those who suffer from alcoholism are greatly depressed, and it is well known that a lowering of the vital powers gives to our ideas a tinge of sadness which is exaggerated by silence and particularly by darkness.

*Physical Symptoms.*—In twelve cases, Dr. Thomeuf observed marked quivering of the muscles of the face (this being generally more manifest on one side), an undulatory movement of the lip and trembling of the tongue. This is worthy of note, as usually the muscular tremblings of chronic alcoholism are most frequently observed in the limbs. In two cases these movements persisted for a year. Insensibility to pain is often observed in drunkenness, and the same phenomenon was noticed by Dr. Thomeuf as existing in several of his patients. In three he could plunge a needle into the limbs without exciting any sign of pain, and one of the patients bore the application of an enormous cautery to the arm without uttering a word. The insensibility was most apparent in the arms, beneath the elbows, and the legs, beneath the knees. The patients suffered also from dyspepsia, with acid eructations. The pulse in nearly every case was normal, varying from sixty to eighty-four beats, except during the exacerbations, when it became more rapid. Obscene ideas were occasionally noticed.

This affection invariably occurred among old drunkards, and it sometimes succeeded an attack of delirium tremens. The symptoms which usually ushered in the malady were characteristic of chronic alcoholism. The individual became pusillanimous, distrustful, and vindictive. There was trembling of the hands and arms, more manifest in the morning, and often the sole symptom. Then cephalalgia, vertigo, and dazzling of the eyes set in, with more or less disturbance of the digestive functions. If the affection was not checked here, melancholia, usually with paralytic symptoms, succeeded.

Almost the whole of Dr. Thomeuf's patients were discharged cured, or much relieved, after fifteen days' residence in the asylum. Generally, however, slight trembling of the muscles of the face and limbs remained. But old drunkards are commonly dipsomaniacs, and sooner or later graver symptoms are induced, and the patient's mental and moral faculties are utterly degraded or broken up, constituting a form of dementia known among our neighbours as *abrutissement des ivrognes*. Or, general paralysis supervenes, but not the general paralysis known as that of the insane. General paralysis, as a morbid entity, often occurs in persons who have been guilty of excess in spirituous liquors; but a distinction exists between the general paralysis which is a remote and ultimate result of alcoholism, and that which constitutes an idiopathic affection, having a well-marked course. Morel remarks; agreeing with Dr. Magnus Huss, that "It does not seem possible to us at the present day to confound chronic alcoholism with other idiopathic affections of the brain and spinal marrow. The progressive general paralysis of the insane, when it arrives at its last limits, is perhaps the sole affection of which the differential diagnosis offers some difficulty."\* Calmeil, we presume, includes both forms of general paralysis under the head *chronic diffuse periencephalitis*, and that form which is an ultimate result of alcoholism will appertain to his melancholic type of the disease.† The etiological differences of the two varieties of the affection are, however, sufficiently important to render a knowledge of their differential characters useful. These Dr. Thomeuf sums up in the following manner:—

*Alcoholic Melancholia complicated with Paralysis.*

From headache.

Active hallucinations affecting all the senses, disordered vision (illusions).

*General Paralysis.*

Generally as headache.

Enfeeblement of the understanding, rarely hallucinations.

\* *Traité des Dégénérescences*, p. 94.

† *Traité des Maladies Inflammatoires du Cerveau*, vol. i. p. 271, et seq.



*Alcoholic Melancholia complicated with Paralysis.*

Delirious conceptions depending upon the hallucinations; ideas of persecution, tendency to suicide, evil instincts, consciousness of degradation.

Embarrassed speech depending somewhat upon fear, upon startings of the muscles of the face, and especially upon tremulousness of the tongue.

Feebleness little marked of the inferior members; equal on both sides.

Trembling of the hands and the arms more marked in the morning; formications, cramps, and startings of the tendons of the fore-arm.

Pupils nearly always dilated.

Anæsthæsia of the extremities of the limbs, extending generally in the superior limbs to the elbow, and the inferior to the knee.

Sleep disturbed with dreams, sometimes sleeplessness.

Diminution of the appetite, acid eructations, vomiting of mucus in the morning.

Diminution of the generative functions, frigidity.

Readily cured or modified.

Occasional supervention of *delirium tremens*.

*General Paralysis.*

Ideas of grandeur and contentment.

Embarrassed speech depending upon feebleness of the conceptions and paralysis of the muscles of the face.

Feebleness of the inferior members, more marked generally upon one side than the other.

Nothing appreciable in the superior limbs, sometimes default of co-ordination.

Pupils often unequal, often contracted.

Sensibility normal or obtuse over the whole surface.

Sleep generally normal.

Appetite augmented.

Augmentation of the generative functions.

Progress of the disease ordinarily rapid, always fatal.

Tendency to congestions, and to epileptiform attacks.\*

The causes which predispose an individual to alcoholism are various. The quality of the spirituous fluid imbibed, the quantity, the time of imbibition, the age of the imbibor, the sex, the habits, and the profession, all exercise more or less influence in determining, or staying off, or modifying the ulterior results of intemperance or undue indulgence in strong drink. The whole of these points are clearly and pithily discussed by Dr. Marcet, to whose book we would refer our readers for information con-

\* See Dr. Legrand du Sault's Analysis of Dr. Thomeuf's Essay, *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, 1859, p. 566, et seq.



cerning them. A few remarks, however, may not be amiss concerning one or two of the predisposing causes. And first of quality.

The recent commercial treaty with France, and the probable introduction of the lighter and commoner French wines into this country at a comparatively low cost, has given rise to a tolerably wide feeling of gratification in the kingdom. Not a little has been said in the Senate and elsewhere about the advantages to be derived from readiness of access to "a light, wholesome beverage," as compared with our own heady and too frequently adulterated beer. As a substitute for the port and sherry in common use, a cheap, light, good French wine would, no doubt, be a most welcome boon to many an individual, but what reason is there to believe, that if French wines should become a common drink among us, we should get the cheaper varieties any purer or better than the French themselves? Looking at the question solely from a health point of view, we obtain one or two facts from Dr. Thomeuf's essay, which are all the more worthy of being treasured up because they are of a recent date. He tells us that the subjects of alcoholism at Charenton had drunk chiefly brandy, *absinthe*, and *gros-vin*. Now Professor Bouchardat has stated, that the wine retailed in Paris is chiefly composed of a small quantity of wine, to which alcohol is added, with colouring matter. Hence Dr. Thomeuf concludes, that *brandy* is to be regarded as having been the ordinary drink of the patients he treated. Shall *we* escape from an inundation of "doctored" light wines?—wines, of which the "wholesomeness" would be most problematical.

Mr. Neison gives certain deductions concerning the influence of beer and spirits upon the mortality of the intemperate in this kingdom of great interest. He says, that the average duration of life after the commencement of intemperate habits is,

Among beer-drinkers . . . . 21·7 years

„ spirit-drinkers . . . . 16·7 „

And among those who drink spirits

and beer indiscriminately . . . . 16·1 „

Consequently the rate of mortality will be,

Among beer-drinkers . . . . 4·597 percent. yearly

„ spirit-drinkers . . . . 5·996 „

„ mixed-drinkers . . . . 6·194 „

He adds, "Intemperate indulgence in the use of distilled liquors is hence more hurtful to health than the like use of fermented liquors, but the immoderate use of both combined is more injurious than the exclusive use of one kind only."\*

\* *Vital Statistics*, p. 218.

In illustration of the *quantity* which may occasionally induce alcoholism, Dr. Marcet cites a very curious case which came under his own observation:—

“G. B., aged 28, a stoker in the House of Parliament, admitted as out-patient at the Westminster Hospital, on February 24th, 1859. Has always been of sober habits, and was only drunk once in his life; when no more than twelve years of age. His daily allowance of beer has been one pint, and he has taken no spirits. Three years ago he became a teetotaler, because he found that even so little as one pint of beer daily did not agree with his health. He has suffered from the usual symptoms of chronic alcoholism for the last three years.”—(p. 25.)

Mr. Neison has recorded several important deductions respecting the duration of life after the commencement of intemperate habits, among different classes of persons, which have an important bearing upon the question of the influence of *profession* upon alcoholism. It would appear from Mr. Neison's researches, that the average duration of life, in the intemperate, is—

Among mechanics, working, and labouring men .	18	years
„ traders, dealers, and merchants . . .	17	„
„ professional men and gentlemen . . .	15	„
„ females . . . . .	14	„

Dr. Marcet remarks that, “women appear to be much less subject to suffer from the long-contracted abuse of alcoholic liquors than men” (p. 30). If the effect of the vicious habit be measured by the mortality, it will be seen, from Mr. Neison's data, that the reverse is probably the truth.

An attack of alcoholism may be determined in an intemperate person, either by an exceptional excess, or by the supervention of some disease, or the occurrence of an accident, diminishing the resistance of the system towards the poisonous effects of the spirit. Our own experience teaches us, that the influence of idiopathic affections in facilitating attacks of alcoholism should never be lost sight of in persons who live a free life, but who are not usually termed intemperate.

“There is in every class of society,” writes Dr. Marcet, “a number of persons who, although they do not become intoxicated, suffer from chronic alcoholism, from drinking more spirits, wine, or beer than agrees with their health. Most of these persons lead a useful and active life, and apply for medical advice, being quite unaware of the cause of their illness. Many of the upper ranks of society are thus seized with symptoms of chronic alcoholism. The habit of indulging freely in wine at frequent dinner-parties, of drinking wine at lunch, of taking occasionally a glass of wine between meals, or of sipping every evening two or three glasses of sherry and water, or brandy and water; the usual good living at the officers' mess or at the clubs; the custom



which exists for commercial travellers, not only of using freely stimulants at dinner, but also of drinking wine with their customers when transacting business, and finding, of course, an equal pleasure in these potations—all these various circumstances, and many others besides, are quite sufficient to bring on an attack of chronic alcoholism when an individual is predisposed to the disease. Drinking is not usually in these cases an indomitable habit, and accordingly, the patient will gladly give it up if he feel certain that by so doing his health can be improved.”—(pp. 69-70.)

The *treatment* of chronic alcoholism has hitherto been chiefly hygienic and general—the hygiene being moral as well as physical. The control of the habit of drinking is only to be secured by obtaining the patient's complete confidence, or by secluding him, the latter resource being in the present state of the law, as a rule, admissible only when one or other of the ordinarily received forms of insanity has been developed by the pernicious vice. To this point we shall recur presently. Abstinence, entire abstinence from spirituous liquors, is the first necessity towards effecting a cure. It is requisite, also, that the depuratory organs should be placed in the completest order, by bringing to bear upon them the means, duly regulated according to the circumstances of the case, which the *materia medica* places at our disposal, preferring, however, as far as practicable, those which render the exhibition of drugs unnecessary. The diet, therefore, is of primary importance, and should be simple, nutritious, and readily digestible. The skin should receive peculiar attention and be acted upon by baths, warm or cold, sponging, friction, and regular exercise, according to the circumstances of the case. Acute pain may be combated by anodynes or opiates; but these will not be found to be of much utility by themselves, even if they be at all advisable, in extreme restlessness or delirium.

Prolonged warm baths, with or without cold effusion to the head, seem to be most serviceable when one or other of the events named occurs; and small doses of opium may be of service in procuring rest after the use of the bath. The whole armament of tonics have been brought to bear upon chronic alcoholism with more or less success.

Dr. Magnus Huss has recommended fusel-oil in the treatment of the affection. He gives the drug in the form of pills, and thinks that it diminishes the trembling, uneasiness, formications, and sense of debility. He recommends camphor also as a calmate.

Thus much for the general treatment of chronic alcoholism; but Dr. Marcet writes:—

“If chronic alcoholism be considered as depending on a peculiarly diseased condition of a certain part of the body, owing to the action



of a poison, no remedy can be looked upon as decidedly efficacious unless it exerts its power not directly on the symptoms themselves, which are but the signs of the illness, but on the principle of the disorder. Bearing this in mind, I have endeavoured to discover a treatment which, by acting immediately on the nervous system, should remove its diseased condition—the result of the long-continued abuse of alcoholic stimulants, thereby acting as a means of arresting the symptoms of the illness. I am consequently not about to recommend one remedy for a certain symptom, and another remedy for another symptom, but shall endeavour to show that there exists a substance, possessed of powerful and definite medicinal properties, and having the remarkable property of restoring to health, or at all events of greatly relieving the disordered nervous system of persons suffering from chronic alcoholism; the medicinal agent in question acting efficaciously in cases where the principal symptom may be either sleeplessness, or hallucinations, or trembling, or any other; and this substance is OXIDE OF ZINC.”—(pp. 76-77.)

Dr. Marcet enters at length into a consideration of the physiological and therapeutical action of this preparation, and the latter he conceives to be tonic, so far as the nervous system is concerned, sedative and antispasmodic. He states that he has used the metal with advantage in cases of epilepsy, chorea, mild hysteria, paralysis and lead-palsy, exhaustion from excessive mental work, and now also chronic alcoholism. At first he had looked upon the preparation as a specific agent in the treatment of epilepsy; but he now frankly states that he is “obliged to admit that it seldom, if ever, cures the disease, although its use is certainly often attended with beneficial effects.”—(p. 95.)

Dr. Marcet describes the usual effects of the administration of the oxide of zinc in chronic alcoholism, within his experience, in the following terms:—

“First, the sleep is improved, the patient does not lie so long awake at night, and the nightmare becomes less frightful; then the hallucinations decrease, the patient is no longer troubled with black specks passing constantly before his eyes, or with the sight of imaginary objects, such as insects or other animals crawling about the room, and extraordinary noises are no longer heard; the attacks of trembling also diminish in frequency if not in intensity, and gradually pass off. This improvement is attended with an increase of appetite, as well as a marked diminution of the gastric symptoms; and when the patient can take food and digest it well, he may be looked upon as in a fair way towards recovery. Gradually, muscular power returns, and the mental depression, which frequently accompanies chronic alcoholism, disappears; the patient becomes cheerful and happy, and expresses with gratitude his joy at feeling quite well.\* When the disorder is

\* It is to be understood that during the period of recovery the symptoms are frequently not relieved in the above-mentioned order.

complicated with an organic disease, I have found it advisable to begin with oxide of zinc, in order to alleviate as much as possible the functional derangement of the nervous system, and then to adopt such a course of treatment as may be considered the most suitable to the occasion."—(pp. 104-105.)

Dr. Marcet supports his opinions on the therapeutical influence of the oxide of zinc in chronic alcoholism, by a detailed account of cases treated by him at the Westminster Hospital. He adds also a synoptical table of forty-eight cases that have been under his care, and of which twenty-five appear to have been cured and many of the others much relieved.

If the treatment of chronic alcoholism rested solely with the strictly medical relation between the physician and his patient, of which we have as yet alone spoken, we might look more hopefully than at present can be done, upon the effects of curative remedies in the graver forms of the disease. The frequent culmination of the affection, however, in one or other of the recognised forms of insanity often renders necessary the interference of the law in order effectually to deal with it by compulsory restraint. Now the law permits the seclusion of the different forms of mania or of melancholia, and so forth, resulting from intemperance, but it does not recognise the specific character of the mental aberration arising from that cause, but treats it in the same manner as idiopathic insanity. Neither does the law recognise intemperance as itself a frequent form of insanity, acquired or derived; nor does it recognise the chronic results of intemperance as a species of insanity *per se*. Hence the restraint which, by controlling the insatiable appetite for drink and the depraved desires of the patient, is essential in the treatment of the graver cases of alcoholism, can only be had recourse to during the delirious paroxysms or exacerbations of the affection, but cannot be applied to the affection itself. Thus a case of alcoholic homicidal or destructive mania is admitted into an asylum. The case rapidly improves, and presently the patient regains the appearance of one of sound mind. It is requisite thereupon that he should be at once discharged from control. If the case has resulted from an exceptional debauch, and the individual is not an habitual drinker, this is the right course to pursue; for it may be presumed that the morbid state of the mind has ceased entirely with the cessation of the symptoms of aberration. If, however, the patient be an habitual drinker, and more particularly if it appears that the habit is prompted by hereditary tendencies, and that the maniacal or melancholic state for which he was admitted into the asylum be but the culmination of a prolonged series of symptoms indicative of disordered emotional and instinctive powers, the case assumes



a very different aspect. For the so-called attack of insanity, is under such circumstances, commonly but an exacerbation of chronic mental disorder. Hence if the relief of the exacerbation alone be looked upon as the cure of the disease, or as the justification for permitting the patient again to have self-control, sooner or later after discharge, he, driven by his insatiable and morbid appetite for drink, has once more recourse to it. What follows? The police records, or a walk through any asylum, will supply abundant information. The brutalized, insensate mass of flesh, sitting immovable and with idiotic aspect, in that corner of the corridor, had been thrice before admitted into the asylum for alcoholic mania, and in the intervals of his admissions he had ruined his family, driven his daughters into the streets, and his sons into crime. You may meet one or two of the former in the Haymarket, if you wish to confirm the story, any night; and one of the latter is to be found in a convict establishment, undergoing a long period of imprisonment. Again: we read, as we sip our matutinal coffee and munch our well-crisped toast, that A, B, or C, was discharged from this or that asylum, four or five weeks ago. He took a "little" drink the other night with a friend, on his way home stabbed a stranger to the heart, or, getting home, as the case may be, murdered his wife or one or two children, or himself—or *and* himself. If, however, he have avoided doing injury to himself, then the State steps in, a sufficiency of mischief having been fully and effectually accomplished, and shuts him carefully up for the remainder of his life. Rightly does the State recognise the murderous act as an insane one, and spare the scaffold; rightly does it prevent the possibility of such an act being committed again by the same individual; but wrongly, most wrongly, does it demur to make provision by which cases of insanity, acute or chronic, arising from the use of intoxicating liquids, might be kept a sufficient length of time under control, as would probably suffice to work a permanent effect upon the morbid appetite for strong drink, and upon the moral and intellectual debasement which invariably accompanies that appetite. The object sought, so far as the community is concerned, is to diminish as much as possible the probability of murder, suicide, or any other form of crime, or the ruin of families, being brought about in such a fashion; and this might be effected by specially providing for a greater latitude of detention in these cases than is usually accorded in cases of insanity. The Commissioners of Lunacy have suggested that they should be permitted to allow cases of insanity to leave asylums, when advisable, on trial, the original certificate of insanity being uncanceled. This provision would aid much in securing a more effectual treatment of alcoholic lunatics, and we hope that it will pass into law.



But the cases to which we have just referred—those which having been admitted into an asylum, are of necessity, from the existing state of the law, discharged before any permanent effect can be made upon the chronic mental perversion from which they suffer—constitute but a small portion of the difficulty which besets us in contending with insanity in its relations to intemperance. Certainly the said cases attract the chief attention both of the profession and the public, but there is an equally, and even if numbers be considered, more important class of cases in which medicine and morality is entirely helpless for lack of a power of legal interference. It is only, as we have already said, when the mental disorder from intemperance culminates in a commonly-recognised form of insanity, that the law interferes to save the individual from himself, and to protect his relatives and friends, or the community. During the whole of the nascent and maturing stages of the alienation, during the progressive degradation of the moral faculties of the individual, the medical man is compelled to look on, and witness the most heartrending ruin of a family, often in soul individually as well as in worldly possessions, by one whose intemperance is the manifestation of a true insane impulse, hereditary or acquired. The control of friends or relatives experience shows fails utterly, as a rule, to control the morbid propensity for drink and subtract the means for its indulgence—the initial steps towards either palliation or cure—and yet these cases cannot be consigned to an asylum. It has frequently been urged, and rightly so, that the law should permit the temporary seclusion of such examples of *habitual drunkenness* as those of which we have just spoken. And the public at once start back at the proposition. Daily familiar with the sight of drunkenness, they say, that if excessive drunkenness is to be made a criterion of madness, a door would be opened for the abuse of the law, and by means of which the most nefarious schemes could be carried on, as in the very worst period of the history of mad-houses. Even the hebdomadal, market-day toper would not be safe from incarceration through the officious kindness of anxious relatives or friends. The Law, also, properly chary of the liberty of the subject, may rightly object, that until medicine itself could show by something more than general descriptions the necessity for special legal intervention in reference to the insanity arising from intemperance, or to intemperance the result of insanity; until the records of our asylums, or our mortality tables bear upon their face indications of the proportion which the special forms of insanity arising from intemperance hold to idiopathic insanity; until the disease *alcoholism* in its fullest sense receives in our schools of medicine a measure of attention befitting the amount of social injury it is supposed to effect, the Law might

reasonably doubt the necessity of interfering, and hesitate to do so. Interference may in the end be requisite, but it has not as yet been shown, to legal apprehensions, to be so.\*

And this brings us back to another practical appreciation of the point from which we started at the commencement of this paper. Until the mental and physical phenomena of poisoning by alcohol receive an extension in the systematic teaching of medicine, and a position in our nosological arrangements in some degree pertinent to the amount of physical and moral mischief attributed to the potent liquid in ordinary life, we, the medical profession, shall probably not succeed in avoiding a habit of using phrases in reference to intoxication which to ourselves signify one thing, to the bystanders another; we shall not, therefore, succeed in convincing the public that intoxication or drunkenness the *mania*, and intoxication or drunkenness the bad habit, are two entirely different things—the one readily distinguishable, with care, from the other, and the one requiring the police magistrate, the other the doctor. Finally, we shall not convince the Law that *alcoholism* is a matter for special enactments, or rather for special provisions in the enactments for insanity generally.

In concluding this article we may remark, that Dr. Marcet's work, referred to several times in this article, constitutes the last addition to the literature of alcoholism, and it efficiently contributes, in so far as the more ordinary phenomena of the chronic affection is concerned, to a better knowledge of the subject. It is but just to him to add, that the work is brief, clear, very readable, and eminently practical—four properties of sufficient excellence to establish a prominent claim for notice of any book, apart from the consideration that this one has the additional excellence of recommending a new and tried plan of treatment, which, if it be confirmed by further experience, must prove a most valuable aid in dealing with a troublesome, and often impracticable disease.

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## ART. II.—THE PLATONIC DIALOGUES.†

“EVERY one,” writes Dr. Whewell, “that has any tinge of literature has heard of Socrates and Plato, who lived at Athens at the time of its greatest glory, when philosophy had its birth there.” Yet it may be safely said, that until very lately few either

\* Among the Flemings guardians are appointed over the persons and estates of prodigal individuals, as well as over lunatics.—*Southey's Common Place Book*.

† *The Platonic Dialogues for English Readers*. By William Whewell, D.D. Vol. i. Cambridge. 1859.



knew or had the opportunity of knowing these men as they could alone be rightly known, by the writings of the latter one and of the contemporaries of both. Not many of us, indeed, have that familiarity with ancient Greek which would enable us to overmaster with comfort the difficulties which beset the original text of Plato's writings, the principal source from which we must draw our knowledge of the father of philosophy and of his chiefest scion. Not many, indeed, it may perhaps be asserted, have had the courage to seek, or even if they had sought, would have found that familiar knowledge of the men as MEN, which the ordinary, thoughtful reader might above all things desire, in the recondite dissertations which abound upon their characters and philosophy. Socrates and Plato the PHILOSOPHERS were to be seen depicted everywhere; but Socrates the gossip and Plato the gentleman, Socrates the inelegant and Plato the dandy, Socrates the blunt and Plato the refined, Socrates the Marsyas and Plato the Apollo-begotten—who could know them, except by seeking for himself those slighter traits of character which crop out plentifully in the recorded conversations of the one and the writings of the other?

When Mr. Bohn a little while ago published, at a very moderate cost, translations of the whole of Plato's works, he gave every English reader an opportunity of acquiring this knowledge; and had he done no other service to the general literature of the country, he would have richly deserved our gratitude for this one. And it is certain that the boon was appreciated in a great degree. The volumes may be seen well thumbed in many an operative's library, and we have heard of coalminers in the north, sitting round the blazing fire after the day's work was done and hearkenings with wrapt attention to the wondrous language of the dæmon-like philosopher. Nay, we have listened to weavers and mechanics in the pulpit and on the platform urge their arguments home with his teachings. And who, who has once commenced to read his dialogues has not quickly ceded to their weird-like influence? You forget the writer; you forget the time of writing. It is a thing of to-day, not of two thousand years ago, and of the older Athens. What though, every now and then, you stumble in the obscurity of the dawn of pure thought, or trip over an ornate paganism, it is but for a moment. You are reading a philosophical fairy tale, and the curious garnishments of mythology, and the, at times, child-like simplicity of illustration, all serve but as a sort of piquant framework in which is set a moral so pure, so deep, that at every moment it touches and awakens into activity your better feelings. This is the feeling of the mere reader for amusement, and this derived from the reading of Mr. Bohn's edition, notwithstanding that in it we have often to contend with



the harshness of a literal rendering. Nor, indeed, need we wonder at such a result, for it is with the Platonic dialogues now as it was with them when they appealed to the Athenians of old, and to the mid-time between Plato and ourselves. It is but one of many illustrations that man at least is the same at the time being as he ever was, and that we have not as yet any new version of the "the grand old legend of humanity." Olympiodorus writing twelve hundred years ago, tells us that when Plato was about to die, he having made many admirers and benefited the most of them, dreamed that he had become a swan, and that flying from tree to tree, he caused the greatest trouble to the bird-limers. Simmias, the Socratic philosopher, expounded the dream after this fashion, to wit, "that Plato would not be caught by those, who coming after him wished to interpret him. For the interpreters who desired to lay hold of the meaning of the ancients were like bird-limers. And truly Plato has not been caught, since we may take his words like those of Homer, in a physical, moral, ethical, or theological sense, to speak simply, in a variety of senses. For the souls of the poet and the philosopher were said to be altogether in harmony, and hence one may take the words of both in various senses." This is the secret of the whole matter. Plato's words, impressed with a mighty and mysterious genius, LIVE, they do indeed constitute a language which, as Carlyle would say, is the "Flesh-Garment, the Body of Thought;" and he who reads them listens as it were to the newly-told tale of freshly-enacted events, while the thoughts the words convey will most surely rouse up within him, be he learned or unlearned, wise or foolish, philosopher or poet, theologian, moralist, or the mere man of the world, somewhat or other of those better feelings which give nobility to the soul. Most aptly did Simmias, as Olympiodorus records, class Homer and Plato as kindred souls. A modern poet has written that—

"The poet's pen is the true divining rod  
Which trembles towards the inner founts of the feeling;  
Bringing to light and use, else hid from all,  
The many sweet, clear sources that we have  
Of good and beauty in our own deep bosom,  
And marks the variations of all mind  
As does the needle an air-investing storm." \*

And so with Plato's pen. It wrote of themes that touch the very spring-head of our feelings, and in such wise, that they respond as readily at the present time as they would have done had we listened to the philosopher himself, if not, indeed, more so. For standing in the noon-day sun of Christianity, we see clearly and fully now those great truths which both Socrates

\* Bailey's *Festus*.

and Plato could only look at through a haze of mythology. Such noble doctrines as they taught come fully home to us, but with them to what extent was their aim diverted by the distorting and warping medium of polytheism?

Many general readers have, however, doubtless been debarred from reading the Platonic Dialogues on account of their prolixity. Six closely-printed octavo volumes of philosophical writings—such being the bulk of Mr. Bohn's edition of Plato's works—it must be confessed require pretty tolerable reading capacity on the part of a general reader to grapple with, notwithstanding the inducements which may be held out to him by those who, having achieved the work, rejoice in the new world of thought opened out to them. But let the faint-hearted now also sing *Io Pæan*, since, thanks to Dr. Whewell, a series of the Platonic Dialogues—a first instalment only, we sincerely hope—is from henceforth accessible to them, decked in sterling and euphonious English, and shorn of all prolixity and obscurity, by those portions of the dialogues which are least essential to the arguments being given in abstract. Moreover, each dialogue is accompanied by sundry valuable comments on the nature and character of the reasonings it contains, on the time at which it was probably written, and on its genuineness. We are taught also all things necessary to understand who were the individuals represented as interlocutors in the dialogues, while the character of the chief one, Socrates, and his teachings, are further elucidated by collateral testimony quoted from writers contemporary with Plato. In truth, the book is a dainty morsel for the scholar, and an admirable manual of the Platonic writings for the general reader, and we err greatly in our estimate of its attractiveness, if it does not become a very popular work. Let us justify this opinion in some degree, assuring our readers that if we fail in so doing, the fault is with us, and not with Dr. Whewell's translation.

He, in the present volume, confines himself to what he has termed the *Dialogues of the Socratic School*. It may be well to give his reason for this classification. He writes:—

“The subject of philosophy includes a vast multiplicity of trains of thought, of the most different kinds, reaching from the first questions asked by an intelligent and inquisitive child, to subtle inquiries which task the intellects of the wisest man, and which often bewilder the clearest heads. The Platonic Dialogues present to us specimens of these different kinds of inquiries; and in order to understand the dialogues we must, in presenting them to the English reader, mark them as belonging to one or another of these classes, according as they really do so. Where the discussion runs into subtleties which are now of no philosophical interest, we may abridge or omit them, in order that the general reader may not be repelled from that which has really a



general interest. On the other hand, where the conversation is really concerning difficulties which belong to the infancy of systematic thinking,—concerning ambiguities of words and confusions of notions which may perplex children but which any thoughtful man can see through,—we must take care not to mislead our readers by speaking as if these juvenile exercises of thought had some profound and philosophical meaning. We shall find that this caution is by no means unneeded.

“Since the Platonic Dialogues are of such various kinds, they may on this ground be separated into different classes; as they may also on other grounds, for instance, their relation to the fate of Socrates the main character of their drama; or their connexion with the progress of opinion in the mind of Plato their author. But the present volume will contain a single class of them, which may on all these grounds be regarded as the earliest, and which we shall call *Dialogues of the Socratic School*.

“In this designation one main fact implied is that Socrates in his conversation had some prevailing and habitual ways of thinking and talking, which are prominent in some of the Platonic Dialogues, while in others the train of thought and speculation appears to belong rather to Plato himself than to Socrates.”

Socrates, indeed, holds so eminent a position in these dialogues, and he is so vividly depicted, that do as we may, we are apt at every turn to forget the writer in the thing written. Socrates speaks to us rather than Plato; and it is hard to disabuse ourselves of the notion that the dialogues are the literal records of actual occurrences, and not imaginary ones. It will be prudent, therefore, before we string together a few illustrations of the character and teachings of the Platonic Socrates to say somewhat of Plato himself.

We have spoken of him as *dæmon-like*. Let not the phrase be misapprehended. We mean *dæmon* in the Platonic sense of the word, that is, neither wholly God nor wholly man, but partaking of the nature of both, and not the *dæmon* of the Middle Ages, the plebeian of the infernal regions, for Wierius tells us that *dæmons* are “*les roturiers de l'enfer*.”\* That Plato was looked upon as *dæmon-like* in his own age, is evident from the fabulous account which is given of his conception, for it is recorded that he was begotten by Apollo upon the, until that time, virgin Perictione. We also learn from a delicious little fable, that while the philosopher was yet in babyhood, his mother and putative father Aristo wended their way to Mount Hymettus to sacrifice there to Apollo, Pan, and the Nymphs, and while the rites were being duly performed, the god-begotten infant was placed on the ground upon the sweet-smelling herbs. Then, while the little thing tossed its limbs in its father's beams, the bees which made the air

\* Colin de Plancy: *Dictionnaire Infernal*.



tremulous with their busy hum, flocked to the baby's mouth and deposited upon its lips their golden honey, thus foreshowing the future irresistible charm which would flow from its eloquent tongue. At first named Aristocles, he was subsequently styled *Plato*,—he of the broad shoulders and noble brow, or, as others will have the word to signify, he of the bold, open, and flowing style. He was trained in all the accomplishments of an Athenian youth, and had diligently studied the arts of painting and poetry. He composed an epic poem, but he cast it into the flames when he had compared it with Homer; he wrote also a dramatic piece, but the day before it was exhibited at the theatre, he happened to hear Socrates conversing, and was so charmed with his discourse, that from that time forth he gave himself up solely to the study of philosophy. He was in his twentieth year when he became a pupil of the father of philosophy, and his readiness of apprehension was quickly manifested by his grafting from time to time additional thoughts upon those of Socratic teaching, somewhat to the annoyance of Socrates and his pupils, as it is said. From Socrates he first learned the power and value of his previous training, and how rightly to *think*, and with such results that the fame of Plato's instructions is as conspicuous now as when he taught at Athens with so great skill that young and old, the noble and the humble, nay even women in male attire, crowded to listen to him. And yet the charm of his teaching depended upon his language and thoughts alone, for it is said that his voice wanted both strength and tone. He was a man of graceful and manly bearing, grave, modest, and quiet in his demeanour. He was never seen to laugh excessively. His gravity of aspect was a subject of jest among the comic writers of the time. One wrote :—

“Oh Plato! how thou nothing know'st except  
To wear a scowling look, and eyebrows raise,  
Like one who's bilious, with a solemn air.”\*

He shunned as well the bluntness of manner as the carelessness in dress which marked Socrates, and he has been accused of being extravagant in attire and of inducing his pupils also to be so, although the author of the charge asserts also that he was a sycophant for money. Ephippus the comic poet writes :—

“Then some ingenious young man rising up,  
Some pupil of the New Academy,  
Brought up at Plato's feet and those of Bryso,  
That bold, contentious, covetous philosopher,—  
And urged by strong necessity, and able,  
By means of his small-wages-seeking art

\* Amphis in *Dixidemides*, Diogenes Laertius.—Burges.

To speak before th' assembly, in a manner  
 Not altogether bad ; having his hair  
 Carefully trimmed with a new-sharpened razor,  
 And letting down his beard in graceful fall,  
 Putting his well-shod foot in his neat slipper,  
 Binding his ankles in the equal folds  
 Of his well-fitting hose, and well protected  
 Across the chest with the breastplate of his cloak,  
 And leaning in a posture dignified,  
 Upon his staff, said, as it seems to me,  
 With mouthing emphasis, the following speech,  
 More like a stranger than a citizen,  
 ' Men of the land of wise Athenians.'"

Athenæus, who quotes this fragment in the *Deipnosophists*,\* also sums up many little things to show that Plato did not lack a spice of ill-nature towards his contemporaries in learning ; and further asserts that "altogether he displayed the feelings of a stepmother towards all the pupils of Socrates." There is not wanting ground for this belief, and it is also not improbable that the philosopher was tinged somewhat with the gross licentiousness of the period in which he lived. These are the spots on the sun. He never married, and he lived until he had attained his eighty-first year. His death occurred, according to some writers, while he was writing ; according to others, while he was at a marriage-feast. The Athenians buried him with all honour, and upon his tomb was inscribed the couplet :—

"These two, Æsculapius and Plato, did Apollo beget,  
 One that he might save the soul, the other the body."

There is a story, that when Socrates was about to receive Plato, the former dreamed that a swan without wings settled upon his knees, and becoming fledged on the instant, flew up to the sky, singing so sweetly that all who heard it were enchanted. The next day, Plato came to Socrates, who thereupon exclaimed, "This is the bird." Let us learn somewhat of the man who fixed to Plato his wings, and of the mode in which this was effected. These are old stories, but stories of which the world never tires.

Dr. Whewell describes Socrates as "a private Athenian citizen, who, like other citizens, had served in various public offices ; served too as a soldier, and served well ; and whose favourite and constant employment it was to spend his time in the streets, in the market-place, in the open shops, wherever the Athenians lounged or gossiped. There he got hold of one person after another, and questioned and cross-questioned him, and argued with him in the most pertinacious and unsparing manner. His appearance gave point to his copious and eager speech. His counte-

\* Yonge's translation.



nance was plain, amounting to grotesque, but vigorous, vivacious, and good-humoured in a striking degree; his nose was flat, his mouth wide, his lips large, his forehead broad, with strong arches of wrinkles over each eyebrow, giving him a look of humorous earnestness; his figure solid but ungraceful, and his dress of the plainest materials."\*

With this vantage-ground, turn we now to the Socrates of Plato.

Socrates, Plato tells us,† was most like those sitting figures of Silenus, having reeds or flutes in their hands, which one might see in the workshops of the statuaries, ungainly without, but when opened down the middle, they were found to contain within them statues of gods. Again, he is said to be like unto the Satyr Marsyas, but was a piper more wonderful than he, for he charmed men "through instruments by a power proceeding from the mouth," causing those who heard him to be spell-bound by the music, but Socrates effected the very same thing by naked words without instruments. "We therefore," Alcibiades is represented as saying, "when we hear another person, although a good speaker himself, pronouncing the speeches of others, not a single hearer, so to say, pays any regard to them; but when any one hears you (Socrates), or your discourses spoken by another, although he is a wretched speaker, yet, whether a woman, or a man, or a lad is the auditor, we are astonished and spell-bound. I, therefore, gentlemen, unless I seemed to be very much in liquor, would tell you upon oath, what I have suffered by the discourses of this man, and am suffering even now. For when I hear him, my heart leaps much more than that of the Corybantes; and my tears flow forth through his discourses. I see, too, many others suffering in the very same way. But when I hear Socrates, and other excellent orators, I think, indeed, that they speak well, but I suffer nothing of this kind; nor is my soul agitated with tumult, nor is it indignant, as if I were in a servile state. But by this Marsyas here, I am often so affected that it appears to me I ought not to live, while I am in such a state."

So also do we find equally forcible expressions respecting the charm of the philosopher's conversation and teaching in the *Meno*, the dialogue on Virtue. Meno says:—

"Ah, Socrates, before I was in your company I had heard of your way, that you do nothing but doubt yourself, and make others doubt. And accordingly, I now find that you are absolutely a magician who cast your charms and enchantments over me, so that I am filled with doubts. And in truth, if I may be allowed such a joke, you seem to me to resemble, both in your looks and in your ways, that flat-fish the

\* Page 6. The subsequent references, if not otherwise stated, will be to Dr. Whewell's work.

† *The Banquet*, Burges's transl.



numbing-ray. That creature benumbs the limbs of any one who approaches and touches it: and you seem to have produced a like effect upon me; you have benumbed me. I am benumbed, body and soul, and do not know how to answer you. And yet I have heretofore ten thousand times made many speeches about Virtue to many persons, and right well too, as I then thought. I think you do well to stay at home, and not to travel into foreign lands. If you were to go into another city, and do what you do here, you would soon be packed off as a wizard."

Mark now the pleasantry of the rejoinder:—

"Soc. You are a rogue, Meno. You had nearly taken me in.—How so, Socrates?—Soc. I know why you make a comparison of me.—MEN. And why, do you think?

"Soc. That I might in return make a comparison of you. I know the way of all handsome people, they are fond of being told what they are like: they have their advantage in it; for the likenesses of the Beautiful are beautiful. But I will not retaliate by making a comparison of you. But as to the numbing-ray, if it benumbs others by being itself benumbed, I *am* like it: but if this is not the case, I am not. For it is not that seeing my own way clearly I puzzle other persons; but entirely otherwise, that being puzzled myself, I make other persons puzzled too."

"Hear too from me on other points, how like he (Socrates) is to what I have compared him," remarks Alcibiades, "and what a wonderful power he possesses." We are told that he was heedless of and knew nothing concerning his own figure. "Is not this Silenus-like? For he is invested with this externally like a carved Silenus; but when he is opened inwardly, with how great temperance, think you, fellow-tipplers, is he filled?" He heeded not beauty lasciviously; he despised wealth, neglecting money-making, the care of his household, public offices, and private engagements, "thinking himself too honest a man to escape ruin if he engaged in such."\* He passed, it is said, his whole time indulging irony and jests against mankind, and Plato represents him as saying in the *Apology*:—

"Why is it that some are pleased to spend much time in my company? You have heard already, men of Athens. I have told you the whole truth of the matter. Men are pleased to hear those exposed who think that they are wise, and are not so; for it is an exhibition not unamusing. And to do this, is my task imposed by the God, by oracles and dreams, and in all ways, like any destiny of any other man by which he has his appointed work."†

Again, in the same dialogue:—

"Perhaps it may appear absurd that I go about giving advice to particular persons and meddling with everybody, and yet that I do not come forwards before your public assemblies and give my advice

\* *Apology*, p. 323.

† *Id.* 318.

about matters of state. The cause of this is, that which I have often said and you have often heard, that I have a Divine Monitor of which Meletus in his indictment makes a charge in so extravagant a manner. This Monitor I have had from my boyhood—a voice which warns me, which restrains me constantly from what I am about to do, but never urges me on to do. This was what stood in the way of my undertaking public affairs. When you may be well assured that if I had engaged in public business I should long ago have perished, and should have done no good either to you or to myself. And be not offended with me when I tell you the truth. No man can long be safe who, either to you or to any other democratic body, opposes himself frankly, and resists wrong and illegal things being done by the city. It is necessary that he who really fights for what is right, if he is to be safe even for a short time, should be in a private, not in a public station.”

In the *Meno*, Anytus speaks thus:—

“‘Socrates, you seem to me to be prone to speak ill of men very lightly. If you will take my advice, I would recommend you to take care of what you say. In most cities it may be easier to do a man an ill turn than a good one. In this it certainly is so. I think that you yourself are aware of this.’

“‘We cannot but look with great interest,” writes Dr. Whewell, “at this warning menace, when we recollect that this man was the cause of Socrates’s death. . . . But we shall also look with interest at Socrates’s reply to this menace. He says to his companion :

“‘Meno, Anytus seems to be out of humour with me, nor am I surprised at it. For in the first place he thinks that I accuse the eminent men of whom I speak as having done something wrong ; and then he thinks that he himself is one of these eminent men. If he ever come to know what it really is to be ill spoken of, he will not be angry at such expressions as these ; but at present he does not know.’ ”\*

When the philosopher was serious and opened—“I know not,” said Alcibiades, “whether any one of you has seen the images within ; but I once saw them, and they appeared to me to be all golden, and all beautiful and wonderful, that I thought I must in short do whatever Socrates ordained.” Need we wonder that with such a teacher Plato uses the expression, “*the madness and Bacchic fury of philosophy* ?”

Further, Socrates is described as unequalled for prudence and self-control, deliberately brave in battle, and enduring better than all others the severities of campaigning. So hardened had his frame become by his temperate habits that, while others were starving, he on the same diet remained robust and cheerful ; while others could only resist the cold when wrapped in many clothes, he moved about bare-footed and in his ordinary attire. And when he was in deep thought, we learn that he would remain long fixed in one posture, entirely indifferent to the passage



of time, or to the things which transpired around him. His discourses are said to have appeared at first very ridiculous, being enveloped in such nouns and verbs that they might be compared to the hide of a Satyr. But he who beheld these discourses opened and got within them, found that they alone of all other discourses possessed an internal meaning; and that they were most divine, and held the most numerous images of virtue extending to the furthest point, or rather to everything which it was fitting for him to consider who intended to become a man at once beautiful and good.\*

Let us gather a few fragments from these wonderful discourses as Plato depicts them, and from them learn somewhat more of the discourses and his great pupil. In the *Lysis*, or dialogue on Friendship, Socrates is represented gossiping with lads, and at one part he remarks, "See, Hippothales, how one ought to talk to a boy; taking him down and bringing him to reason, not blowing him up with conceit and spoiling him, as you do." The purport of this dialogue, Dr. Whewell remarks, is to show "that the way to win a boy's regard and respect is to talk to him so as to set his mind to work; and that he will like this better than high-flown praises and literary terms of expression."†

Again, when Socrates has thoroughly perplexed, with a geometrical question, the boy in the dialogue on Virtue, he observes, addressing Meno:—

"Soc. In bringing him to a state of perplexity and *benumbing* him as you call it, like the numbing-fish, have we done him harm?"

"MEN. It does not appear to me that we have.

"Soc. No. We have done something in the way of preparation, it would seem, to show what is his real position. For, at present he would willingly seek what he does not know: but in his former disposition he would without scruple have asserted to a numerous audience and upon many occasions, (and have thought that he was talking wisely,) that the line must have a double length.

"MEN. Very likely.

"Soc. Do you think that he would have set about trying to seek or to learn that which he thought he knew and did not know, before he was brought into this state of perplexity by being aware that he does not know, and so led to desire to know?—MEN. I think he would not, Socrates.

"Soc. So he was the better for being benumbed?—MEN. It seems so."

Then we turn to an illustration of the philosopher's mode of dealing with adults. In the *First Alcibiades*, the dialogue on the Nature of Man, Socrates says:—

"To educate ourselves we must improve ourselves. But we must

\* The *Banquet*.

† Page 88.



distinguish. We may improve a thing, or improve what belongs to a thing. Shoes belong to the feet, the cobbler improves shoes. But Gymnastic improves the feet. So that to improve ourselves, and to improve what belongs to us, are different operations, belonging to different arts.'

"Socrates then goes on to pursue this notion. 'How,' he asks, 'are we to fix our attention on the thing itself as distinguished from what belongs to it? We must distinguish between the person and the instruments that he uses. The leather-cutter and the lyrist use the knife and the lyre, but *they* are something different from *these*. They use also their hands and their eyes, but yet *they* are not *these*. The man is something different from the parts of his body. What then is the man?'

"Socrates then goes on: 'The soul uses the body as an instrument; commands it as a servant. The man must be either the Soul or the Body, or the compound of the two. He is not the Body, for the Body is governed by the Soul. He is not the compound of the two, the part governed and the part governing. It must be the governing part—the Soul. When Socrates converses with Alcibiades, it is their souls which converse. And thus, when the Delphic oracle bids us know ourselves, it bids us know our Souls. When I admire and love Alcibiades, I love his Soul. Those who loved merely the body of Alcibiades did not love him. Those lovers left you when the body lost the bloom of youth; and therefore it is that I alone stick to you when they have all deserted you. And this is the solution of the question which, when we began, you said you were going to ask me.

"'And now my care for you is, that you may not be spoiled by the People of Athens, and become a popularity-hunter;—the ruin of many promising men. And to avoid this, cultivate your soul, and then you may go into public life carrying with you an antidote to every danger.'

"There is then use made of an analogy of a very lively kind, to illustrate what is meant by knowing ourselves. 'We may take,' Socrates says, 'the analogy of the eye. The eye sees not itself but by reflection from some other thing; for instance a mirror. But the eye can see itself also by reflection in another eye; not by looking at any other part of a man, but at the eye only. So too the Soul, to know itself, must look into the Soul of a friend; into the knowing, the wise part of the Soul. There is nothing more divine than this. We shall thus know our faults, and our good faculties; we shall thus acquire Sophrosyne, true wisdom, the virtue of the Soul.'

"'Moreover,' Socrates adds, 'he who does not know himself cannot know others. He cannot direct a city; he cannot even direct a household. He cannot know what it is that he does. He must err. And he who errs, does ill; and he who does ill is unhappy. It is not the rich man who is happy, but the truly wise—the *Sophron*. It is not walls, and docks, and ships, which cities require, in order to be happy, nor numbers, nor greatness, but virtue. If you are to manage well the affairs of the city, you must make the citizens virtuous. And no man can give what he has not. You must *be* virtuous. You must get justice and wisdom. You must act, regarding the divine part of your

nature, as we have just called it. Then you and the city will do well and be happy.' ”

Of his own knowledge Socrates speaks in this manner in the *Apology*. “I reasoned thus: I *am* wiser than this man; for it is tolerably plain that neither of us knows what is right and good; but he thinks he does know; I, as I do not know, do not think I know. I have this small advantage over him, that what I do not know, I do not think that I know.”\* This is the true pole-star of philosophical knowledge.

Again: “If I am wise in anything, it is in this, that as I know nothing of the state of departed spirits, so I do not *think* I know; but that to do wrong, and to disobey good guidance, whether of God or man, is an evil and a disgrace, that I know.”† So also he tells us that in seeking wisdom he found that of those individuals who had mastered their own art, “each thought that he was also very wise in other things of the greatest moment; and this conceit of theirs spoilt their wisdom. So I asked myself whether I had rather be as I was, not possessing their knowledge and not having their ignorance, or to have both as they had. And I answered to myself and to the oracle, that it was better for me to be as I was.”‡

He aimed solely at a life of virtue, and he tells us in the *Apology* that he had shown in deeds, not words, that “he cared not a jot for death, if he might be allowed a rough expression, but he cared mightily about doing nothing unjust or wicked.”§ Again, he exclaimed, “The great object, O men, is not to escape death, but to escape baseness and wickedness; Wickedness runs faster than Death, and so is more difficult to escape.”|| And again, when the day of execution was nigh at hand, Crito urged him to respect the opinions of the many, to which he was about to be sacrificed, and save his life, but Socrates answered:—

“Now pray, Crito, was this well said? You, according to all human appearance, are in no danger of dying to-morrow, and therefore the impending calamity need not disturb your judgment. Use your judgment then. Does it not seem to you to be a proper saying that we are not to respect *all* opinions of men, but to respect some and not to respect others; and not to respect the opinions *of* all, but to respect those of some, and not those of others. How say you? Was not this well said?—Cr. It was well said.

“Soc. That we must respect good opinions, and not respect bad ones?—Cr. Yes.

“Soc. And good opinions are the opinions of the wise; bad opinions those of the unwise?—Cr. Of course.

“Soc. But come; how was this followed out? A man who is practising gymnastic, does he attend to the opinion—the praise or



blame—of any one, or only of a particular person, the master of gymnastic or the doctor of medicine?—CR. Of him alone. . . . .

“And thus we must not consider what the many will say of us, but that one Judge of right and wrong and Truth herself. And thus, Crito, you were mistaken in referring me to the opinion of the many about these points of right and good and honourable.

“But some one may say, These, the many, have it in their power to put us to death. True, my friend, but still we come back to the same point, to which we have often come before. Do we still hold to our principle that the main point is, not to live, but to live well?—CR. We hold to that.

“Soc. And to live well is to live rightly and honourably: does that stand?—CR. That stands.”

We are, moreover, instructed in the *Charmides*, the dialogue on Sound-Mindedness, as Dr. Whewell renders the word *Sophrosyne*, “that it was not living according to knowledge which made us live well and happily, not even if you put all other knowledges together; but according to that one knowledge, the knowledge of good and evil. If you take away that knowledge, the other knowledges may still remain, but they will be of small use to us. And if *Sophrosyne* be the knowledge of knowledges, the valuable thing is not that, but the knowledge of good and evil.”\* Further, we learn from Xenophon, that Socrates refused to recognise a distinction between wisdom and virtue; “for, he said, that he who knew what was vile, and avoided it, was wise and virtuous.”

And so it was, that when the great-hearted old man was confronted with his judges, death weighed with him but as a feather in the balance, as compared with what he deemed was right, and therefore not a whit does he vary from his accustomed blunt mode of speaking, or for a moment does he conceal his ordinary train of thoughts—aiding his persecutors rather than defending himself, and aggravating rather than soothing the judges and the people.

“And so, Athenians, I am very far from delivering a defence of myself; I am defending you;—defending you from condemning me because I use the gift which God has given me. For if you put me to death, you will not readily find any one who will fasten himself upon the city (to use a comparison which may seem to you odd, but which is very just), like a rider upon a horse, powerful and of good blood, but heavy and sluggish, and needing to be roused by the spur. I seem to be appointed by the God such a rider to this city, sitting close to you, and exciting you by persuasion and reproach, all day long without ceasing. Such another, I say, you will not readily find; and if you will take my advice, you will not destroy me. Perhaps you may be like persons who are angry because one awakes them when they are

\* Page 66.



sleepy, and may shake me off, as Anytus bids you, and kill me; and then you may go on sleeping for the rest of your lives, except God in his care for you send you another like me.'”\*

Xenophon tells us that after Socrates had finished his defence, “he went away with a radiant look and a steady step, such as suited the tone which he had taken. And when he perceived that those who accompanied him were weeping, ‘What is this?’ he said. ‘Do you weep now? Did you not know that from the time of my birth nature had condemned me to death? And if I were now going, by death, to lose good things which are flowing in upon me, both I and my well-wishers might weep. But if I part with life when I have only evils to look forward to, I think you ought all to rejoice as if a fortunate thing had happened to me.’ One Apollodorus, who was present, a great admirer of his, but in other respects a simple person, said, ‘This, O Socrates, is the hardest thing to bear, that I see you put to death wrongfully.’ And he, stroking the youth’s head, replied, ‘My dear Apollodorus, should you have liked better to see me put to death justly?’ and smiled.”

Then, thirty days after, and when the time of execution was nigh at hand, we see Crito in the early morning sitting by the bed-side of the sleeping philosopher. Presently Socrates awakes, and beholding Crito sitting there, exclaims, “How was it that you did not rouse me, but sat in silence by my side?” To which Crito responds, “God forbid that I should do that! I should be very sorry to be waked when in such sorrowful case. But I have been admiring you, seeing how soundly you sleep. I purposely abstained from waking you, that what time you have before you you may pass as lightly as may be. Often in the previous course of my life I have admired your happy temper, but never so much as now in your present calamity, to see how quietly and cheerfully you bear it.” Socrates rejoins, “Why, Crito, it would be very unreasonable, at any age, to be vexed because one must die.” And so to the end. The morning of the day on which he must drink the fatal draught dawns. His disciples and friends are around him, sorely oppressed with grief. We see Xantippe sitting beside him, with one of his children in her arms, and we hear her frantic grief as she is led away from the prison. We look with wonderment on the strange equanimity of Socrates, as, on the brink of the grave, he sits quietly on the edge of the bed, and, freed from his bonds, draws up his leg, and rubbing it, playfully remarks, “How strange a thing is that, my friends, which is called pleasure! and how oddly is it connected with its supposed opposite, pain! Pleasure and pain do not come to man together, but if a person runs after the one and catches it, he almost in-

\* *Apology*, p. 315.

inevitably catches the other too, as if they were fastened together at one end." Then follows that marvellous dialogue,\* in which Socrates asserts the proposition that philosophy is nothing else than a preparation of the soul for death, and argues the immortality and nobility of the soul; and we still delightedly listen to, rather than read—so vividly has Plato depicted the scene, and so little do we care to hear how much may depend upon the dramatic power of the writer, how much is a literal record of events—the profound and exquisitely illustrated reasonings. Harken to a few phrases:—

"You (Cebes and Simmias) seem as if you would willingly have the proof a little further explained. You seem to be frightened, as children are, that when the soul passes out of the body, the wind may blow it quite away and disperse it entirely, especially if there be strong breezes stirring when the man dies.' At this Cebes laughed, and said: 'Well, Socrates, suppose that we are frightened; and do you encourage and comfort us. Or rather, suppose, not that *we* are frightened, but that there is a child within us who is so. Let us try to persuade *him* not to fear death, as a kind of bugbear or hobgoblin.' 'Yes,' said Socrates: 'and to do this, we must use some charm, that we can sing over him day by day, till the incantation has quite dispelled his fears.' "† . . .

"When the soul regards objects by the aid of the senses, and thus *uses the body* in its contemplation of the world, it is disturbed and distracted by contact with the body. It wanders, and grows giddy as if intoxicated. But when it considers objects by the help of its own powers alone, it is then drawn to that which is pure and eternal and immortal and uniform, and feels that it is of the nature of that. Its wanderings end; it becomes steady and uniform like its objects: and this condition is called *Wisdom*.' "‡ . . .

"Those who truly pursue philosophy, abstain from the gratification of bodily desires, and bear all trials, and resist all temptations; they fear no privations and no poverty, like common men who are enslaved by the love of wealth. They fear no obloquy nor loss of good name, like those who are carried away by the love of honours and of power. They leave such men to go their way, and heed them not. They care for their souls, not their bodies, and take another course. They reckon that such persons do not know to what they are tending. They will not run counter to philosophy and her teaching;—they aim at the liberation and purification which she gives, and follow where she leads.

"You ask how they do this? I will tell you. Those who really love truth know how philosophy benefits the soul. They know that she receives it completely bound up in and fastened to the body; compelled to look at everything, not directly, but as it were through the walls of a prison; and thus condemned to darkness, and feeling that the strength of its prison consists in the strength of its own de-

\* See *Phædo*.

† Page 388.

‡ Page 391.



sires, and that it is itself the accomplice of its own captivity. They know that philosophy receives the soul thus entangled, and comforts it, and sets about liberating it; by showing it that perception by the eyes and by the ears is full of deceit; by persuading it to trust these as little as possible, and to collect itself into itself, and to trust its own peculiar and innate powers of contemplating realities: to ascribe no reality to what it apprehends in any other way: since all such things are the objects only of external sense and vision, but the things which it sees directly and by itself are invisible and intelligible only. The soul of a real lover of truth does not oppose itself to this offer of liberation; and hence abstains from pleasures and desires and griefs and fears with all its power; for it considers that when a man is under the sway of strong joy or fear or grief or desire, the evils which thus move him are not so great as he imagines; while the last and greatest of evils he suffers without regarding it:—namely, the belief that visible things, the objects of these joys and griefs, are the clearest and strongest of realities, and the consequent subjugation of its powers to them. Every pleasure and every grief furnishes a nail which fastens the soul to the body; makes it an appendage to the body, and like the body; judging of things as the body judges.’”\*

Let us not overlook that episode when Socrates, laying his hand upon the head of Phædo, who sat on a low seat by the bed-side, and stroking his hair which lay upon the neck, an act he often did, said:—

“ ‘Phædo, I suppose you intend to cut off these beautiful locks to-morrow, as a sign of mourning.’—‘So it seems, Socrates,’ I replied.—‘Do not do it *then*,’ said he, ‘if you will take my advice.’—‘What do you mean?’ said I.—‘You must cut your locks and put yourself in mourning *to-day*, and I must do the same, if our Doctrine is mortally stricken and we cannot bring it to life again. If I were you, and if this Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul were conquered, I would take an oath, as the Argives did, never to let my hair grow, till in a fresh fight I had overcome the arguments of Simmias and Cebes.’—‘But,’ said I, ‘according to the proverb, even Hercules is not a match for two.’—‘Well,’ said he, ‘take me for your Iolaus, the companion of Hercules, while daylight still allows you to do so.’—‘I take you for my aid,’ said I, ‘not as Hercules took Iolaus, but as Iolaus took Hercules.’—‘It comes to the same thing,’ said he. ‘But there is one error which we must take care to avoid.’—‘What is that?’ said I.—‘The error of coming to dislike Reason, as some persons come to dislike men, and become misanthropes. There can be no greater misfortune than to hate Reason. And the hatred of Reason may be got in the same way as some get a hatred of men. Misanthropy is produced by trusting some man entirely, without knowing mankind, and believing him to be true and sound and honest, and then finding him false and dishonest; and then doing the same thing to another, and another. When this has happened to a man often, and especially if it have been among those whom he deemed his surest friends, at last he hates everybody, and thinks that nobody is honest. Have you not observed



this?'—'Certainly,' said I.—'And is it not,' said he, 'a shocking result? And it is plain that it comes of a man dealing with men without a knowledge of mankind. Now arguments are in this respect like men. If a man assent to an argument as true, without knowing how to reason, and then shortly after find it to be false, sometimes when it is so, sometimes when it is not; and so of another and another; you know that he comes to mistrust all argument. Especially those who are most occupied with arguing on both sides of questions, you know that at last they think they are very wise, and can see, what others cannot see, that nothing is solid and certain;—that everything runs upwards and downwards like the currents of the Euripus, and that nothing is permanent and stable.'—'You say very truly,' said I.—'Would it not then,' said he, 'be a lamentable thing, if, when an argument was really solid and intelligible, a person who had been engaged among inconclusive reasonings, which leave no stable conviction, and had thus become sceptical about the sound argument, should blame, not himself and his own bad reasonings, but Reason itself; and should take to speaking ill of it, and thus lose the benefit of truth and knowledge.'—'A lamentable thing indeed,' said I.—'First then,' said he, 'let us take care to avoid this error; and not admit the belief into our minds that there is nothing sound and certain in itself. Let us rather suppose that our minds are not sound, and let us try manfully to make them so:—you and the rest, because you have long to live, and I, because I am soon to die: that I may behave as becomes a philosopher, and not like mere disputatious talkers. They in their disputes do not care on which side the truth lies, but merely try to persuade the bystanders to adopt the opinions which they have asserted. I am in a very different state from them. My main purpose is, not that I may convince the bystanders, except as a secondary object, but that I may satisfy myself. And see, my dear friend, under what advantages I am reasoning. If my doctrine is true, it is well to know it; and even if after death there be nothing, I shall still avoid wearying my companions with my lamentations while I live. And my error will not last long: there will soon be an end of it. And with this preparation, O Simmias and Cebes, I come to the argument. And you, if you will take my advice, will think little about Socrates, but a great deal about Truth; and if I say what seems to be true, take it up; but if otherwise, reject it; being on your guard that I may not, in my eagerness, deceive you as well as myself, and thus depart like a bee, leaving my sting in you.'\*\*

Thus conversing, the end draws nigher and nigher, but there is no wavering in the calm confidence of Socrates in the final happiness of the virtuous man, and the belief that when death comes to man his mortal part dies, but the immortal lives, and thus our souls shall exist in another world. "It is right," he also urges, "to bear this in mind: that if the soul be immortal, it requires our care, not only during the time that we call life, but for all time; and great is our danger if we neglect it. If death were the end of all, it would be a gain for the wicked to get rid of

their body and of their wickedness at the same time, when their soul departs. But since the soul is immortal, there is no help for it except to make it good and wise: for it carries nothing with it into the other world, but the preparation which it has received here."\*

The fatal moment has come; Socrates, saying gentle and kindly words to those who are weeping around him, and to his executioner who adds his tears to the rest, takes the cup, drinks the deadly potion, and dies, "of all the men we have known," says Plato, "the best, the wisest, and most just."

In depicting Socrates we have adhered chiefly to the literal text of the Platonic Dialogues, as rendered in Dr. Whewell's version, thinking that in this manner we should best convey to our readers a notion of the merit of that version, and an inkling (if such be needed) of the charm which Plato's writings possess, as well as of his representation of the Socratic method of thought.

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### ART. III.—THE ASYLUMS OF SPAIN.†

To Spain belongs the honour of having first in Europe erected or set apart buildings for the special reception and protection of the insane. So early as the year 1410, a lunatic asylum was founded at Valencia, and one was established at Saragossa in 1425. Before the close of the century an asylum was also opened in each of the cities of Seville, Valladolid, and Toledo,—in the two former in 1436, in the latter in 1483. The foundation of these asylums was a work of the Church, and its execution was determined by feelings of compassion for the sufferings of the miserable insensates, who at that time were to be found in the streets of every city, a butt to the thoughtless and cruel provocations of the populace.

The events which more immediately influenced the formation of the first asylum, that of Valencia, the establishment of which gave the cue, so to speak, to the rest of the peninsula, are surmised rather than known. Dr. Morejon, in his bibliographical history of Spanish medicine, expresses the opinion, that the civil wars which desolated the kingdom of Valencia at the beginning of the 15th century, occasioned, from the suffering they gave rise

\* Page 418.

† *Des Asiles d'Aliénés en Espagne, recherches historiques et médicales.* Par le Dr. Desmaisons, Directeur Medecin du Castel d'Andorte.

to among the people, a large increase in the number of lunatics; and that the excessive and glaring misery of these unfortunates rendered necessary the foundation of the asylum. Dr. Desmaisons points out, however, that the civil dissensions to which Dr. Morejon refers originated at the death of King D. Martin I., which occurred in 1410, one year subsequent to the opening of the asylum.

The popular account of the origin of the asylum recites that one Juan Gilaberto Joffre, a brother of the order of Mercy, as he was wending his way to church in order to preach there, on the 24th of February, 1409, encountered in his way a band of children who were pestering an insensate. Grieved by the outrages to which the unhappy individual was exposed, the monk conceived the idea of exhorting the faithful to found a hospital in which lunatics could be received and protected, and this he did with such good effect as quickly to enlist the sympathies of the citizens, and to carry his object.

Dr. Desmaisons objects even to this account. He remarks that it is improbable that a novel institution, such as the first lunatic refuge at Valencia, could be, as it were, improvised—that it could result from a fortuitous circumstance. Seeking, therefore, for fuller information respecting Juan Gilaberto Joffre, he quickly found a confirmation of his doubts, and ascertained that the popular legend contained but a glimpse of the truth.

A monk of the order of Mercy, Fray Marcos Salmeron, in a work entitled, *Historical and Political Records of the Services which illustrious Members of his Corporation have rendered to the Kingdom of Spain*, and printed at Valencia in 1646, relates, in a notice of Juan Gilaberto Joffre, that he was eminent for his virtues and great eloquence, and that he had been particularly moved by the sufferings of the lunatics he saw wandering in the streets of Valencia. "He aspired without ceasing," writes the historian, "for the time when a refuge could be provided for them, in which they could be solaced and their sad malady cured, and his zeal caused him to seek ardently the means of realizing this project by charity." In depicting the brother Juan's great work as the consequence of thoughtful and constant meditation, the Spanish historian seems to give a much more likely account of the origin of the asylum of Valencia, than that which attributes it to a casual emotion, however lively that might have been.

Dr. Desmaisons adds to this statement a very ingenious suggestion. The Brothers of Mercy, of which association Juan Gilaberto Joffre was a member, were partly a religious, partly a military order, which had been founded at the Court of Arragon, and which was devoted to the redemption of Christian prisoners from the Infidels. To this duty the order added, by permission, the



practice of physic—a privilege which the members exercised in common with the Brothers of Saint Jean de Dieu, long after the order of Mercy had been merged in other religious corporations. Now the avocations to which the Brothers of Mercy were devoted, bringing them into contact with the Mussulmen of Spain and Africa, perhaps more than any other charitable corporation, it is reasonable to suppose that they would become acquainted with the existence and organization of those hospitals specially destined for the insane, which had, even at that time, existed for ages in the East. It may be surmised, therefore, that from this source Juan Gilaberto Joffre and his brotherhood obtained their first notions concerning the sequestration of the insane, and that in the erection of lunatic asylums, the Spaniards, to use the words of M. Quinet, “copied yet cursed the spirit of Islamism at the same time.”\*

The success which had attended Juan Gilaberto Joffre's eloquence in Valencia was confirmed by the assent of King D. Martin I., obtained the 29th November, 1409, and in the year following letters apostolic, promulgated at Barcelona on the 26th of February, by Benedict XIII.,† (an Arragonese pope) authorized the construction of a chapel, and the appurtenances of the asylum, and the formation of a cemetery. For these purposes a house and garden were bought situated near the gate of Torrent, which has been since known as the Madmen's Gate—*la Porte des Fous*.

Seeing, therefore, a Spanish pope favouring an exclusively Spanish association for the care and treatment of lunatics, at the commencement of the 15th century, to Spain and the Spaniards must be ceded the honour of having organized the most ancient lunatic asylum of Europe.

Dr. Desmaisons, upon whose authority we give these details, does not himself, however, yield this credit to Spain, without a slight reservation in favour of France, which is supremely amusing from the *naïve* national vanity which it displays. Over the entrance of the Valencia asylum is, or was, engraved in the Limousin dialect, the inscription: *Spital de Nostra-Dona Sancta Maria del Innocents*. This recalls to memory the intimate relations which, at the time when the inscription was written, existed between the south of France and Spain. Moreover, the true orthography of the name *Joffre* is doubtful. Historians are ignorant as well of the birthplace of the monk as of the condition of his family. But it is known that he visited the northern por-

\* “Subjugués au dedans par l'esprit de l'Islamisme, dans le moment même où ils lui livraient au dehors une guerre acharnée, ils le maudissaient et le copiaient en même temps.”—Edgard Quinet, *Œuvres Complètes*, t. xi. p. 222. Paris. 1857.

† The antipope Benedict, the fiery Cardinal de Luna, relapsed from Charles VI. of France, of whom the remembrance cannot be separated from the history of insanity.—Desmaisons.

tion of France, in the exercise of his sacred duties, and that there his eloquence was attended with success. From these circumstances Dr. Desmaisons thinks that "he is authorized to suppose, at least he loves to believe, that in this matter France has given to Spain, in the Brother Jean Gilbert Joffre, a worthy successor of François Pierre Nolasque, the founder of the order of Mercy!" Is France so poor in men who have discovered a large outlet for their charity in ameliorating the state of lunatics, that even one of her physicians can begrudge to Spain a solitary honour in this respect, on grounds so slight as to be all but visionary?

Not only, however, does Spain claim the credit of having created the first lunatic European asylum, but it would appear also as if to her was due also the first introduction of these institutions into other countries of Europe. The earliest special asylum for the insane in Rome, and probably in Italy, was, we learn from Cardinal Morichini, founded in 1548, and that it was the work of three Spaniards, Fernando Ruiz, Chaplain of Saint Catherine *dé Farrari*, and Diego and Angelo Bonne. Towards the close of the 14th century, the leper-houses of Italy had, as they became less encumbered by the diminution of leprosy, been made use of for the sequestration of lunatics. But when, at the termination of the 15th century, syphilis broke out for the first time or appeared in a greatly aggravated form, this custom was put an end to. The claim then which Italy advances to the honour of being the first European country in which special lunatic asylums were instituted must be set aside in favour of Spain. "Italy," writes Dr. Desmaisons, "offered assistance to the lunatic in hospitals destined to the most disgusting affections, or accorded aid with extreme parsimony, when Spain had opened asylums for these unfortunates." (p. 112.) When Italy had founded establishments for the insane, doubtless her example chiefly contributed to their being adopted in other countries of Europe, but Italian authors have erred in asserting that the lunatic asylums of Italy were the first refuges of the kind in Europe. These authors have unwittingly taken the first date of some of the leper-houses or other charitable institutions subsequently transformed into lunatic asylums, as the original date of the secondary use to which the buildings had been put, and thus fallen into error. It may easily be shown, Dr. Desmaisons tells us, that, for example, the Hospital of Bonifazio at Florence, the origin of which dates from the 14th century, was not made use of, in any of its dependencies, to receive the lunatics of Tuscany, until four centuries after its foundation.

If Spain began the good work thus well, she has lost her vantage-ground over Europe, and until very recently she has lagged greatly, and she still lags in the rear. Although, according to F. Marcos Salmeron, Juan Gilaberto Joffre had in view the cure as



well as the protection of the insane, when the asylum of Valencia was established, yet, as we have already said, the association which he formed to carry out his views was actuated chiefly by charitable feelings. Hence we find that in 1414 permission was sought from Pope Ferdinand XIII., and in 1414 and 1416 from the kings of Arragon, D. Ferdinand I. and D. Alonso V., that the association might act in concord with the members of other societies, in performing additional charitable offices, such as burying bodies which had been abandoned, and accompanying criminals to the scaffold. These duties, however meritorious they might be, and particularly in the midst of the bloody civil strife that then prevailed, had the effect of distracting the disciples of Joffre from the special mission which at first they had adopted. Thus at the very beginning the work of charity in favour of lunatics was nipped in its growth. The special character of the asylum being lost, its subsequent development was shackled, and in 1512, the primitive buildings of the Valencia Asylum having been destroyed by fire, the ancient house of the Innocents was annexed to the general hospital of the city. From this moment the progress of the asylum was arrested. It suffered from the heart-burnings which existed between the lay and clerical elements of the government of the hospital—this being divided between the chapter and municipality of the city. In 1785, Charles III. gave a preponderance to the laity in the superintending committee of the hospital, but the lunatics gathered no advantage from this change, from that habit of economizing at the expense of the patients, by diminishing as much as possible the number of officers and attendants, to which all municipalities, as Dr. Desmaisons well remarks, seem to be “instinctively carried.”

Since 1840, the direction of the lunatic department of the hospital has rested of right, and in principle, with the central government at Madrid, and of the other departments with local committees. It does not appear that the insane have derived much benefit from this change, but rather that the defects in the organization of the asylum have become more apparent than when it was entirely under a provincial administration.

For the rest, the present building is defective in its structure, as is the case with all the older asylums, and contracted courts and edifices, and want of surrounding land—faults almost inseparable from a hospital constructed within a crowded city—interpose a bar to the effective treatment or the proper care of lunatics.

It is needless to describe in detail the causes which led to the decadence or comparative barrenness of results in other ancient lunatic foundations of Spain. The asylums were charitable re-



fuges or prisons, and defects of construction and government led to similar evil consequences and abuses as occurred in the older lunatic establishments of the rest of Europe. A few facts of interest respecting the Spanish asylums may, however, be noted.

The founder of the asylum of Valladolid, D. Sanche Velasquez de Cuellar, in his testament dated the 13th February, 1436, formally excludes from participating in the benefits of the building those suffering from the dementia of old age. It is curious to observe in the very infancy of European asylums, a founder thus obviating in no small degree one of the chief causes which neutralizes the utility of our great public asylums at the present day, the encumbrance of the wards with incurable cases.

In 1849, the ancient asylum of Valladolid was vacated, the patients being transferred to a handsome mansion, surrounded by extensive gardens, outside the city. In 1840 the primitive building, which was situated in an insalubrious locality within the city, and utterly insusceptible of improvement, contained twenty-four patients. At the close of 1852, the number of lunatics in the new asylum had increased to 213—147 males and 66 females! This is a marked illustration of the advantages which a community derives from the better administration of its lunatic asylums.

It is worthy of remark, that the provinces pay five reals per day for each patient sent by them to the Valladolid asylum. But if the number of lunatics from any province exceed six, the amount of payment is diminished to four or even three reals per day, the latter being the minimum rate. This arrangement is thought to encourage the sequestration of pauper lunatics when needful.

The ancient asylum of Saragossa was destroyed by fire in the night of the 4th August, 1808, during the siege of the city. The archives, valued at upwards of 200,000*l.*, were lost in the flames. The present asylum was erected in 1819, and it forms a dependency of the general hospital. The building approximates in character to a gaol rather than a hospital, and is exceedingly unfitted to effect the objects for which it was constructed.

A train of the lunatics detained in the asylum of Saragossa still assist, or at least did so very lately, in the great religious solemnities observed in the city. The unhappy patients are clad in a habit partly green and partly brown, and a bib is suspended from the neck in front. They are accompanied by a drummer, who beats his instrument as they advance, and they are preceded by a banner, of which the colours, blue bordered with brown, signify symbolically *patience in adversity*.

The Saragossa asylum is devoted to the care of lunatics of the wealthier classes, as well as of those who are indigent. This,

indeed, would seem to be the usual arrangement of the Spanish asylums. It is also the approved one, judging from the rescript for the model asylum at Madrid, to which we shall presently have more particularly to refer.

Dr. Desmaisons condemns strongly the custom of receiving the two classes of patients into the same asylum, and under the same roof. He considers that under such circumstances it is almost impossible to make the arrangements which are requisite for the proper occupation of the lunatics, with due regard to their social condition and previous habits of life. We cannot either in the in- or out-door exercises assimilate the duties assigned to the higher and lower classes of patients, while by placing them under one roof we are apt to contract the space which should be at our disposal for each class, without any advantages being obtained which at all compensate for the inconveniences and discomforts to which the system gives rise, and for the injury which the defects arising from it may occasion to the patients. From the evidence given as to the working of the chartered asylums in Scotland, before the Parliamentary Committee on Lunatics which sat last session, it would seem as if an almost similar opinion might be expressed with regard to those institutions, notwithstanding that they have all the advantages which skill and money can afford to them,\* while this is far from being the case in the Spanish asylums.

It is interesting to remark that the number of lunatics in the Saragossa asylum were the same in 1859 as 1853. We have already noted the great increase in the number of patients in the Valladolid asylum coincidently with the introduction of great improvements as well in the housing as in the care of the insane. A similar occurrence has also been observed in connexion with a considerable amelioration of the condition of the insane in the asylum of Sancta Cruz at Barcelona. From this Dr. Desmaisons argues that the opinion of the rarity of insanity in Spain,

\* "1360. Does it (the state of the chartered asylums) give satisfaction both to the friends of the poorer and richer patients to have them confined in one building, although not associated together?—I think that there are many disadvantages in having them under the same roof, as they are at Dundee.

"1361. What disadvantages do you refer to?—I think one of the principal disadvantages is, the requiring to have separate airing courts for both classes. They are grouped round the asylum, and they are much smaller than they would otherwise be, from the necessity of having two sets of airing courts.

"1362. They do not meet even in their amusements?—In any holiday amusements they meet, but not in the everyday routine of the asylum.

"1363. What other disadvantages have you to mention?—Private patients do not generally like being under the same roof with paupers.

"1364. Is there any unwillingness on the part of the relatives of the richer patients to place their relations in the same asylum with pauper patients?—I do not think there is when the two buildings are separate."—*Examination of Dr. J. Coxe, one of the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners.—Report, 1859.*



which has been expressed by several writers of authority, is erroneous. In so far as this opinion was founded upon the paucity and slight variation in number of the cases in the Spanish asylums, the recent experience of the asylums of Valladolid and Barcelona clearly show that this is to be regarded simply as a measure of the unfitness of those asylums for the reception and treatment of the insane. As the state of the Spanish asylums approximates more and more in character to those of central Europe, France, and England, in all probability the seeming comparative freedom of Spain from insanity will vanish.

The present asylum of Toledo was erected in 1793. It is a noble building in all its details except those which more immediately appertain to the uses for which it was designed. In this respect the interior arrangements are highly defective and unsuited for the treatment of lunatics.

In Madrid the insane are cared for in the general hospital and in a small asylum, furnishing accommodation for about seventy patients, at Legana, in the environs of the city.

According to a Spanish authority, D. P. Rubio, the number of insane under care in the different asylums of Spain, averaged, in 1847, *one* only in every 7462 inhabitants. The same author estimates that the proportion of lunatics existing in the kingdom is *one* in every 1667 population.

Spain has recently become conscious of the fact that of late years in her care of the insane she has lagged far behind the other Christian nations of the continent. She now seeks to regain a position more befitting the people who first in Europe made the lunatic an object of special charitable treatment. On the 28th of July last, a report on the present condition of the Spanish asylums was addressed to her Majesty of Spain, by the Minister of the Interior, Don Jose de Possada Herrera. From this report we learn that all the existing asylums need great and costly reforms and considerable sacrifices on the part of the State, and none more so than the asylum at Legana. The pettiness of the general arrangements of the building, its absolute want of water, and its defective situation and construction, render it unworthy of being the general establishment for the central provinces of the Monarchy. We are told, likewise, that the sad spectacle which has been presented for so long a time in the mad-houses of the kingdom, in which all classification of the patients is impossible, and in which no other treatment than perpetual seclusion, chastisement, and isolation can be generally had recourse to, is inconsistent with the honour of the nation, and can no longer be permitted, medicine having shown the practicability of a better and more commendable state of things and one more consistent with humanity. We learn further, that the law governing the benefi-



cent establishments of the kingdom, sets forth that six public asylums shall be founded for the better care and treatment of the insane in different parts of the kingdom. It is intimated also, that the subsequent use, as a matter of economy, of the ancient asylums, as places for the care of lunatics, will be determined by the nature of the hygienic conditions and architectural arrangements of the buildings. Moreover, it is suggested that in fulfilment of the law already referred to, an asylum should immediately be erected at Madrid, which might serve as a model for the other provinces of the kingdom, when called upon in their turn to found asylums. The Minister finally submitted to Her Majesty a scheme for the construction of a model asylum, and it was decreed that this plan should at once be carried into effect.

The scheme thus submitted to Her Majesty and now promulgated is to be regarded as the culmination of Spanish notions on the construction of lunatic asylums, and as such it possesses considerable interest. Before, however, proceeding to describe the scheme, we would remark that if to the Church is to be attributed the first establishment of lunatic asylums in Spain, so also to the Church is probably to be assigned the cause of the unsatisfactory state of the asylums of Spain at the present day. Medicine, by no means, if we are to repose faith in the statements of travellers, holds an eminent social position in that country. Not only is the science at a discount with the people, but it is hampered and down-trodden by the priesthood. The former may be fairly assumed to have been chiefly influenced by the latter, and the latter have brought the full energy of ecclesiastical power to bear in cramping the energies of the doctor. We read of comparatively recent laws preventing the right teaching of medicine. In the bickerings between physic and theology, the former always must go to the wall, and even if the power of the priesthood has been checked in the administration of lunatic asylums by the strong hand of the law, physic has fared but little better for it, for then it has been brought into contact in this matter with the prejudices of the people, as represented by municipalities. But we need not go to Spain for examples to show how often the prepossessions of corporations or local governments of any kind act most fatally upon the utility of lunatic asylums. It would not perhaps be difficult to prove that to the unfortunate tone assumed by the Church in Spain towards physic is chiefly to be attributed the fact that the Spaniards have taken a longer time than any other Christian European nation to learn that a lunatic asylum should be a hospital for the cure, not a prison for the detention of the insane—that it should be a medical institution, not merely a charitable refuge. There are many able and accomplished Spanish physicians who have long seen with grief the state of their

country's asylums, but whose efforts for their amelioration have been futile from their inability to incite local authorities to action,—for the success which has attended the efforts of Dr. D. E. Pi y Molist at Barcelona stands almost alone, the improvements at Valladolid being the work of the director of the asylum, a priest, whose excellent example has been but too rarely followed. The medical profession of Spain is guiltless, we believe, of the disgraceful state which still, according to the official account, characterizes the majority of the Spanish asylums.

To return to the scheme proposed by the Minister of the Interior. The Royal Decree instituted a public competition for the erection of a model asylum, or *Manicomia*, as it is termed, the plans to be designed in accordance with the subsequent programme and to be presented within ninety days after the promulgation of the decree.

The programme states that the population of the asylum would consist of 500 lunatics of both sexes, and a due number of officials and attendants, and sets forth the following requisites:—

The establishment to be divided into two principal and independent sections: the one to contain 250 women and the other an equal number of men.

Each section to be sub-divided into two divisions: the first for lunatic-boarders of the first and second class; the second for paupers.

The *boarders' division* to have two quarters: the first for tranquil lunatics; the second, for restless and filthy.

The *pauper division* to have four quarters: the first for tranquil lunatics; the second for the restless and dirty; the third for children and old people; the fourth for criminals. This division also to have attached to it an infirmary for the treatment of accidental or occasional maladies.

The 250 lunatics to be estimated thus:—

Boarders' division	{	First class . . . . .	40	}	100
		Second class . . . . .	60		
Pauper division	{	Adults . . . . .	100	}	150
		Children and old people . .	40		
		Criminals . . . . .	10		

The distribution of the lunatics to be arranged as follows:—

<i>Boarders.</i> —Quarter for the calm . . . . .	{	80	{	First class . . . . .	30
				Second class . . . . .	50
Quarter for the restless and dirty }	{	20	{	Restless, first class . .	5
				Dirty, <i>id.</i> . . . .	3
				Restless, second class . .	8
				Dirty, <i>id.</i> . . . .	4

<i>Paupers</i> .—Quarter for the calm . . . . .	86
Quarter for the restless and dirty . . . . .	30
Quarter for children and old men . . . . .	24
Quarter for criminals . . . . .	10

Dispositions to be made for 20 restless and 10 dirty lunatics.

The general appurtenances of the asylum were to be regulated in the following manner:—

I. The entrance to the asylum to have, (1) a spacious vestibule; (2) an apartment for the porter; (3) a waiting-room.

II. On the ground-floor, near the entrance, to be placed (1) the quarters of the porter; (2) the apartments of the resident physician, consisting of reception-room, cabinet, bed-chamber, and two or more other rooms; (3) another compartment for the manager, with rooms for officers.

III. A hall to be designed and decorated with care for important receptions and for the commission; also—

IV. A chapel, so situated as to render it easily accessible to the lunatics from all quarters of the asylum, and arranged so that they may take part in the religious exercises in places conveniently separated.

V. As near as possible to the apartments of the resident physician, must be, (1) a room destined for a library; (2) another to serve for a museum of pathological anatomy and phrenology, and as a cabinet for physical and surgical instruments; (3) an amphitheatre, light and airy, capable of containing 150 persons; (4) a room for dissection, anatomical studies, autopsies, and experiments.

Required also—

VI. (1) A dispensary; (2) a chemical laboratory; (3) a closet for the principal dispenser; (4) rooms for his assistants during their daily attendance; (5) places for pharmaceutical stores.

VII. (1) Pantry; (2) cellars for the preservation of food and liquids; (3) one or more poultry-yards; (4) a skinning-yard; (5) a corn-mill moved by horses, with its dependencies.

VIII. A depository, a general magazine for linen and clothing, composed of two rooms, in addition to one for the clerk; (2) a second, for mattresses and other objects of similar usage; (3) a wash-house, and all its appurtenances; (4) another wash-house, for the use of the boarders and the *employés* of the establishment; (5) rooms for the finishing and mending of the linen and clothing.

IX. Two halls for medical gymnastics.

X. Coal and fire-wood depots, so placed as to avoid all danger of fire.

XI. Coach-houses, squares, shady places, parterres, kitchen-gardens, covered walks.



XII. *Apartments*: (1) For the presiding physician; (2) two assistant physicians; (3) two almoners; (4) the dispenser; (5) the manager; (6) six clerks; (*employés d'Administration*); (7) two chief hospital attendants; (8) four second-rank ditto; (9) a doorkeeper; (10) ten porters; (11) twenty attendants of both sexes; (12) twenty servants, as gardeners, watchmen, for the use of wash-houses, &c.

XIII. A cemetery.

XIV. The portion of the edifice destined for the lunatics to have but a ground and first floor; this latter to be surmounted with a second, if needful, for the apartments of attendants and servants.

XV. Sinks, conduits, wells, pools, troughs, and reservoirs of water to be conveniently distributed.

The *appurtenances of the sections* to be as follows:—

Each section to possess, (1) a vestibule; (2) a reception hall; (3) a room for the porter of the section; (4) a consultation cabinet for the physicians; (5) an apartment for the chief attendant; (6) kitchen, with its necessary dependencies; (7) refectory for the attendants and other servants; (8) gardens, covered and open walks, and courts corresponding to the section.

The *appurtenances of the divisions* to be in this wise:—

In each division (1) a reception hall; (2) a room for the porter; (3) a *lingerie*; (4) a depository for linen and soiled vestments; (5) another for the utensils and other things belonging to the division; (6) an apartment for the clerk charged with the care of the clothing and furniture.

*Boarders division.*—*Male section*: (a) *Quarter for calm lunatics.*—In this quarter to be arranged: (1) a reception hall; (2) a parlour; (3) thirty residences for boarders of the first class, and fifty for those of the second. The residences or pavilions of the first-class boarders to be composed of a vestibule, a drawing-room, a closet with alcoves, a dining-room, a dressing-room, and a small bed-chamber for the attendant or domestic. Those for the second-class boarders to consist of a parlour, a bed-chamber with alcoves, a dressing-room, and a bed-chamber for attendant or domestic. Also, (4) a refectory for those who might wish to take their meals together; (5) a common room; (6) a room for billiards and other games; (7) a reading-room; (8) six bath-rooms.

(b) *Quarter for restless and dirty lunatics.*—This quarter to be subdivided in such a manner that the residences destined for the dirty patients shall be separate from those set apart for the restless.

Required here: (1) A reception-room; (2) a parlour; (3) twenty residences arranged in the same mode as those for the calm patients. Of this number, six to be set apart for boarders of the first class, and fourteen for those of the second; (4) the

apartments destined for the dirty patients to be arranged alike for the first and second class boarders; (5) four bath-rooms; (6) a common room, adjoining which must be a room for the attendants.

*Boarders division—Female section: (a) Quarter for calm lunatics.*—This quarter to have: (1) a waiting-room; (2) a parlour; (3) the same number of apartments as in the male section, and arranged in the same manner; (4) a refectory for the patients who wish to take their meals together; (5) a recreation hall; (6) a work-room; (7) six bath-rooms.

(b) *Quarter for restless lunatics.*—The same arrangement to be made in every respect as in the quarter for restless and dirty males.

*Pauper division.—(a) Quarter for calm lunatics.*—Each section of this division, *male* or *female*, to have the following arrangement:

(1) A reception hall; (2) a parlour; (3) dormitories to contain twelve, eight, six, and four beds, and chambers for single beds. The beds to be placed at least six feet the one from the other. (4) Apartments contiguous to the lunatic dormitories to serve as day and night rooms for the attendants, and so planned that they can exercise a complete surveillance over the patients; (5) water-closets; (6) a refectory; (7) a school-room; (8) work-shops; (9) a common room; (10) an infirmary consisting of two rooms, one to contain twenty beds for medical cases, the other, ten for surgical; (11) a neighbouring closet for the physician; (12) another closet, well lit, for surgical operations; (13) two rooms for the assistant-physician and superintendent nurse; (14) eight bath rooms.

(b) *Quarter for the restless and dirty.*—Each of these quarters (male or female) to have:—

(1) A reception-room; (2) a parlour; (3) twenty cells for the restless and furious, consisting each of a room and of an alcove so disposed as to facilitate surveillance; (4) ten cells for the dirty lunatics, formed also of a room and an alcove. These cells to be removed as much as possible from the twenty first named. (5) Apartments for the attendants from which they can observe the restless patients without being themselves seen; (6) water-closets; (7) a common room; (8) a work-room; (9) the same number of bath-rooms as for the calm patients.

(c) *Quarter for children and old men.*—This quarter to be arranged in a similar manner to, and to have dependencies like those of, the quarter for calm lunatics, regard being had to the number of individuals already estimated for this category.

(d) *Quarter for criminals.*—This quarter to consist of:—(1) an apartment for the porter; (2) a parlour; (3) ten prison-cells (*cellules de sûreté*) having no communication with one another, and two sets of two or three rooms; (4) apartments for the keepers disposed so as to secure a rigorous surveillance; (5) a common-room; (6) another room arranged for the physicians'



examinations and for the reception of declarations; (7) a garden or court-yard for the promenades of the prisoners.

This is the scheme issued by the Minister of the Interior, and it is the latest phase of action in Spain on lunacy questions. The model Manicomia is to be constructed on an estate the superficies of which amounts to about 100 *fanegas*. The *fanega* is a measure of 400 square fathoms arable, and of 500 pasture land.

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#### ART. IV.—THE MENTAL PHILOSOPHY OF FICHTE THE YOUNGER.\*

UNDER the title of "Contributions to Mental Philosophy," we are indebted to Mr. Morell for a translation of "Zur Seelenfrage, eine Philosophische Confession," a little treatise that has recently proceeded from the pen of the younger Fichte. The translator introduces his work by a prefatory chapter, in which his reasons for undertaking the task are set forth in considerable detail; and, before proceeding to the text of the volume, we will endeavour to lay an abstract of these reasons before the reader.

After devoting two or three pages to a very brief account of the biography, studies, and early life of his author, Mr. Morell expresses a belief that the treatise he has selected is calculated, not only to throw some light upon the singular development of modern German speculation, and the point to which it is now tending; but, also, to conduce generally to the interests of psychology. In support of the latter position he refers to the present state of the science, and to efforts for its advancement that have proceeded exclusively upon either the dualistic or the materialistic principle; neither of which has hitherto offered any prospect of satisfactory results. In the school of Fichte there is shown a way of escape from this old alternative; and a system of spiritualistic psychology, based upon the most complete induction of facts.

"Another ground," writes Mr. Morell, "upon which it appeared to me desirable to circulate the present little work in our own country was, that it shows with such remarkable clearness the bearing which psychological inquiries have upon other important questions." As illustrations, the questions of a conscious immortality, of the bearing of psychology upon the theistic argument, especially in relation to the Divine Personality, and of the nature of the abnormal phenomena comprised under the word "*mediumship*," are separately advanced and considered.

\* *Contributions to Mental Philosophy.* By Immanuel Hermann Fichte. Translated and edited by J. D. Morell, A.M. London. 1860.



With regard to the first of these questions, Mr. Morell compares the two extreme views respecting the nature of the soul as an intelligent principle : namely, that which regards it as a manifestation of the universal and absolute reason, individualized by connexion with a bodily organism ; and that which regards it as consisting of a series of phenomena necessarily springing out of a given nervous organization. To the first view he objects that, if it were the truth, the severance of the connexion would destroy individuality, and return the soul to the infinite, as a wave is lost again in the ocean ; and, to the second, that it cuts off the very possibility of a continuous mental life, and, by making a physical apparatus essential to the manifestation of mind, compromises irrecoverably the whole hope of immortality. At the conclusion of this argument, we find the following striking passage :—

“I know it will be said that the fact of immortality is made known by direct revelation, and that the omnipotence of the Deity is not to be limited by any notions of impossibility which we may entertain. To which I reply, that nothing is more trying and unfortunate for our mental peace than cases in which the dictates of revelation are opposed to the obvious indications of science. Our faith is not so strong that it can afford to disregard the intimations of science, even when they are adverse to it ; or to neglect them when they are confirmatory. *Scientific* evidence will always prove stronger in the long run than *mere belief* ; for, as we cannot admit truth to be at variance with itself, we must necessarily, in the long run, relinquish our hold of that side of a contradiction on which the grounds are most open to dispute. For myself, I must freely confess, that my own inward convictions of a conscious immortality have involuntarily grown dim or vivid, almost exactly in proportion to the strength with which I have found the dependence or independence of mind upon physical conditions to be confirmed by scientific considerations. When the dependence indeed is made absolute, I cannot conceive that any mind much accustomed to logical consecutiveness can hold the doctrine of a life hereafter with any real tenacity.” (p. xx.)

Upon the relations of psychology to the theistic argument, Mr. Morell makes no remarks, but passes on to consider how the principles defined by Fichte may be brought to bear upon the explanation of certain *abnormal phenomena* of the human mind, or in other words, the phenomena of “*mediumship*.” To this question it will be necessary to return hereafter.

Finally, we learn from the preface that Mr. Morell is himself engaged in an endeavour to construct a coherent and harmonious whole from the materials prepared by various labourers in the field of psychology, and “at least to *commence* the work of building up the science upon a broader and deeper foundation than has been usually attempted in our own country.” He therefore sends forth this little book in order “that the thoughts of many

may be directed to those questions which I hope in due time to discuss more fully, and as a kind of pioneer in the pathway of popular interest." Especially when regarded from this point of view, we cannot but regard the contributions to mental philosophy as a most seasonable and interesting publication, and as an earnest of a pledge which Mr. Morell will, we trust, speedily be enabled to redeem.

Passing on now from the translator's preface to the work itself, we find this cast in a mould of eclecticism that renders any attempt to abstract its contents extremely difficult and unpromising. The author has chosen the form of a free and personal expression of convictions in order that he may offer to the world a succinct programme of opinions, and give a general view of the grounds on which they are supported, without finding it necessary to adduce logical proof of every position that is maintained, or even to do more than hint at the nature of the evidence in the case. Hence (the treatise being a model of brevity and conciseness) there is scarcely a passage that could be omitted without injury to the general argument, or that could be condensed without injury to itself; and we are compelled to state the leading characteristics of the volume in the very words presented to us by the translator. In a chapter of "Introductory Remarks" the aim of the author is expressed as follows:—

"To bring out the fundamental idea of the nature of the soul from all the surroundings in which a complicated and critical inquiry necessarily envelopes it, and to state it anew upon its prominent and most decisive grounds, this will be my first and foremost endeavour. Having done this, it will become possible to cast a glance over the whole system of truth to which this idea belongs, and through which alone it can assume a deep meaning and a lasting value. Let us attempt, then, to express in a few simple words what was before laid down in the more complicated form of a scientific treatise.

"The human mind does not only possess *à priori* elements (primitive notions, primitive feelings, primitive efforts) in its consciousness, but it is in its own peculiar nature and composition, an *à priori* existence, *i.e.*, one whose character is impressed upon it *anterior to experience*.

"This is not intended to affirm that mind exists originally in the form of a mere impersonal Pneuma, or of abstract universal reason, as Hegel imagined it; for independently of the special psychological difficulties of this view, observation does not give us the very smallest intimation of any such uniform mental constitution in the fully developed man, but rather of the exact contrary—the most marked individuality. So far from that, we must regard the human mind as being, even in its primitive, pre-existent root, an individualized nature, a germ of personality, since the result of its actual life shows it really to be so; for it were a contradiction to suppose that individuality is added on to it from without, or that it is the mere fortuitous product of its connexion with external circumstances. This idea we have had to make



good throughout all our discussions on particular questions. And if, at length, we found it necessary to attribute to the mind a kind of pre-existence anterior to its own *conscious* life, the question naturally arose respecting the nature of such pre-existence, and the general analogy by which it could be confirmed.

"And here the universal analogies of nature did not fail us. As certain as it remains impossible to deduce the higher steps of existence in nature (those included in animal and vegetable life) from the mere development of inorganic materials and processes; and yet as certain as the more perfect species of plants and the higher animals are the latest, and man the latest of all (while yet it is equally impossible that we should attempt to explain the higher animal, or man, by means of a gradual process of development from the lower); as certain, in a word, as every species of plant and animal must be regarded as having its own commencement and its own ground of explanation, we are constrained to form, in relation to the whole range of natural science, a universal idea of *pre-existence*, of which the pre-existence of the human mind is only a particular expression and an individualized result. Every distinct or individualized existence in nature (such as the species of plants and animals in the region of organic existence, and the individual mind of man in the region of spiritual being) must have eternally pre-existed, if it is possible that it should realize its individuality in time; for none of these individualities can be regarded as being indifferently of one stamp or another, just as we please, or as only having a temporary and fortuitous origin; but each in its kind is an integral part of a united whole, and must have been eternally planned in relation to the *particular* as well as the *universal* harmony of the universe.

"Accordingly, we find that we are constrained to admit the incontestable notion of pre-existence into the region of psychology, and to co-ordinate it with those analogies of nature to which the geological history of the earth conducts us. Here also already exist, potentially, the future species of vegetable and animal life; and that too in their entire individuality; for this it is which gives them their unalienable place in the eternal plan of the world. They acquire, however, *temporal* existence only when and so long as the *material* of life and the outward conditions of its realization meet together (in the process of the world's epochs) with the original type. Just so it is with the human monad; it requires the organic process of incorporation, in order for it to become endowed with consciousness. As soon, however, as the material of life is afforded it, the whole process of realization in time begins, first in the form of *incorporation*, and then of *consciousness*. In all this, be it observed, it is simply the original individuality of the mind which is developed, and comes to itself; inasmuch as that only can be unfolded in time which is prefigured in the eternal unity and place of all things." (pp. 2-5.)

The leading idea of the passage we have extracted is expounded and illustrated in several chapters, the first of which is devoted to considering the essential nature of the human soul. The argu-



ment is made to proceed from the pre-conscious to the conscious condition, upon the ground that the real or actual consciousness is based upon a potential one, *i. e.*, upon a middle condition of the soul, in which it already possesses the specific character of objective intelligence, but without being conscious of it. To such a condition the author attributes all instinctive operations, the art-instincts of insects, for example, rejecting the commonly-received opinion that these are due to physical laws impressed upon the nervous system by the Creator. He concludes that—

*“No organic activity is possible without the co-operation of thought, which thought unquestionably can only exist in the soul; inasmuch, however, as it precedes sensation (the principle by which consciousness is awakened), it must necessarily remain unconscious.”* (p. 19.)

It follows that not only the formative or creative ideas of the fancy, and the formative or creative acts performed by the perfect organism, are attributed by Fichte to the soul, but also the modelling and formation of the organism itself from its earliest rudiments. He regards the soul as the plastic power by which its temporary and material house, the human frame, is built up and put together; and each individual soul as being, so to speak, an individual providence for its own body during the continuance of the union between them. To put this view into somewhat different words, we might say that Fichte regards a soul as the medium of the Divine operation upon matter; an operation which we see exerted only under certain limitations imposed by physical laws. The soul

“— Has neither power to produce the real substantial elements, nor to draw them near by any force of dynamical attraction, nor to effect any change in their *quality*. In a word, the creation of matter and the change of matter, the *chemistry* of all the processes (though a necessary condition to all organic life), is wholly foreign to mental influences. This rests upon general and independent laws, under the conditions of which, indeed, the morphological activity is brought to a conclusion, but which it is not able in any way to modify or change. The soul is the *form*, and, at the same time, the formative principle of its body—its real prototype; but it can only realize itself by co-operation with a world possessing distinct elements of its own, and following distinct laws. Here accordingly, we can freely acknowledge with Lotze, a physico-psychical mechanism, that is, the subjection of the soul, in all its organic and conscious operations to a mechanism not explicable out of itself. The *non-ego*, to use an old phrase, is met by the *ego*, the soul, as a second, real, and independent power. This power, indeed, the soul can subdue and use for its own purposes, but only under certain definite limitations. This point in the whole system of arrangements must not be overlooked, for the traces of it are only too *visible*. The organism not only furnishes the soul with the necessary conditions of consciousness, it binds and limits also the

power of consciousness itself; for in the freer states of the soul we can clearly trace the effect of the temporary suspension of these limitations." (p. 38.)

The conclusions of the author upon this subject (the essential nature of the human soul) may perhaps be summed up by saying that he regards it as an individual and distinctly personal *à priori* substance, possessing certain inherent powers which require to be developed and brought into action, or at least into the domain of consciousness, by the aid of a material organism of which the soul itself is both the plastic or formative agent, and also the basis of all individuality. The whole of the pre-conscious state of the soul is held to be essentially and specially a process of thinking; without, however, its thought as yet touching the threshold of consciousness.

The suggestion thrown out almost casually in the course of argument, and not again taken up or followed to its results, the suggestion, namely, that all organization is the work and proper evidence of a soul, *i. e.*, an individual soul other than the Divine Mind pervading all things, will appear very startling to most readers. In this country we are much accustomed to rest upon the notion that organic acts performed by the lower forms of animal life (the cited art-instincts, for example) are evidences only of "laws written upon the nervous pulp" by the finger of God. Still more are we accustomed to attribute vegetative life to the *direct* agency of the Creator; and the idea of souls pervading the inferior domains of existence is one that opens up an entirely new future to psychology. If this idea should hereafter be found to rest upon arguments that are unassailable, will it not probably be developed into a belief that the perfect self-consciousness of the soul is a state gradually brought about by connexion with a successively ascending scale of physical organisms. The very suggestion that such may be the case appears to throw some light upon the great moral problem that is involved in the daily misery brought upon the lower animals by man's sin; while, on the other hand, it seems a contradiction in terms to speak of a soul that shall be other than immortal, or to imagine immortality for the *individual* plastic principle of a plant or an insect.

The next chapter, under the title of "Primitive Consciousness and Sense Consciousness," is devoted to a glance at the inferences to be drawn from all the abnormal phenomena of the human mind, such as dreaming, visions, presentiments, clairvoyance, mediumship.

The author sets out with the postulate that there are a sufficient number of facts of this class, apart from all wilful or unconscious deception, to require explanation at the hands of the psychologist; and further, that the explanation commonly given



is not exhaustive of the phenomena. Neither a chance coincidence between the products of the ordinary laws of association and the actual occurrences, nor a logical calculation of probabilities, the premises of which are *tacitly* present in the depths of the consciousness, is sufficient to account for all the cases which occur.

His general explanation of the class of facts referred to is based upon the belief that there exists, in every human mind, a higher region of thought than that which is reached through the medium of the senses, an *a priori* life in the midst of its empirical and conscious life. "Dreaming," he writes, "turns the inner side of the mind, which is ordinarily concealed, to the light of consciousness, and thus it is the only form in which the *other half* of its being, the background of its waking life, can be imaged forth even in transient flashes." It follows that he regards these flashes as evidences of preconscious being, and considers no system of psychology complete which does not recognise and include them; more especially such of them as transcend the ordinary possibilities of sensuous life. As an illustration of this class he takes an instance of clairvoyance, or a case in which a future or a distant event, one thoroughly fortuitous, incapable of being guessed on the principle of probability, is minutely and distinctly pictured to the mind in second sight.\* Such a case as this, we read,

"— Is of extraordinary significance. The precise truth and perceptive reality of vision, even down to its smallest details, is on the one side the characteristic, on the other side the enigmatical element in it, which peculiarly needs explanation. In dream waking of the kinds before mentioned, it was possible to explain all that was characteristic in them from internal conditions springing out of the preconscious but special nature of the soul. This possibility now ceases; a prevision so peculiar, and entering so much into detail, cannot possibly spring from the preconscious region. It necessitates us to draw the astounding but unavoidable conclusion, that a real and perceptive

\* The writer of this article, some years ago, called upon a widow lady, whose only son was then in New Zealand. The writer was received by the lady's daughter, who stated that her mother was too unwell to see visitors, having been much distressed during the previous night by a very painful dream. She dreamed that she saw her son pursued, struck down, and killed by two New Zealanders, whose countenances were pictured to her with perfect distinctness; and she related her son's dying exclamation. In due course the mails from New Zealand brought intelligence that verified this prevision in a general way. The young man was last seen by his companions flying for his life from two of the natives, who were believed to have killed him immediately afterwards, and that at the very time of his mother's dream. In this case, neither the faces of the murderers, nor the last words of the victim, could be compared with the details of the vision; but the general coincidence was remarkable; and the writer relates it because the dream was brought under his notice so long before its verification was received. He is able to state, moreover, from personal knowledge, that the lady was not one of those habitual dreamers who are almost certain to meet with a coincidence in the course of a lifetime.



knowledge lies at the basis, which consequently can have its seat only in the consciousness of a personal mind, and from this mind be carried over into the consciousness of the seer.

"Herewith we have a series of further consequences opened up, which carries us into a wholly unsuspected region, and one which has hardly been touched upon hitherto, still less considered from a scientific point of view. All that we have described is only possible under the supposition of the *immediate* influence of one mind upon another; and this would further necessitate us to admit a hidden fellowship of souls, underlying our ordinary consciousness and our daily communication through the senses.

"It must be admitted, in reference to this theory, that the general premises we have laid down in relation to the nature of the soul do not present any grounds against its possibility. If it is shown that the largest and most essential part of our mind is distinct from, and unexhausted by, our sensational experience, it can hardly be supposed that this element stands alone, apart from all relations, and without any influence beyond its own invisible region. Such a supposition were in the highest degree improbable. As our mind has its root beyond the world of sense, so will it stand, in a hidden and unsensuous way, in mutual communication with the real existences of this higher region, and that, too, with those who like itself hold intercourse with the world of sense, as also with those who are already removed from it.

"It need scarcely be remarked how unexpected a light spreads itself, upon this supposition, over emotions and relations in the human mind, which no one has been yet able expressly to deny, but for which no rational ground of explanation has been yet discovered. Here, I believe such an explanation has been found, and in such wise that no doubt can be thrown either on the reality of the general foundation, nor any limit set to the speciality of the facts. On the contrary, observation is directly appealed to, and it is demanded of observation that it should search into the extent and the depths of what here becomes possible. For here, in fact, the richest gradation of phenomena shows itself from the special prevision of worthless events down to the warning and prophetic voice of a Socratic *Daimon*, or to the most powerful and penetrating revelation of historical significance.

"We must here, however, draw a warning limitation. It would be altogether unjustifiable and arbitrary, in the case of all such visions, to imagine that they are direct communications from the Spirit of God himself. We cannot deny, on our side, that we discover in this the germ of a most destructive enthusiasm. The supposition of the agency of mind of higher order than what is now to be found in the human consciousness is all that is necessary. The fact that such a mind knows the future beforehand, to an extent beyond what it is granted *us* to know, nay, to foresee what to *us* is accidental, does not at all militate against its possessing a finite nature, nor transform it into a being incapable of ignorance and deception. That such a being may gaze over a higher region of casualties than we do, is *possible*; for what *we* deem fortuitous is really only that whose causal connexion escapes our vision, whether it may have its ground in the inextricable

web of outward events, or in the hidden motives of human character. Chance, in fact, is only *appearance* (a relatively necessary appearance, it is true), which therefore may be dissipated by a more widely embracing view of the universe and its relations." (pp. 59-61.)

The fourth chapter is devoted to the "Organic double life of the Soul," and is occupied chiefly in stating and elucidating the idea that the nervous apparatus has a very appreciable effect in retarding and limiting the psychical operations. Upon this view, the abnormal phenomena of ecstasy, prevision, and the like, are supposed to depend upon a temporary loosening of the ordinary bonds which fasten down mind to matter; and to foreshadow the great increase of power that awaits the disembodied spirit.

The fifth chapter deals with "The Question of Method;" i.e., with the nature and limitations of the inquiry, and it hardly admits of any condensation. The sixth has for its subject, "The psychological origin of our perceptions of Space;" and the author's views thereupon are illustrated at greater length than accords with the general brevity of the treatise. In explanation of this, we learn from Mr. Morell that the chapter is not that of the original, which is indeed wholly omitted, an article more recently written by Fichte, in his "Philosophical Journal," being inserted in its place.

The author in this article starts forth from the Kantian principle of the original existence of space-perception in our consciousness; and adds to it that this space-perception has its psychological origin in an original *feeling* of extension, which is inseparable from the consciousness of our own existence. He argues that the mind can only be endowed with this original feeling on the ground of its being, *ab initio*, a space-creating being; and deduces from the argument a confirmation of his belief that the soul is an *extended substance*.

The next, and concluding chapter, is entitled "General Retrospect and Prospect," and may briefly be described as a series of suggestions, showing the bearing of the author's philosophy upon the great problems of existence. The nature of the Providential operations, and the relations subsisting between the Deity and mankind, are hinted at, rather than discussed, everywhere in a spirit of piety and reverence, but with a full appreciation of the assistance which philosophy may afford to faith.

In thus noticing this little book, it has been our endeavour to place before the reader a general view of its contents, and, at the same time, wholly to abstain from criticism. We regard it as being suggestive throughout, rather than argumentative; and, as the author's grounds of conviction are nowhere fully stated, his results can hardly be assailed at present, even by those who may refuse assent to them. We shall look forward, with the most



lively interest, to the more detailed evidence and reasoning which the present work leads us to expect; and, in the mean time, must use the "philosophical confession" chiefly as a new hypothetical standard, against which to measure and compare our old opinions. Its appearance in an English dress must be considered, we think, as adding largely to the debt of gratitude already due from the public to the distinguished translator.

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### ART. V.—PINEL: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

By his Nephew, Dr. CASIMIR PINEL.

*(Translated from the French.)*

PINEL\* from his earliest years evinced signs of precocious intelligence, and astonished his masters by his aptitude, carrying away all the prizes for which he competed. He received his preliminary education at the college of Lavaur, and the town soon became acquainted with the brilliant capacities of the young Philippe. Castellane, the Bishop of the diocese, used all his efforts to induce him to adopt the ecclesiastical profession. He did so, and putting on the cassock, studied theology with a zeal inspired by a loving and fervent piety. He devoured, so to speak, the fathers of the Church, and drew from their works, from the sacred writings, and above all from the Gospel, those true principles of Christianity from which, alas! so many deviate. He acquired in a few years a very extensive acquaintance with these subjects, and he was able in his turn to teach his fellow-students, who thus became at the same time his pupils.

Pinel frequently joined his family circle† from which he was only separated by a distance of fifteen kilometres; he walked this distance with great rapidity; his constitution was strong, robust, and vigorous; he was short in stature, but his figure was well proportioned; his head was well developed, his forehead large, high, uncovered, and prominent; he had black hair, piercing eyes, an aquiline nose, a rounded chin, and a small mouth; his smile was kind and affable; his physiognomy, which was stamped with benevolence and goodness, exhibited in early life character, reflection, and maturity; his whole personal appearance, his manners, his language, his deportment, his reserved and austere behaviour, inspired submission and respect; he was never treated with familiarity by any of his four brothers or his sister. Though full of kindness, affection, and solicitude, he awed them

\* Born April 20th, 1745.

† At the town of Saint-Paul-Capdejoux, arrondissement of Lavaur.



by his gravity and a tone somewhat magisterial, but at the same time always indulgent. During the day, he assembled them for lessons, and before retiring to rest he presided at family prayer, which he conducted with grave attention. He was scarcely twelve years old when he lost his mother,\* whose death caused him the deepest grief.

He followed the chase occasionally with his father,† who was a skilful sportsman, but his sensitive soul was pained at the sight of the game which he wounded or killed, and which he regarded afterwards with regret: accordingly the chase soon became but a means of abandoning himself the more easily to his favourite pursuit, namely, study. Taking his gun for appearance sake, he would at one time plunge into the tangled and solitary woods of the neighbourhood, at others he would ramble about the fertile and beautiful meadows of the Agout, or gaining the top of one of the adjacent hills which form a natural amphitheatre, planted with all kinds of fruit trees, vines, mulberry trees, and maize, he would contemplate with admiration the ravishing prospect of the valley stretching at his feet, and to the east at a distance of forty kilometres the chain of mountains which unites the Pyrenees to the Alps. But if Pinel took a gun, he also took books, and when he arrived at a retired spot he would lay down his weapon, and abandoning himself to study would forget the chase for hours together. His favourite authors were in the first instance Virgil and Horace, and later Cicero, Pliny, and Tacitus,—works which he continued to read with pleasure nearly eighty years after.

About the age of twenty-two, and not twenty-seven, as stated by Cuvier, he quitted Lavaur, and renounced the idea of entering the Church. He then repaired to Toulouse, where he studied mathematics with intense ardour. In this science, which he was soon able to teach, he made great progress. My father has often related to me, how that lodging with him in a very modest apartment, he was witness of his zeal for study. Very frequently on awaking in the morning he found my uncle where he left him the evening before on retiring to rest, that is to say, meditating with his elbows on the table and his hands supporting his head.

At this time he delivered lectures in philosophy and sustained a thesis on this branch of knowledge, of which the title sufficiently reveals the serious predilections of his mind. It was "On the Exactitude which the Study of Mathematics gives to the Judgment in its Application to the Sciences." (*De la Rectitude que l'Etude de Mathematiques imprime au jugement dans son Application aux Sciences.*) It is reported that about the same period he was a competitor at the floral games, and was crowned.

In a short time he entered a rich and honourable family, and

\* A very pious woman.

† A physician and surgeon.

undertook the education of two of the sons, of whom one afterwards followed the career of the magistracy and the other that of political finance. At the same time he walked the hospitals and attended the course of the School of Medicine at Toulouse. He there passed a brilliant examination, and took the degree of doctor in the month of December, 1773.

In the beginning of 1774, after residing some years in this town, thirsting for more extensive knowledge, he set out for the celebrated University of Montpellier, which had just previously lost an illustrious member in Boissier de Sauvages, and where the merit of Barthez was commencing to make itself felt.

There, as at Toulouse, he entered a highly respected family, as tutor to the son of the house, who afterwards became an officer of great genius and merit. Cuvier is wrong in stating that he opened an establishment at Montpellier as a means of livelihood. The time which his tutorship left at his disposal was employed in perfecting his knowledge of the ancient languages, in attending courses of medicine, natural history, and chemistry, and in composing for aspirants for the doctorate theses which were models of correct and elegant latinity. He selected from choice questions relating to hygiene, a branch of medicine for which he had great partiality.

In this town Pinel made the acquaintance of a young man of fervid imagination, but restless and impatient temperament, who had attempted various branches of literature, but whose labours had till then been fruitless. Pinel was the means of leading him back to more positive ideas by giving him lessons in mathematics, and inducing him to read and study together with himself the works of Hippocrates, Plutarch, and Montaigne, and to attend the courses of medicine and the cognate sciences. From this period, they formed an attachment to one another which was never weakened by either time or distance. This fellow-student and pupil, subsequently attaining under the Consulate and first Empire the highest dignities and the most eminent scientific honours, was the illustrious Chaptal, Comte de Chanteloup, who ever maintained a grateful recollection of the lessons and counsel of his friend.

At the same epoch, Pinel, who, as I have already stated, took the degree of doctor at Toulouse, attained the same honourable rank at Montpellier. He attached himself to a young English student, and they taught one another the English and French languages. It is related that leaving Montpellier for Paris about the commencement of 1778, and not 1772, as has been frequently stated in other biographical notices, they were stopped on the road for want of passports, the simplicity with which they travelled



being such as to inspire little confidence in the local authorities with whom they came in contact.

They were allowed, however, after some explanations to continue their route. Forty-three years afterwards Pinel's companion, who in the interval had risen to eminence as a physician in his own country, visited France and presented his family to the author of the *Nosographie*.

Pinel carried letters of introduction to Cousin, which he presented on arrival. This great geometer, struck with Pinel's extensive mathematical attainments, was eager to procure him pupils, whose well-remunerated lessons assured him an honourable independence, and put it in his power to give himself to the study of literature, science, and, above all, of medicine.

It happened by chance that in the same house with Pinel there resided a very diligent young student towards whom he experienced an active sympathy, which the latter frankly returned; a strict and lasting friendship was the result, and this friend of my uncle was the excellent Desfontaines, who afterwards became Professor of Botany at the Jardin des Plantes and Member of the Institute.

In a short time Pinel's position became still more independent, and he was able to dispense with the income derived from his mathematical pupils; from this time he attended the hospitals more assiduously, resorted frequently to the libraries and academies, translated for the press, wrote for several scientific periodicals, particularly the *Journal de Paris*, in which he published numerous articles on medicine, physics, and philosophy, obtaining at the same time a small but select medical practice. Towards the close of 1782, he obtained the editorship of the *Gazette de Santé*, in which he published a part of his treatise on hygiene. In 1784 he translated from the English, Cullen's "Institutions of Medicine." For this translation he was paid, as he informs us, 1000 francs. It appeared in 1785, and not 1784, as elsewhere stated.

In the course of his philosophical and mathematical studies, Pinel had naturally been led to consider the works of Borelli, which he greatly admired. It is well known that the Neapolitan physician displayed great talent, often successfully, in endeavouring to apply the laws of statics and mechanics to physiology. The French physician composed two memoirs, the one relating to partial motions of the extremities, which he read before the Royal Society of Montpellier in 1777; the other to motions of the entire body, which he intended to have read before the Academy of Sciences at Paris. They formed a portion of the articles on surgery, comparative anatomy, and zoology, which he published in the periodicals before alluded to. In 1785 and 1786 he com-



municated to the Academy of Sciences memoirs on various dislocations, extracts of which were reproduced in the scientific journals of the day. In 1786 he published in the *Journal de Physique* an article on original defects of the genital organs, and the apparent or real characteristics of hermaphrodites, founded on a case which came under his own notice. He subsequently wrote for the same journal three other memoirs: the first on the structural formation of the elephant's head; the second on the retractility of the claws of certain carnivorous animals; and the third on the mode of preparing the skins of quadrupeds and birds. In 1788 he edited a new edition of Baglivi with notes and commentaries. In 1789-91 an abridgment of the "Philosophical Transactions" was published, and Pinel out of fourteen volumes translated three himself—one on chemistry, another on anatomy, and a third on medicine and surgery. He also worked upon an additional volume devoted to *materia medica* and pharmacy. About 1793 he made an interesting note on an ossification of the brain, which was exhibited at the Academy of Sciences in 1753 by Baron, and which had been preserved by Deyeux.

In 1783 the melancholy loss of a friend, who fell into a state of mania from an excessive enthusiasm for glory, coupled with insufficient means to contest it, directed his attention to the study of mental alienation, and as he himself afterwards stated in his "Memoir on the Moral Treatment of Insanity" (*Mémoire sur le Traitement Moral de la Folie*), and in his "Medico-Philosophical Treatise" (*Traité medico-philosophique*), his admiration for the judicious precepts of the ancients with regard to this malady was increased; and from this period he commenced a series of observations in a lunatic asylum (*Maison de Santé Belhomme*), which he pursued during five years, on mania and the application of moral remedies to the disease. At this period Pinel commenced the publication in the *Gazette de Santé* of articles relating to nervous and mental disorders. In 1788 he communicated to the Royal Society of Medicine a work on the distinctive features of the various kinds of mania and the modes of treatment, which was the result of his observations at Belhomme and of his private practice: in 1789, he published in the same Journal a note entitled, "Observations on the moral regimen best calculated to restore the wandering reason in certain cases of mania" (*Observations sur le régime moral qui est le plus propre à rétablir, dans certains cas, la raison égarée des maniaques*). He also wrote for the *Journal Gratuit de Santé* in 1790 a memoir full of interest, entitled, "Medical Reflections on the Monastic Life" (*Reflexions Médicales sur l'Etat Monastique*), where he related a remarkable case of erotic melancholy cured by garden labour and baths. In the early months of 1791 he inserted in Fourcroy's

Journal, called *La Médecine éclairée par les Sciences Physiques*, several articles on melancholic suicide; on the 30th August, 1791, the Royal Society of Medicine offered a prize for an essay "*On the most efficacious means of treating invalids who become insane before old age.*" Pinel sent in a memoir which received honourable mention on the 28th August, 1792, and which caused the judges charged with its examination, of whom Thouret was one, to form a high opinion of the author; to this work was appended the motto from Celsus, "*Gerere se pro cujusque natura necessarium.*"

Cabanis, Cousin, and Thouret, friends of Pinel, were about this time placed at the head of the Board charged with the administration of the public hospitals, some of which and amongst others Bicêtre, were then in a deplorable state. They were well acquainted with his merit and the attention he had already paid to the subject of insanity; they thought he was the only man in France, as Pariset says, capable of remedying the evils and disorders which prevailed in the lunacy department; they therefore hastened to appoint him chief physician of that hospital.

It was during the troubles of the Revolution, a memorable but sanguinary epoch of our history, that this appointment was made. Biographers are not quite agreed as to the precise period. Some say it was in the commencement, others that it was towards the close of the year 1792. From several passages in the *Traité Médico-Philosophique* one might infer that Pinel was already at Bicêtre in 1792: thus he gives an account of the massacres of the month of September, and relates a highly dramatic episode relating to this subject. It appears evident from what he says that he was on the spot at this time. In another part of the same book he expresses himself thus: "My observations were resumed at Bicêtre on my nomination during the first year of the Revolution." By *Revolution* should be understood the Republic. In the *Nosographie* he says: "My appointment to the post of Chief Physician of the Infirmary of Bicêtre about the first year of the Republic." Again, in another place he writes: "The Hospital of Bicêtre confided to my charge, under the title of Chief Physician, during the years II. and III. of the Republican era, opened out to me a clear stage on which to follow out those *researches commenced at Paris some years previously.*" The letters in my possession written in February, July, and November, 1792, and in January, 1793, contain no reference to his sojourn at Bicêtre; on the other hand, the register of the hospital fixes the 25th August, 1793, as the date of his appointment, and that of his installation in the early part of September. This date agrees with the close of the first year of the Republic. After this it must be taken that it was in the latter end of 1793, and not 1792;



that Pinel presented himself at the Hôtel de Ville in order to obtain authority from the Commune to loose the fetters of the lunatics at Bicêtre, since Couthon, who presided over this assembly, had retired from the scene of politics in the latter half of the year 1792, and did not make his re-appearance until January, 1793; besides, it was probably the revolutionary tribunal appointed on the 10th August of this year which is here in question.

It is of little importance, however, whether Pinel was appointed in 1792 or in 1793; that which it concerns us to know and to remember, and which constitutes one of his greatest claims before posterity, is that a short time after his installation at Bicêtre he partially realized those ideas of reform which he had conceived, and already applied on a smaller scale, and that by so doing he radically altered the lot of the insane. This reform it is—as great philosophically considered as medically—which, continued and consummated by Esquirol and M. Ferrus, has wholly transformed the asylums for the reception of lunatics.

In our days we can scarcely form any idea of the then deplorable condition of these houses. If we picture to ourselves low, damp, and infected dungeons, without light or air, fitly designated by the name of cells, containing a wretched stump-bed, or a rotten straw mattress laid on the stone floor; if we imagine human beings, naked or covered with rags, nearly always furious, chained, and shut up in these places of desolation and misery, real tombs which they never left but for their last resting-place; if we conceive ferocious keepers chosen from amongst convicts, treating these beings as brute beasts, making use of the most barbarous expedients, overwhelming them with injuries, mocking them with insulting jibes, mercilessly beating or waging with them terrible and often sanguinary struggles, throwing down before them disgusting and insufficient nourishment, leaving them without water even to quench their thirst, or clothing to protect them from the cold of winter, and exposing them in this sad condition for the amusement of curious visitors; if we imagine, I say, these unhappy beings believed to be incurable, abandoned by their families, deprived of medical care, pale, ghastly, and haggard, stagnating in their own dejections, groaning under the weight of irons which lacerated their limbs, emaciated by repeated blood-letting, excited by their horrible sufferings, and the inhuman treatment to which they were subjected, we shall then have a very incomplete idea of the frightful state of lunatic asylums in general, and of Bicêtre in particular, at this epoch.

Pinel's compassionate heart was grieved by the spectacle, and the aspect of the unhappy patients, in some of whom perhaps the light of reason was not altogether lost without hope of re-



covery. Like a new Messiah he undertook the work of regeneration and deliverance to which Providence had called him: in him kindness and gentleness, pity and humanity, justice and philanthropy, philosophy and science, made their entry into this habitation of misfortune and despair.

Pinel found Pussin, an uneducated but trustworthy man, superintendent at Bicêtre, who understood his ideas, and seconded his views of reform. He forgot, as he says, that a doctor's cap had never adorned Pussin's head, and he had numerous interviews with this subordinate, in order to become acquainted with the antecedents of his patients, and frequent conversations with those of them who were able to understand him; he studied their character, soothed the self-love of some, promised to satisfy their reasonable requests, combated with complacency and kindness, or when needed with firmness, the delirious ideas of others, endeavoured to secure the confidence of all. He gave them hopes of an ameliorated lot, and of even returning to their families if they would but follow his advice and not give themselves up to their extravagant and disordered notions. When he felt certain that his influence and ascendancy over them was established on a sufficient basis, he undertook to relieve them of their chains, and to allow them to leave their sombre and unhealthy habitations; granting them in the first instance a limited degree of liberty within the precincts of their respective divisions. The Government of that day was jealous, and Pinel was watched and suspected. It was therefore with difficulty, and only after repeated requests, that he obtained authority to strike off the fetters of the insane. So distrustful were the rulers of France at this period that they saw, even in the liberation of lunatics, the slaves of ignorance and barbarity, an act which might be favourable to aristocracy, and dangerous to Republican institutions.

The celebrated Couthon, who presided over the formidable Commune of Paris when Pinel applied for this authority, went over to Bicêtre the next day, in order to satisfy himself that the request concealed no project inimical to the democratic government. When he saw the lunatics whom Pinel wished to release from their fetters, he turned to him and said, "Are you mad yourself, that you wish to set at liberty these ferocious beasts?" "No," replied Pinel, with simplicity and firmness, "for I am certain that these unfortunates are only thus violent and so extravagant because they are chained. I am convinced that when they are so no longer they will compose themselves, and may, perhaps, again become reasonable." "Do as you like," was Couthon's answer as he left.

From this moment Pinel set to work, and the next day he

removed the chains from fifty lunatics, and from thirty more some days after. It is this scene, so beautiful and admirable for its science and humanity, which does so much honour to Pinel, and of which his family are so justly proud, that the Academy of Medicine has sought to commemorate by a picture which ornaments the hall in which their meetings are held.

In those days, however, the most praiseworthy actions were often misinterpreted, and malevolence, ignorance, or political fanaticism sometimes exposed them in an odious light. It was spread abroad that Pinel had released the lunatics from their fetters with bad intentions, and under this pretext, a furious mob one day brought him *à la lanterne*. Chevingé, an old soldier of the French guards, rescued him out of their hands, and thus saved his life. This man was one of those lunatics liberated by Pinel, afterwards cured, and ultimately taken into his service.

The reforms wrought by Pinel from a medical and philanthropic point of view, excited immense interest in all civilized countries, and from that time they have gradually spread themselves amidst the applause of generous and enlightened minds. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the ideas pervading all minds were in favour of amelioration, that the philosophy of the eighteenth century tended to bring them to light, that they were entertained even by the authorities of the day, and that for ten years opportunity had been sought to introduce them into lunatic asylums.

Attempts of this kind had been partially made in various countries, and some physicians, particularly in the hospitals under their care, had endeavoured to change the abominable system then pursued towards the insane. Thus, the patients belonging to the hospital at Saragossa, in Spain, had for long enjoyed a certain amount of liberty, and manual labour was also employed there with advantage. This asylum, which was open for the reception of patients of all countries and all religions, bore as its motto, *Urbis et Orbis*. In some asylums also in Holland, Belgium, Savoy, England, and France, efforts were made to mitigate the lot of this unhappy class. But what were all these imperfect and timid attempts, these incomplete schemes, this return towards the precepts of the ancients, which Pinel had extolled and put in practice ten years before his appointment to Bicêtre, as compared with the radical reform based on the most rational principles of medicine and philosophy, stamped with the true spirit of Christianity, to which a grateful posterity has attached the name of the French Psychopathist?

After researches extending over a period of four years, both at Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière, of which he had become chief phy-

sician, Pinel published his conclusions in the *Mémoires de la Société Médicale d'Emulation* for the years V. and VI. These works, together with those he had written before his appointment to Bicêtre, formed the groundwork of the first edition of his "Medico-Philosophical Treatise upon Insanity" (*Traité Medico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale*) in the year IX (1800). He subsequently completed them by further observations and more extended applications in a second edition published in 1809.

It is impossible to contest the originality, the high merit, and the great importance of this didactic work, which has rendered immense service in popularizing Pinel's doctrines. When this Treatise appeared, there were no works in mental science serviceable as guides in such matters. The few English books printed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, such as those of Arnold, Crichton, Ferriar, Haslam, Perfect, &c., possessed but a moderate degree of interest, presented vague and insufficient precepts, and contained no really elevated medical views capable of directing the physician in the deplorably chaotic state of the lunatic asylums of the day. Those which had been edited in Germany and Italy, without excepting even the works of Locher, of Greding, of Langermann, of Chiarugi, possess no greater merit. Dr. Daquin published at Chambéry about the middle of 1791, and again in 1804, a work entitled *De la Philosophie de la Folie*, which has remained almost unknown, and is not even mentioned by the majority of psychopaths and biographers. This book, although full of generous and philanthropic sentiment and commendable on many accounts, is, nevertheless, destitute of learning, science, and any special ideas; it is written in an incorrect style, and contains a host of erroneous propositions, such as those relating to suicide, the curability of insanity, the venereal desires of the insane, the influence of the moon, &c. His classification of mental disorders will not bear the slightest examination. In the second edition, dedicated to Pinel, he did not profit by the progress made in medical science; he limited himself to the praise and exaltation of the *Traité Medico-Philosophique*. The following is an extract from the dedication:—

"I addressed the first edition of this work to Humanity, because the subject appeared to make it a duty that I should do so; but to-day I fulfil one, to me much more satisfactory, and much more appropriate to the matter, in dedicating this second edition to you, because I see in you that rare virtue personified. Your work on mania displays at once the generous sentiments of a refined mind, and the fertility of genius. We find in it a sympathizing feeling for the woes of others, beside the salutary resources of the art of relieving them."

No one, and Daquin less than any, ever contested with Pinel the honour which he acquired by the reforms made at Bicêtre;



for some years, however, attempts have been made not exactly to tarnish its glory, that would be difficult, but to lessen it by sharing it with Daquin, on the pretence that to the latter belongs the priority of reform in the treatment of the insane. I believe that I have in another place (see my note on the reform in the treatment of lunatics, 1854, and my letters in the *Journal des Connaissances Médicales* of Dr. Caffé, 1858,) shown the real value of these pretensions, and that Daquin's medical fellow-citizen who raised them, and the two other gentlemen who supported his opinion, had not sufficiently studied the question, and were not acquainted with Pinel's labours. They made the mistake of confounding two different and distinct things: the priority of ideas on the moral treatment which Pinel never ceased in his writings to trace back to the ancients, Aretæus, Celsus, and Cælius Aurelianus; and the application and realization of these ideas, which could only be accomplished with advantage on a wide field, such as Bicêtre or the Salpêtrière, whence they might spread their salutary influence through the whole world.

On a mere comparison of the dates of publication of the *Traité de la Philosophie de la Folie* and the *Traité Medico-Philosophique*, and without taking account of anything Pinel had done before his appointment to Bicêtre, it has been contended that Daquin preceded Pinel in the reformed treatment of the insane; that he enunciated novel ideas; that they were new and bold, considering the time when they were promulgated; that he ought to be regarded as the inventor of the moral treatment; that his ideas were the fertile germ of the great reforms accomplished by Pinel, Esquirol, Conolly, and Leuret; that he, first of all, indicated and attempted that system to which Pinel attached his name. It is impossible that any one who has taken the trouble to study the history of medical psychology, and who knows anything of the labours of Pinel, should admit such propositions, after an attentive perusal of Daquin's book. In fact, this author has enunciated no new idea, and one might quote from other writers a host of passages in which what he has written is more formally and more scientifically expressed. It may be seen even that his philanthropical notions are but the pale reflection and a repetition of what had been said before. He inaugurated no reform, he did not remove the chains, for he does not even suggest such a thing, and at his death, twenty-five years after he wrote, the lunatics at Chambéry were in the state in which he found them. None of the improvements which he proposed, or of the desires and hopes which he expressed, had been either attempted or realized.

Daquin limited himself to the permission granted to a few of his patients to walk individually in an enclosure or orchard be-

longing to the asylum, where he acknowledged that it was impossible to leave them because they destroyed the fruit. Their lot moved him with pity, he procured them some alleviations, and was sorry he could do no more, nevertheless it is wished to cite his good intentions, emanating from a generous but powerless disposition, his abortive and unproductive attempts, as an innovation and even the inauguration of reform. I ask every impartial man what there is in common between these, Daquin's imperfect and all but unknown acts, and those of Pinel, so fertile in the happiest results.

I feel it my duty to say one word as to Pinel's silence with respect to Daquin, upon which stress has been laid by those who are unable to reply to the objections founded upon facts and dates. They have gone so far as to pretend that he acted under the influence of rivalry and jealousy. Such insinuations cannot affect Pinel, whose morality and scientific probity are above these retrospective attacks directed against his memory, and if they should create astonishment it would be because they proceed from the pens of honourable men who, in exhuming Daquin's unknown work, have attempted to make him a reputation at Pinel's expense.

It seems to me that Pinel's silence may be easily accounted for, and one would naturally suppose either that the *Traité de la Philosophie de la Folie* was unknown to him; or, as appears to me most probable, he had forgotten it in the midst of his numerous occupations.

However this may be, I think he was perfectly right to maintain silence, for the flattering compliments of Daquin did not oblige him to speak his mind upon the book, in which there was much to criticise. The second edition was but a paraphrase of the first, and in no way on a level with the state of science. The author had not profited by the eminent labours of the French psychologist, and the latter therefore had great reason to complain.

France had produced no work treating *ex professo* of insanity. In the last twenty years of the century there appeared—1st, a document full of interest, edited under orders of the Government, by Colomhier and Doublet (1785); 2nd, some Ideas by Tenon (1788); 3rd, a work by Iberti, on the Lunatic Asylum at Saragossa; 4th, a Report read before the National Assembly by Larochefoucauld (1791); 5th, some Thoughts by Cabanis (1793); 6th, an account of the Lunatic Asylum at Amsterdam, by Thouin (1796); 7th, some Letters in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, on a New Establishment for the Cure of the Insane, by Dr. Larive (1798); and lastly, the Articles and Memoirs of Pinel, of which I have spoken (1784—1798).



It was under these circumstances, then, that the *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale* was published.

The grand plan of the work which Pinel proposed to himself, and which he so worthily accomplished, may be shortly summed up as follows:—To give an historical sketch on the subject of mental disorders; to discuss the value of the works which treat of them; to classify these disorders under four principal divisions, of which one, Melancholy, presents itself under two different forms depending upon moral oppression or expansion; to submit a selection of observations; to throw light on the most frequent causes; to explain the great importance of the original disposition of the different passions, &c., in their etiological relations, and the utility of psychological knowledge; to determine the somatic and psychical characters of each genus; to describe and make known, in the first place, that species of mental alienation consisting rather in the perversion of the affective faculties, the instincts, the desires, of the moral sense, than in the lesion of the intellectual faculties, which may be or may appear to be intact; to develop the medico-legal doctrines which proceed from the existence of those sometimes transitory exhibitions of mania without delirium, moral insanity and instinctive monomania; to demonstrate to the judges that numbers of persons brought before them as culpable, and convicted as criminals, are but madmen; to snatch unhappy sufferers from the scaffold or the galley, thus opening out to modern psychologists a new career which they were destined to run, with advantage to justice and humanity; to indicate general rules for the distribution of asylums; to establish general precepts that ought to be followed in the physical and moral treatment of the insane; to make apparent the utility and necessity for manual labour and isolation; to reprobate with energy the use of all violent means; to draw up statistical tables; to undermine ancient prejudices by force of logic and science; to overturn the worm-eaten edifice erected by ignorance, barbarity, and inhumanity; and not contenting himself with merely giving precepts and advice, to apply and realize them at the expense sometimes of his health, his repose, and his liberty; and finally to culminate in general considerations, abounding with philosophical and medical ideas of the deepest interest.

I admit that Pinel's classification was defective, and that it required modifications already made, partly by Esquirol and M. Ferrus, his pupils and his learned and worthy followers; but it is nevertheless the basis of all those which have been proposed up to this day.

Granting that Pinel has at times confounded dementia and idiocy; that he has classed mania accompanied with partial delirium under the head of mania without delirium; that with



respect to some forms and species of madness, the seat of disease, and pathological anatomy, his work leaves somewhat to be desired, it must still be acknowledged that he has traced with a sure, vigorous, and practised hand, all that relates to the moral and physical *régime*, and that little has since been added upon this point.

Pinel's book is more than a mere medical work; it is full of philosophical views, and of moral precepts and doctrines which may be as useful to the physician as to those whose occupation concerns psychology, education, legislation, justice, and political administration. Pariset, indeed, has not thought it too much to say that it ought to be the manual of physicians and rulers.

Pinel's system of moral therapeutics is not merely based on the most enlightened science and the most consummate experience, but also on the purest virtues, the truest and noblest sentiments, such as justice, kindness, goodness, and charity. It may also be said that it will ever be in all places and in all time, as it is to-day, that part of mental medicine which is the most true, the most positive, and the least contestable.

The first edition of the "Philosophical Nosography" (*Nosographie Philosophique*) appeared in 1798, and the sixth was published in 1818.

I have no need to state here, for every physician is aware of the immense medical revolution caused by the appearance of the *Nosographie*, which for twenty years was the sole guide both of students and physicians, as well in France as in foreign countries; I will only say that this work forms the crowning point of the author's reputation.

Dupuytren has erroneously stated that the *Nosographie* gained the decennial prize; it appears from what Pariset has written, that Hallé, who was the referee named by the commission issued on this subject, declined to pronounce between the competitors, Corvisart and Pinel, who were both his friends. But it is easy to see, from his remarkable report, that the comparison was altogether in favour of Pinel. Could it be otherwise? The one work was limited to a description of the disorders of the organs of circulation; the other embraced the whole subject of internal pathology. On the one side was a study of narrow extent, restricted research, and limited observation on the maladies of the heart and great vessels: on the other, an attempt to establish a new doctrine, to create a new classification, to examine important works, to effect a philosophical analysis of a subject involved in labyrinthine intricacy; to give order, method, and simplicity to a science which numerous and different theories and systems had rendered more and more obscure, unintelligible, and uncertain; above all, to combat the exclusive pretensions of solidism and

humorism; to recall the science of medicine, by incessant efforts; to the true principles traced by Hippocrates. Such, in a few words, is the difference between the works of Corvisart and Pinel, and which Hallé displayed with so much talent.

Pinel also published a "Treatise upon Clinical Medicine" (*Traité sur la Médecine Clinique*), which went through three editions between 1802 and 1815; and he wrote for the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, for the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales*, and for Transactions of the Institute. It should not be forgotten that it is to these reflections or to the observations made by Pinel upon Inflammation, in 1791, that the "Treatise on Membranes" (*Traité des Membranes*) owes its birth, and that a spark of his genius, as Dupuytren says, lighted that of Bichat.

On the formation of the *École de Santé*, in 1794, Pinel was called to the chair of Hygiene conjointly with Hallé, and afterwards to that of Internal Pathology, on the death of Doublet, in 1795, which he continued to hold when the *Faculté de Médecine* was instituted. He was nominated a member of the Institute in 1803, in the Zoological section; Chevalier of the Legion of Honour at the institution of that order; consulting physician to the Emperor in 1805; Chevalier de St. Michael in 1818; honorary member of the Academy of Medicine at its formation; and he was one of the eleven professors who witnessed the dissolution of the *Faculté de Médecine* under the ordinance of 1822.

Pariset and Cuvier have represented Pinel as in most wretched circumstances during the first year of his residence at Paris: this is an error disproved by my uncle's own letters. Cuvier also pretends that he fell into a state of melancholy in consequence of his penury, and that he would have lapsed into despair but for his friend Savary, who revived his courage and procured him some distractions: this story has no more foundation than another he relates, when he says that the only means he had of providing for his necessities was to take a situation in a lunatic asylum. Pinel never resided at the Belhomme Asylum, of which he was merely the physician. It is a well-ascertained fact that on his arrival at Paris he obtained, through Cousin's introduction, as I have already stated, pupils in mathematics, whose fees amply sufficed for his simple and modest wants; his correspondence leaves no room for doubt upon this head.

Pinel was acquainted with nearly all the men of that day who were in any way celebrated either in literature or science, and amongst others with D'Alembert, Condorcet, Hallé, Lavoisier, Berthollet, Labillardière, Daubenton, Savary, Fourcroy, Thouret, Cabanis, Roussel, &c.; and he was intimate with several of them. The two last-named introduced him to the choice and witty circle



of Madame Helvétius, who presided over her réunions with a grace and amiability which added greatly to their charms.

Pinel's timidity and modesty were such as often to paralyse his resources, especially before strangers; he also expressed himself with difficulty, and was unable to arrange and classify his numerous ideas with sufficient rapidity, so that he exhibited a kind of embarrassment and reserve which caused him to be ill appreciated by those not familiar with him. It is related that on being presented by his friend, Desfontaines, to Lemonnier, physician to Louis XVI., with a view to his being appointed physician to the King's aunts, he was scarcely able to say a word, and that he stood dumb before the princesses, who formed a very low opinion of his merit, and declined his services.

Pinel competed three times for the chair of *Docteur-régent de la Faculté*, and was each time defeated; about the year 1784, he offered himself again, having as he thought a better chance of success. By accident or ill-luck, it turned out that his competitor was a man he had known at Montpellier, and who there applied to him to prepare his thesis. Quickly perceiving that the man was extremely ignorant, he chose a subject most likely to accord with his aptitude, and composed a thesis for him on equitation, judging that as an old gendarme he might be able to sustain it without much difficulty; the result was that the candidate was received with great applause. Emboldened by this success, he presented himself at Paris to contest the chair of *Docteur-régent*. He was tall of stature, his delivery was fluent and sonorous, his assurance imperturbable, his learning contemptible. Pinel was under the average height, his air was timorous and embarrassed, his voice feeble, his diction toilsome; it need scarcely be added that the sometime gendarme carried the day, and the future author of the *Nosographie* was nowhere. But the vexation of his rejection in favour of a fool full of fatuous pride was easily consoled, and he could afterwards join his friends in their amusement at the tact and appreciation of his judges, demonstrating *algebraically* the chances sometimes afforded by competition to candidates possessing little beyond a tenacious memory and an audacious and vain confidence.

Pinel had a tender and sensitive soul; he loved the grand, the beautiful, and the sublime; he always retained a taste for poetry, which he cultivated in his youth; he was a passionate admirer of the *chefs d'œuvre* of antiquity; he was deeply moved by the perusal and often the mere recollection of certain narratives related by poets or historians, and he identified himself at times with their verse. It is said that walking in the country one day with his friend Savary, the learned traveller, their conversation



turned on poetry and love, and the misfortunes they entailed when allowed to overpower the reason. The history of the unfortunate Sappho naturally presented itself to their minds, and in recalling and repeating it to one another, they began to talk of the talents, the poetical enthusiasm, the amorous exaltation, the despair and cruel end of the celebrated Lesbian whom they agreed in considering worthy of a better lot, notwithstanding her excesses. It would appear that the story moved them to tears, and that after a moment's repose they found it necessary to seek distraction in conversing on a less sorrowful subject.

Pinel was a great admirer of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Pariset relates that as soon as he arrived at Paris, he hastened to visit, with his friend Chaptal, the tomb of the illustrious philosopher then recently dead. It is asserted that he was so deeply affected by this visit that he passed five days and five nights without sleep; but it is not pretended that he was prevented from giving his lessons as usual.

It was to the house of a Madame Vernet, a relative of the great painter, that Pinel and Boyer conducted and there secreted their friend Condorcet. This excellent woman lived during the revolution at No. 22, in the Rue Servandoni, where she received boarders; she gladly admitted the illustrious outlaw on the recommendation, not of two young gentlemen, as M. Louis Blanc states, but of two serious men of mature age, the one being about thirty-five, the other fifty, whose courageous devotion served, alas! but to prolong for a few months the life of the unfortunate Girondist. I had an opportunity of meeting at my uncle's, when young, Condorcet's widow and also Madame Vernet, who then resided at Verrières. The first was a woman of superior mind, the other was remarkable for her kindly disposition.

With or without reason, physicians in general have the character of being somewhat unbelieving and not very religious. The friends and contemporaries of Cabanis had mostly a reputation for atheism: but Pinel, while highly valuing his friendship and admiring his talent, was far from partaking of all his ideas, and he could say with the man of old—*Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*. He possessed a mind too elevated to permit of his seeing in nature a mere fortuitous arrangement of matter; he believed, on the contrary, with sensible men and the majority of philosophers that a Supreme Being presided and presides over the marvels of the universe as also of our destiny; he sought not to penetrate that which is impenetrable, or to explain that which is inexplicable; he bowed humbly before the infinite, a subject which cannot be discussed without exposing the mind to doubts little likely to console it. Without being an active Catholic, he

possessed that religious turn of mind which, favouring the study of the natural sciences, and breathing a morality at once mild, persuasive, and tolerant, is the enemy of fanaticism and superstition, the sublime morality of the ancient philosophy, and, above all, of the Gospel. One day the celebrated astronomer Lalande met Pinel and said to him, "I am preparing a new edition of the Dictionary of Atheists, in which I have devoted an article to you." The latter replied, "And I am about to publish my Treatise on Madness, in which I will reserve a place for you."

Pinel was remarkable for his extreme benevolence and kindness; he was incapable of the slightest jealousy or envy towards his professional brethren, to whom he ever rendered full and entire justice; he may at times have omitted to notice their labours, but he never did so with any blameable intention; his criticisms were always fair and allowable. He never, under any circumstances, replied to his very few opponents, nor did he permit his pupils to do so. Castel and Baumes, more especially the latter, criticised the *Nosographie* with little decency, but he took no offence and made no reply. When his old pupil, the learned author of *La Doctrine Physiologique*, attacked him violently and in terms unworthy of a physician who desired to respect himself, he shrugged his shoulders smilingly and asked if it were possible to maintain a system so exclusive, repelled alike by observation and sound sense. "Let him talk," said he, "time will do justice between us."

Pinel might easily have obtained, like most of his friends, a high political position, either under the republican or the imperial government; but he was too honest and honourable to solicit, much less to intrigue; his love of independence always caused him to reject propositions made to him with this object. His scientific honours were gained solely by his personal merit.

When it was proposed to nominate the chief physician to the Emperor, two men of great learning but of totally different characters were suggested; namely, Corvisart and Pinel. Between these two eminent professors, rivals in glory and science, but always reciprocally regarding and esteeming one another as colleagues, the balance remained for some time undecided. I have reason to know, having heard it at my uncle's from one well informed, that Marshal Lannes, a friend of Corvisart, caused it to incline in his favour.

Pinel might have been promoted to the hospital at Charenton, where the appointment of chief physician was much better remunerated than that which he held: it was offered to him, and he refused it, preferring to remain with the poor patients of the Salpêtrière.

My uncle was very extensively engaged, as consulting physician; papers for advice were addressed to him from all parts of

the world, and people came from all countries to seek his counsel. He might have acquired a considerable fortune, and have left great wealth to his heirs; but to this was opposed his beneficence, his generosity, and his extreme confidence, which was often most unworthily abused; his purse was ever open to the unfortunate. But though he was unable to bequeath to his sons great riches, he left them a patrimony of much more worth in a great name and the example of a well-spent life, fraught with virtue and without reproach.

When the dissolution of the *Faculté de Médecine*, and his own dispossession was announced to him, which violated the stability of the professorial office, he made no complaint, and simply asked what provision had been made for instruction. After having heard the names of the new professors, he added, "What will become of medicine?" Some one remarked that he had a right to a retiring pension. "No, no," he replied, "I want nothing; it is my colleague . . . who should have it."

Notwithstanding his modesty, Pinel was not without a certain legitimate pride. I remember that about 1820 he showed me with some satisfaction a letter which he had just received from Russia, and which was addressed, "*Au Docteur Pinel, en France.*"

He was much pleased with his appointment to the position of consulting physician to Napoleon; he writes in one of his letters of 4 Floreal, year XIII. :—

"I have just received a new mark of confidence from the Government, having been nominated one of the consulting physicians to the Emperor before his departure for Italy. This appointment is the more agreeable to me, since it does not involve any active service. My ambition was fulfilled some time ago, and is so now with much greater reason. I am especially pleased that my appointments do not prevent me enjoying a few days' repose from time to time in the seclusion of country life."

In one of his letters also he mentions with pleasure his decoration with the order of Saint Michael, on the occasion of the Duc d'Angoulême's visit to the Salpêtrière.

He related to me also, about the same period, that Napoleon addressed him when he was received at the Institute after his return from Elba, and inquired if lunatics were on the increase. "I replied no; but I thought to myself," said he, with a mischievous smile "that the superior geniuses, the illustrious and ambitious conquerors, were not perhaps without a spark of madness."

In 1802 Pinel purchased a country house between Étampes and Arpajon; he paid down for it, he says, in one of his letters, 60,000 francs. He went to Torfou every Saturday to rest from



the fatigues of the week until Monday, or rather that he might study there with greater freedom, where he had a second well-chosen library. It was in this country house, simple but well situated and very agreeable, that he received his friends and disciples. For a long time Mayor of Torfou, he accepted with gratification the homage gladly offered to him at certain periods of the year, particularly at the annual *fête* of the place. The poor of the neighbourhood found in him a benefactor whose counsel was never sought in vain.

Pinel was gifted with an excellent constitution, and a well-poised mind ; and thanks to a sober life and freedom from all excesses, he nearly always enjoyed good health. But in 1793 a typhoid fever which he caught in his attendance upon the prisoners at Bicêtre, amongst whom it was very prevalent, brought him to the verge of the grave. He took pleasure in recounting that he mainly owed his restoration to small, often-repeated doses of old Arbois wine, and from a grateful remembrance of this fact, he always had this wine in his cellar, and sometimes on his table.

There was that, says M. Bricheteau, in his manner and appearance which at once set at ease those whom the reputation of the celebrated physician brought to his consulting room ; no man was ever more accessible even at the time of his greatest renown and his innumerable engagements.

His countenance was grave, his forehead furrowed with wrinkles, his look as of old was mild, affable, and intellectual. "Looking on him," says Dupuytren, "one might imagine he beheld one of the sages of Greece."

During the latter years of his life he spent some portion of each day in gardening, either in the garden of the Salpêtrière, or at his own country house.

Pinel lost his first wife about 1812, and married again in 1815. His second wife was an excellent lady, who was sincerely attached to him, and bestowed upon him all the care and solicitude which he needed. His family certainly owe to her the prolongation of my uncle's life, and his sons are no less indebted to her for the preservation of the fortune which he had acquired. When the infirmities consequent upon advanced age, and a first slight attack of apoplexy in 1820 led to his retirement from active life, my aunt never more left him for an instant ; she lavished upon him every succour and attention, and every proof of affectionate devotion and conjugal love. When the arbitrary ordinance of Corbière was promulgated, by which, when near eighty years of age, he was left with an income insufficient to maintain his household on the modest footing in which he lived, his venerable wife hid from him their straitened position, and did all in her power to prevent his noticing it ; she changed none of her husband's habits,

but, on the other hand, denied herself in order that she might have it in her power to comply with them. I have myself witnessed this noble conduct, and I am happy to be able to render this homage to the memory of a woman who was devoted and generous not only towards her husband's sons but also towards all his relations.

From 1820 to 1826, Pinel had several other apoplectic attacks which were followed by partial paralysis. The first seizure left but few traces, but those which followed enfeebled and changed his physical organization. During the last two years of his life he resided almost exclusively in the country. A few friends visited him occasionally, and he was glad to see them and very sensible of their kind attentions.

It is generally believed that the last years of Pinel's life were passed in a species of infancy or intellectual weakness; this is an error, as I might prove by the testimony of his intimate friends who visited him to the last. Without possessing all the activity and energy of his formerly brilliant intellect, he nevertheless preserved the integrity of his judgment, the delicacy of his wit, his power of appreciation, and his medical tact; but he was not always able to express his thoughts as he would have wished: he was conscious of this difficulty and of the morbid causes to which it was due. At the same time when he was able to overcome this embarrassment of speech he expressed his ideas with brevity and clearness. He was ordinarily silent, and appeared absorbed in his reflections or incapable of attention; but, on the contrary, he lost nothing of what passed around him. His visitors were therefore at times astonished at the fitness and justice of his laconic and sensible remarks.

M. Ferrus has often told me, and has repeated to me within the last few days facts which he witnessed, and which confirm what I here state. The following is one of the most remarkable. One day during the last year of Pinel's life a young girl who had had a fall was brought to his house in the country, and complained of severe pain in the inferior part of one of the forearms. Some physicians who were present, and amongst others Messieurs Rostan, Ferrus, and Pinel, jun., after having carefully examined the child, were unable to discover any injury; at the same time as motion was very painful and the patient complained of great suffering, my uncle who had not appeared to have taken any interest in the matter, approached and said to his friends, "The child is very young; examine the inferior part of the radius, there is probably a separation of the epiphysis." A new examination immediately proved the justice of Pinel's diagnosis.

On the 15th October, 1826, he returned to Paris in good health, and without anything to denote his approaching end.

During the night of the 21st he was taken with violent shivering, which was the prelude of pneumonia, under which he succumbed on the third day, notwithstanding all the attentions of his wife, his sons, and the physicians who had been called in.

An immense crowd accompanied his remains to the cemetery of Père la Chaise, where Dr. Rostan, his old pupil and friend, pronounced with emotion over his tomb a few feeling and eloquent words. Most of the physicians of Paris made it a duty to assist at his funeral, and all the learned bodies of which he was a member sent deputations. It was very touching also to see in the procession a considerable number of old women from the Salpêtrière, who came to pay a last tribute to him who for more than thirty years had been their physician, father, and benefactor.

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#### ART. VI.—BAIN'S PSYCHOLOGY.\*

WITHOUT committing ourselves to an unqualified endorsement of all Mr. Bain's detailed opinions as to the phenomena and laws of mental action, we feel no hesitation in expressing our conviction, that no single contribution has ever been made in our country to the science of mind, that has done so much to render it an accurate science as these two volumes are likely to do. This arises in part from the method adopted, and in part from the full and exhaustive manner in which this method is worked out. Mr. Bain has entirely forsaken the time-honoured *a priori* plan of investigation, which is in fact no plan at all, but chiefly a series of assumptions, and circular reasoning upon these; and has treated mental phenomena as objects of true inductive analysis; taking them singly and in combination as indicating so much value in the general result; and thereby laying a stable foundation for a system of rational *descriptive* psychology. In accomplishing this, Mr. Bain evinces profound and extensive acquaintance with all the sciences which bear directly upon mental developments, especially with physiology in most of its departments; he has also the boldness to accept as legitimate objects for reasoning the abnormal as well as the normal phases of thought, action, and feeling. We may, perhaps, question whether some of our mental states are not still too complex and too imperfectly known to admit of ultimate analysis, so that the elements can be distinctly traced and classified; and whether in attempting this, Mr. Bain has not overstrained some of his theo-

\* *The Senses and the Intellect.* By Alexander Bain, A.M. London. 1855.

*The Emotions and the Will.* By Alexander Bain, A.M., Examiner in Logic and Moral Philosophy in the University of London. London. 1859.



ries, particularly, for instance, when treating of Belief, Free-will, Emotion, &c.; this we may question or suspect, but granting all this or more, few will deny after carefully reading these interesting and elaborate volumes, that the author has rendered a service to our science which may now be partially recognised, but which can only be fully appreciated perhaps after the labours of many others have built an enduring system upon his foundation.

Having premised thus far upon the general character of the work, we believe that instead of further defending our author's method and indicating his precise place amongst the *schoolmen* (a work for which we imagine he would be little recognisant), it will be more acceptable to our readers to place before them a concise analysis of the plan, with a somewhat more detailed account of such parts of the theory (and these are many and important) as are entirely new.

Mr. Bain recognises in the outset three attributes or capacities of mind :—

1. It has Feeling, in which is included what is commonly called Sensation and Emotion.
2. It can Act, according to Feeling.
3. It can Think.

On this classification we may remark that Feeling, Emotion, and Consciousness are terms used "to express one and the same attribute of mind."\* In the second attribute so simply stated, we trace one of the author's most defined views, that voluntary action results exclusively from feeling; a principle which afterwards materially influences his views upon volition; the will appearing but as the result of the balance of motives.

An important consideration is broadly stated immediately after this classification :—

"Consciousness is inseparable from the first of these capacities, but not, as it appears to me, from the second or the third. True, our actions and thoughts are usually conscious, that is, as known to us by an inward perception; but the consciousness of an act is manifestly not the act, and although the assertion is less obvious, I believe that the consciousness of a thought is distinct from the thought. To flee on the appearance of danger is one thing, and to be conscious that we apprehend danger is another."†

We believe that all this is true, but we should go further if thus far. For by whatever process of reasoning Thought can be represented as unconscious, by the same can Emotion be so viewed.

\* See p. 1, Introduction, vol. i. In all these references the treatise on the *Senses and the Intellect* is considered as the first volume, and that on the *Emotions and the Will* as the second.

† *Loc. cit.*

And if Action may be unconscious, and at the same time the result of Feeling, as by the terms of the second definition it is supposed to be, the motor cause we should infer should be (*possibly* at least) as unconscious as the resultant act. But in the present stage of the investigation it would be premature to enter more fully into this question.

There is nothing requiring specific notice in the preliminary general notions given of Feeling or Action; those concerning Thought are worthy of quotation:—

“The first fact implied in it (*i.e.*, Thought or Intelligence) is *discrimination*, with sense of agreement or difference, as when of two things taken into the mouth the animal prefers one to the other. . . . To go back upon a former experience as preferable to the present is to act upon an idea, a thought; whenever this is clearly manifested we see an intelligent being.

“Another fact of intelligence, also exhibited by the lower orders of creatures, is the power of associating ends with means or instruments, so as to dictate intermediate actions. . . .

“These two facts, discriminating with preference, and the performance of intermediate actions to attain an end, are the most universal aspects of intelligence, inasmuch as they pervade the whole of the animal creation.”\*

Perhaps this is an assumption rather too general and hasty. It can scarcely be doubted that there are large tribes of creatures clearly recognisable as of animal nature, in which we certainly have no *evidence* of *discrimination* in the sense here implied, though that it *may be* there is not impossible. In many of the same creatures there is the same lack of any *proof* that ends are intelligently associated with means. The author continues thus:—

“In the higher regions of mind, the attribute of thinking implies the storing up, reviving, and combining anew all the impressions constituting what we call knowledge, and principally derived from the outer world acting on the senses. It is this wider range of intellectual operations displayed by the human mind, that gives scope for exposition in a work like the present.

“Although in the animal constitution Thought is coupled and conjoined with Feeling and Volition, it does not necessarily follow that Intelligence is a necessary part of either the one or the other. I have a difficulty in supposing Volition to operate in the entire absence of an intellectual nature, nevertheless I cannot help looking upon the intellect as a distinct endowment, following laws of its own, being sometimes well developed and sometimes feeble, without regard to the force or degree of the two other attributes.”†

In proceeding to consider the phenomena of mind, Mr. Bain enters briefly upon the proofs (sufficiently familiar to physiolo-

\* Vol. i. Introduction, p. 6.

† *Ibid.*

gists) that the brain and nervous centres are the organs to which its manifestations are due, or with which they are connected. A concise account follows of the nervous centres and the organs of sense and locomotion. Throughout this work, mind is treated of as closely connected, inseparably connected, with the actions of a material organism; not, so far as we can trace, from any leaning towards what is generally called materialism, but simply for convenience, inasmuch as *all* our experience of mind is derived through and from the observation of material changes by means of our material organs; and in a system so purely inductive and descriptive as the present it is absolutely necessary to state and recognise that, so far as we can know, where mind acts, there matter is in change; and where these changes are to be observed, it must be through material organs of sense. We believe that the question of the materiality or immateriality of mind is not once alluded to, nor indeed the *nature* of mind at all; it is with phenomena only that this work deals.

One of the views most distinctive of, and most extensively affecting, the entire theory set forth in these volumes, is connected with "Spontaneous Activity." So far from holding the popularly received doctrine that sensation originates motion, Mr. Bain upholds "that movement precedes sensation, and is at the outset independent of any stimulus from without; and that action is a more intimate and inseparable property of our constitution than any of our sensations, and in fact enters as a component part into every one of the senses, giving them the character of compounds, while itself is a simple and elementary property."\* This doctrine is inextricably interwoven with the entire theory of volition; in the mode in which it is brought forward it has the aspect of novelty; the acquisition of voluntary acts is placed by it upon an entirely new basis; on these grounds we shall enter at more detail into our author's line of argument.

The first step is to prove the "existence of a class of movements and actions anterior to, and independent of, the sensations of the senses." These movements arise, according to this view, from the central stimulus of the nervous system, and are "the spontaneous discharge of the active energy of the nerve centres."†

The proofs adduced are as follow:—

"1. The tonicities of muscles; not amounting to motion, but the tension implying a lower degree of similar activity.

"2. The permanent closure of the sphincter muscles, not accounted for either by impressions from within or without the body, or by the muscles' own contractility, inasmuch as the destruction of certain nerve centres relaxes these muscles.

"3. The action of the involuntary muscles."

\* Vol. i. p. 67.

† Vol. i. p. 83.



On which argument, however, the author judiciously refrains from laying much stress.

"4. In awakening from sleep, movement precedes sensation. If light were essential to the movements concerned in vision, it would be impossible to open the eyes. The act of awakening from sleep can hardly be considered in any other view than as the reviving of the activity by a rush of nervous power to the muscles, FOLLOWED by the exposure of the senses to the influences of the outer world. I know of no circumstance that would go to show that sensation is the antecedent fact, in the case when the individual wakes of his own accord. The first symptom of awakening that presents itself is a general commotion of the frame, a number of spontaneous movements—the stretching of the limbs, the opening of the eyes, the expansion of the features—to all which succeeds the revival of the sensibility to outward things. Mysterious as the nature of sleep is in the present state of our knowledge, we are not precluded from remarking so notable a circumstance as the priority of action to sensibility, at the moment of wakening.

"But if this be a fact, we seem to prove beyond a doubt that the renewed action must originate with the nerve centres themselves. The first gestures must be stimulated from within, by a power lodged in the grey masses of the brain; afterwards they are linked with the gestures and movements suggested by sense, and revived by intelligence and will. . . . We are at liberty to suppose that the nourished condition of the nerve centres, consequent on the night's repose, is the cause of that burst of spontaneous exertion which marks the movement of awakening. The antecedent of the activity in this case is therefore more physical than mental, and this must be the case with spontaneous energy in general."\*

Before passing on to another order of proofs adduced by the author, we would make one or two remarks on those already given. We are inclined to *believe* in the spontaneous activity here indicated, inasmuch as we can see no reason why nutrition and rest should not induce a state of polarity in the nervous centres, which finds its restoration to equilibrium by this sort of discharge; we can, on the contrary, see many cogent reasons why it should be so. But the fact must not be overlooked that these arguments do not *prove* the case,—that they are indeed perfectly explicable on the converse hypothesis. We need not enter into the physiological refutation of the first three sections; the fourth claims a few remarks. We doubt extremely whether, save in very exceptional instances, motion does precede sensation in the act of awaking. (1) We are all conscious, very frequently, of a more or less prolonged interval between our first waking idea (*i. e.*, sensation), and our first motion or action; when existence appears to be nothing but a pure sensation. (2) The active phenomena of awakening, as above described, agree accurately with

\* Vol. i. pp. 75-6.

those almost invariably observed when the waking state is brought about by an external stimulus or influence upon the senses. (3) We awaken in a precisely similar manner, when we do so in obedience to some idea (sensation) conveyed in a dream. (4) Not unfrequently, when we awake suddenly with a start, and motion *appears* to be the first link of the waking chain, we remember, some time afterwards, that we were dreaming, and received a sudden shock, ideally, in the dream which caused the start. (5) The opening of the eyes, previous to the stimulus of light, can count for nothing as a proof, because it would occur equally in the dark in obedience to any sudden call, or impulse, as part of the co-ordinate movements. (6) It is quite impossible to prove that an *organic* sensation does not pre-exist in all cases of awakening, even supposing that no dream, or conscious interval or idea should be present. Thus far, therefore, although inclined to agree with the theory, we are in doubt as to the cogency of the arguments adduced in proof. We will now, however, examine those derived from other considerations.

5. The early movements of infancy are supposed by our author to be in great part due to the spontaneous activity of the nervous centres. Some part of these movements may be attributable to the stimulus of sensation, to the sights, sounds, and movements of outward things;—some part again to emotion or sensation generated within the body, or to states of consciousness growing out of the brain and the bodily processes generally, “as when internal pain gives rise to paroxysms, or high health to the lively movements of mere animal spirits;” but as these appear to be actions and gesticulations which show no connexion with sight or sound, or other influence of the external world, and also that have no particular motional character either of pleasure or pain, it appears that “we can ascribe them to nothing but the mere abundance and exuberance of self-acting muscular and cerebral energy, which will rise and fall with the vigour and nourishment of the general system.”\*

The activity of young animals in general, and especially of such animals as are remarkable for their active endowments, as insects, seems to us to be the strongest argument brought forward to prove the spontaneity of muscular action:—

“When the kitten plays with a worsted ball, we always attribute the overflowing fulness of moving energy to the creature’s own inward stimulus, to which the ball merely serves for a pretext. So an active young hound, refreshed by sleep or rested by confinement, pants for being let loose, not because of anything that attracts his view, or kindles up his ear, but because a rush of activity courses through his members, rendering him uneasy till the confined energy has found vent

in a chase or a run. We are at no loss to distinguish this kind of activity from that awakened by sensation or emotion, and the distinction is accordingly recognised in the modes of interpreting the movements and feelings of animals. When a rider speaks of his horse as 'fresh,' he implies that the natural activity is undischarged, and pressing for vent; the excitement caused by mixing in a chase or in a battle, is a totally different thing from the spontaneous vehemence of a full-fed and under-worked animal."\*

In like manner it would appear as though the activity of early human life ought to be attributed in great measure, neither to sensation nor emotion, but to "freshness"—to a current of undischarged activity. High health, natural vigour, and spontaneous outpouring appear frequently to be the only obvious antecedents of ebullient activity. "The very necessity of bodily exercise felt by every one, and most of all by the young, is a proof of the existence of a fund of energy that comes round with the day, and presses to be discharged."

The remaining arguments for muscular spontaneity are more complex, and *pro tanto* more open to objection. They are founded upon extreme activity as dependent upon excitement,—upon the fact that sensibility and activity are not proportionate one to the other (an argument open to much discussion); and upon the consideration that without this spontaneity, volition, or "activity guided to ends," would be impossible. We shall see shortly how this last position is developed; and that we may do this and keep up the connexion, we will pass over without comment the other arguments.

In the chapter on the "Instinctive Germ of Volition" (p. 289) we find it stated that, "this fact of spontaneous activity I look upon as an essential prelude to voluntary power, making, indeed, one of the terms or elements of volition; in other words, volition is a compound, made up of this and something else." What is it then, that is superadded to spontaneous motion of limbs, body, voice, tongue, eyes, &c., to produce volition?

"If we look at this kind of (spontaneous) impulse closely, we shall see wherein its defect or insufficiency lies, namely, in the random nature of it; being dependent on the condition of the various nervous centres, the discharge is regulated by physical circumstances, and not by the ends, purposes, or uses of the animal."†

Mr. Bain's theory of the growth of volition being quite new, we shall give it in his own words, although the quotation is somewhat lengthy. "I will endeavour to indicate what seems to me to be the circumstance that leads to this remarkable union between the two great isolated facts of our nature; namely, on the one hand, feelings inciting to movement in general, but to no action

\* Vol. i. p. 77.

† Vol. i. p. 291.



in particular, and, on the other hand, the spontaneous movements already spoken of." Our readers will do well to note the next sentence and the italics which are our own, as directing attention to Mr. Bain's special views as to the purely accidental origin of each particular act of volition:—

"If at the moment of some acute pain, there should *accidentally occur* a spontaneous movement, and *if* that movement sensibly alleviates the pain, then it is that the volitional impulse belonging to the feeling will show itself. The movement *accidentally begun* through some other influence, will be sustained through this influence of the painful emotion. In the original situation of things, the acute feeling is unable of itself to bring on the precise movement that would modify the suffering; there is no primordial link between a state of suffering and a train of alleviating movements: But should the proper movement be once actually begun, and cause a felt diminution of the acute agony, the spur that belongs to states of pain would suffice to sustain this movement. . . . If the state of pain cannot awaken a dormant action, a present feeling can at least maintain a present action. This, so far as I can make out, is the original position of things in the matter of volition. . . . An example will perhaps place this speculation in a clearer light. An infant lying in bed has the painful sensation of chilliness. This feeling produces the usual emotional display, namely, movements, and perhaps cries and tears. Besides these emotional elements, there is a latent spur of volition, but with nothing to lay hold of as yet, owing to the disconnected condition of the mental arrangements at our birth. The child's spontaneity, however, may be awake, and the pained condition will act so as to irritate the spontaneous centres, and make their central stimulus flow more copiously. In the course of a variety of spontaneous movements of arms, legs, and body, there occurs an action that brings the child in contact with the nurse lying beside it; instantly warmth is felt, and this alleviation of the painful feeling becomes immediately the stimulus to sustain the movement going on at that moment. That movement, when discovered, is kept up in preference to the others occurring in the course of the random spontaneity. . . .

"By a process of cohesion or acquisition, which I shall afterwards dwell upon, the movement and the feeling become so linked together, that the feeling can at after times awaken the movement out of dormancy; this is the state of matters in the maturity of volition. The infant of twelve months' old can hitch nearer the side of the nurse, although no spontaneous movements to that effect happen at the moment; past repetition has established a connexion that did not exist at the beginning, whereby the feeling and action have become linked together as cause and effect. A full-grown volition is now manifested, instead of that vague incitement that could do nothing until the right movement had sprung up in the course of a series of spontaneous discharges of the central sources of power."\*

\* Vol. i. pp. 294-6.

The child that begins to suck when the nipple is placed between its lips, does so by virtue of a reflex action; but Mr. Bain considers that its continuing to do so, so long as the sensation of hunger is felt, and its ceasing when that sensation ceases, are truly volitional acts. The theory is thus summed up:—

“1. There is a power of spontaneous movement in the various active organs anterior to, and independent of, the feelings that such movement may give birth to; and without this, no action for an end can ever be commenced.

2. There exists consciousness, feeling, sensation, or emotion, produced from movements, from stimulants of the senses and sensitive parts, or from other causes. The physical accompanying of this is a diffused excitement of the bodily organs constituting the outburst or expression of it, as the start from a blow.

3. There is a property of consciousness—superadded to, and by no means involved in, this diffused energy of expression—whereby a feeling can influence any present active exertion of the body, so as either to continue or abate that exertion. This is the property that links feeling to movement, thereby giving birth to volition.

The feelings that possess this power—including nearly all the pains and many states of pleasure—I have hitherto described as volitional feelings; those that are deficient in this stimulus, being principally of the pleasurable class, are the pure, unvolitional, or serene emotions.”

It is a singularly novel idea, that to accident we should be indebted for all our voluntary powers. In saying this, it is with no intention of placing the theory in an absurd light; there is very much in it deserving of the most careful consideration; there is much which, if true, will throw a very different light upon many questions connected with psychology. For although we have hitherto noticed only the most elementary efforts of volition, Mr. Bain afterwards shows clearly that *all* our voluntary acts, even to the minutest detail, must necessarily have the same accidental origin. There are certain objections which strike us at the outset, which we may as well state briefly, before following our author in his further account of volition.

Unless there be some very definite proof of an accidental origin of what we have been accustomed to consider instances of special design, we should be slow to receive such an hypothesis. Very lately an ingenious work\* has been published, attempting to account for all the varieties of animal and vegetable life on the principle of accidental variations of individuals, the selection of useful varieties, or such as give their possessor an advantage over others in the struggle for existence, and the propaga-

\* Darwin on the *Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*.



tion of such variations, and their accumulation, in successive generations. On examination there appears to be a total lack of any proof or even evidence of the probability of such a view; the theory treats of events as they might have been, not as they are. This theory of Mr. Bain's has reminded us strongly of the one just mentioned, in so far as he attributes all our actions to chance originally, those being selected for continuance which are of service, or pleasant, those being rejected which are useless, or unpleasing. In our author's theory there certainly is not an entire want of evidence, nor of probability in some aspects; and yet we do not feel that it fulfils the requirements of the phenomena.

In the first place, taking the earliest acts of life, we cannot say with certainty that whilst beginning to walk is a reflex act, its continuance or cessation depends upon volition. On the contrary, we should be inclined to consider both as automatic, for reasons that will readily suggest themselves to the physiologist.

Secondly, we have no evidence that a child, having performed numberless spontaneous, unconnected, and incoherent acts, does really recognise that any one is beneficial, and actually selects it for continuance, systematically rejecting the others. Perhaps what direct evidence we can gather would tend rather to controvert this idea. The child continues to kick even after it feels the required warmth; it continues to cry although this does not alleviate the pain. It never seems in the earliest days to *select* anything; the most that we can say is, that at one period or other we do observe actions appearing like means to ends, and that before this we have observed actions not having this character. Whether the one class results from the other, is as yet a question of pure theory. Certainly when we do see volition *at all marked*, it is with some obviousness of purpose. When a child first stretches out its hand towards the light, or to seize any bright object, we can scarcely conceive by what purely accidental manœuvres it can have arrived at that process. According to the theory, this should be a very late process; every muscle and every combination of muscles should have previously been over and over again thrown into action under similar circumstances, and the results marked and analysed, before the child could ascertain that it could grasp an object by reaching out the arm and hand. Except by the continuance of an act once accidentally begun, it can by the terms of this theory accomplish nothing, and can by no means know that the arm will have any more prehensile faculty than the muscles of the back. How, then, is it to arrive at any voluntary power, without going through the millions of combinations of which the numerous muscles of the body will admit? Our author would answer that all its acts are ex-



perimental, and that some time or other they succeed; it may be so, but the proof is wanting.

Another objection that we have is founded upon the idea that were the origin of voluntary actions so accidental as is here represented, seeing that the elements of action are so numerous and complex, we ought to find greater variety and uncertainty in the results than we do; for almost all children arrive shortly at nearly the same results. The full discussion of this subject, however, would involve us in too lengthy an argument for our present purpose.

The last objection that we shall at present bring forward is founded upon the early acts of young animals. When the young duck seeks the water and swims upon it, surely this is not the result of an almost interminable series of vague strivings and incoherent actions. When the calf rises and sucks the teat of its mother, it is done with a precision that is only modified by the weakness of its muscular system. The same may be said of all the earliest actions of animal life. If it be answered that these are instinctive acts, we should reply that the earliest acts of human life are certainly founded upon instinct as clearly and distinctly as those of other animals, although they are later in their development.

We may now follow our author in his further development of the origin and growth of volition. The *energy* of volition appears to be determined in great measure by that of those spontaneous movements from which it originates, and to this many elements contribute. The first is the natural vigour of the constitution. "Youth and health, the plentiful nourishment and absence of drain, the damming up of the accumulated charge by temporary restraint—are predisposing causes of a great and sudden outburst, during which the individual's active capacity is at the highest pitch. . . . The boy let out from school, incontinently leaps over ditches, breaks down barriers, and displaces heavy bodies, and should these operations be wanted at the moment, no special or extraordinary stimulus would be needed to bring the requisite power into play."\* Other influences may be briefly summed up—excitement, stimulus of pain or pleasure, emotions of fear, anger, resentment, &c.

Some interesting remarks succeed concerning the linking together of feeling and action—a great mystery in the mental constitution. Mr. Bain considers it an ultimate fact in our nature, an original property of our feelings, to prompt the active system one way or another,—the property of a painful consciousness being to stimulate action, to clutch hold of and retain any movement that alleviates the pain, whilst that of a pleasant consciousness is

\* Vol. ii. p. 335.

to stimulate the continuance of an act inducing it. All this must however occur after many vain and futile attempts, and by the merest accident. "The first steps of our volitional education are a jumble of spluttering, stumbling, and all but despairing hopelessness. Instead of a clear and distinct curriculum, we have to wait upon the accidents, and improve them when they come."\* Mr. Bain on one occasion (p. 352, vol. ii.) adduces an elementary proof of these positions, which we think admits of more than doubt. He says, "The spontaneous action that brings a limb into a painful contact, as when the child kicks its foot against a pin in its dress, is undoubtedly from the earliest moment of mental life arrested. Without this I see no possible commencement of voluntary power." Much observation of the manner in which children comport themselves under painful impressions would lead us to a view directly opposite to this; we believe that it is the result of long and much later experience that leads a child to cease a painful act, or to continue a pleasing one.

How far Mr. Bain carries his theory may be seen by the following extracts (See vol. ii. p. 356, *et sequent.*):—

"I will not vouch for the truth of an assertion frequently made, that some animals, as the duckling, know water by sight before drinking it. This much is certain, that a thirsty creature having once got water into its mouth, feels a very great change of sensation, and this change for the better operates indirectly in sustaining the act, whatever it is, that administers the relief. . . .

"Still it would be a very long period before a creature would, in ordinary circumstances, come upon a pool of water, make experiments upon its properties, and get upon the right movement for imbibing it; if this were requisite for supporting life on the first day, few land animals could live. The satisfying of the thirst at the outset is due to the mother's milk, (but where is the milk of the duck?) or the moisture of the food; and by-and-by in the course of its rambles and pokings, the young animal encounters a stream, and applies its mouth to the surface, (why not its tail? since by the hypothesis all must be accidental or spontaneous;) putting out the tongue, and executing some of those movements of tongue and jaw already associated with the contact of objects of food. The refreshing sensation that follows maintains to the point of satiety the action begun; and an effective lesson is gone through, in uniting by an enduring association the two elements thus brought into conjunction. After a very few such occasions, the contact of the cool liquid with the parched mouth brings at once into play the movements of imbibition, for which we may be assured there was no original provision, independent of successful trials confirmed by the adhesive power of the mind."

It would require very little demonstration to prove that this

\* Vol. ii. p. 343.

gradual construction of the voluntary powers is in no respect accordant with the phenomena of early instincts. But we would only notice one point with reference to imbibition. There are a certain and considerable number of muscles involved in this act, from those enabling the animal to stoop (say) to the water, to the last propulsive act of the pharynx. Now as each act of each muscle must originally be accidental and tentative, and as it is absolutely necessary for the perfection of the complete act that all these muscles must contract in definite order and rhythm, we would propose it as a problem in the doctrine of chances, to determine how many millions of chances there are against any one animal ever learning to drink at all; and what a bare possibility that it might be acquired at last.

Mr. Bain, however, believes that all voluntary acts, instinctive or otherwise, are the result of experience. Animals crouch together because they *find* that it promotes warmth (see Vol. II. p. 358). They lie close one to another, and creep into holes and corners, that they may stave off the cold, or sustain the pleasure of the heat; these being "portions of the acquired experience of the animal tribes." After dwelling at some length upon the influence of the various appetites over the development of volition, the author announces the following rather startling view as to the appetite of sex:—

"The remaining appetite, sex, would constitute an opposite instance, if studied in the animal tribes. *The means of gratifying this appetite are not instinctively known*, so far as we are able to judge; and *therefore a process of groping must precede the mature faculty*. The attempt not being entered upon until the animal is in every other respect master of its movements, the difficulty is lessened to a very great degree, but for which one does not see how such an act could ever be hit upon by the generality of creatures. The remarkable intensity of the resulting feeling easily explains the persistence, when once initiation has taken place."\*

No experience, so far as we have seen, tends in the slightest degree to confirm such a view as the one held by Mr. Bain. We believe in conclusion that his account of the origin, nature, and development of volition is not theoretically coherent, nor is it consistent with observed facts.

We have dwelt at length upon volition, because it presents the greatest novelty of idea, and the greatest fertility of resource in its support. The treatises on the Sensations, Emotions, and the Intellect, contain matter of the highest excellence and interest; with less that is strictly original or new; less matter for dispute; but much to excite admiration from the clear and philosophical treatment awarded to each subject in turn—from the depth and

\* Vol. ii. pp. 371-2.



breadth of thought manifested throughout—and from the extent of scientific illustration brought to bear upon many of the most important and difficult problems of our nature:—If Mr. Bain has not given to the world a perfect system of descriptive and analytic psychology, he has at least done that which will enable less original minds to build upon his foundation an enduring edifice; he has boldly struck out a new path in mental science, and has rendered more service to the cause than many centuries of merely speculative metaphysicians.

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#### ART. VII.—NERVOUSNESS.

NERVOUSNESS is one of those *quasi*-technical terms which are to be reprobated for their vagueness, but which cannot be got rid of. We refuse to admit them into strictly scientific nomenclature, but we are not able to ignore their existence. Nervousness is one of the most obnoxious as well as one of the most commonly used of these terms. It is most obnoxious, because in its pathological signification—the *nervousness* of “medical cant” as Johnson would have contemptuously characterized the word—it has a meaning the very antithesis of the one that legitimately belongs to it. Nervousness, the synonym of strength and vigour, and nervousness, the synonym of feebleness and nervelessness, clash together most disagreeably; but although we may carp at this, the word with its latter meaning has an established place. It is used popularly to convey a notion of the many functional deviations, psychical, sensory, and motor, which mark the *nervous diathesis*, and which do not possess a sufficiently distinct character to enable us to classify them with precision under one or other clearly defined form of disease. It serves also to express similar lesions when they occur consecutive to many acute and chronic affections. It is, indeed, a very general term proper to many symptoms arising from widely different sources.

In systematic medicine we do not hesitate to make use of the parent-word *nervous* in its simplest signification, to wit, “relating to the nerves,” but the phenomena included commonly under the term nervousness are scattered abroad in various groups, under the heads of the different pathological conditions in which they appear to originate or to be most immediately connected with.

The fitness of this arrangement has been recently questioned by Dr. L. Bouchut.\* He holds that the various symptoms for which we have no other term of sufficiently wide scope than

\* *De l'Etat Nerveux aigu et chronique, ou Nervosisme.* Par L. Bouchut, Professor agrégé à la Faculté de Médecine de Paris. Paris. 1860.

nervousness, in its popular acceptation, as well as sundry others significant of functional disturbance of the nervous system, appertain to a peculiar type of disease which he proposes to name *nervosism*, "tiré du mot latin *nervosus*, nerveux, pour faciliter l'adjonction souvent nécessaire de la double épithète *aigu* ou *chronique*."

Dr. Bouchut tells us that he had often been surprised to hear individuals designated *hypochondriacal* or *hysterical* who were seriously indisposed: men of intelligence who did not exaggerate their sufferings, and who exhibited no signs of disorder in their hypochondria; delicate women who were tormented by the general state of their nervous system, and yet who were not erotic and had no uterine disturbance. It seemed to him, therefore, that a revision of the different groups of the neuroses, which would obviate these practical inconveniences, would be useful to medicine. He has endeavoured to effect this. "Guided," he writes, "by the conscientious and attentive study of the sick, I have been thus led to frame, at the expense of many affections, and especially of *hysteria* and *hypochondriasis*, a general neurosis characterized like those named by the federation of a certain number of nervous disorders of movement, sense, intelligence, and the principal functions." To his own observations Dr. Bouchut has added others furnished to him by his *confrères*, and many which he has culled from the works of Esquirol, Pinel, Chomel, and others; and sundry maladies described by them and still known as certain forms of dyspepsia, gastralgia, mental aberration, general paralysis, delirium, &c., on account of the principal phenomena accompanying the disorders, he finds to be but secondary symptoms of the more complex general disorder of the nervous system, which he has selected and set apart. Again: "the multiform and proteiform nervous contingencies which accompany many nosohæmias or blood changes, and especially chlorosis, which Professor Bouillaud has described with rare precision; certain convalescences, some chronic maladies, and particularly chronic syphilis, which are nearly always exclusively investigated as a consequence of anæmia, without its being considered that this alteration of the blood is as often the result as the cause of the evil:" Dr. Bouchut considers these facts "in a different fashion, because they enter into the category of those that he proposes to study, and he is glad to profit by them."

The curious process of eclecticism here set forth, naturally provokes our curiosity to know somewhat more of the manner in which it was carried into effect. But in this respect we are in a great measure doomed to disappointment, for Dr. Bouchut deals with the subject of his treatise as a well established fact, assuming the truth of his position in the very first sentence, and thenceforth

marshalling definition, division, history, causes (predisposing and determining), symptoms, progress, duration, terminations, varieties, complications, and so forth, with charming precision, leaving the reader to discover, by his own ingenuity chiefly, the reasons why such and such results should take their place in systematic medicine.

The question is, however, one of sufficient interest to warrant us in endeavouring to ascertain if there be aught of value, and if so what, in Dr. Bouchut's generalization. In attempting this we shall adopt the order of exposition which he himself has had recourse to.

Dr. Bouchut defines nervosism in the following manner :—

“*Nervosism* is a general neurosis, febrile, or apyretic, characterized by an association, more or less numerous, of variable functional disorders, continued or intermittent, of sensibility, intelligence, movement, and of the chief organic instruments (*des principaux appareils organiques*).

“These disorders are purely nervous, but they may lead to a belief in the existence of very different organic maladies in the organs of which the function is deranged.”—(p. 1.)

It is not often that definitions aid us much in comprehending the nature and character of a disease, consequently, if Dr. Bouchut fails at the onset to give us any clear conception of what he means by nervosism, it is but just to him to imagine that this may possibly arise from his having trusted himself to the treacherous brevity of a definition. It is unfortunate, however, that immediately after the definition we are called upon to admit that the disease so described is found under two forms, one of which, *chronic* nervosism, is said to be familiar to physicians under other names; the other of which, *acute* nervosism, has hitherto been neglected. The acute malady is always accompanied with fever, is infinitely rarer than the chronic one, and rapidly induces the gravest disorders: the chronic malady endures months or years, and when very aggravated may give rise to marasmus and consumption.

Having premised thus much, Dr. Bouchut proceeds to write the history of the disorder, and here we first begin to gain some feeble light as to what he actually aims to teach us.

He tells us that all nervous individuals are not necessarily hysterical or hypochondriacal, as there is too great a tendency to believe from certain writings of Galen, Sydenham, Sprengk, Pomme, &c. The authorities named are a little ancient, certainly, but let this pass. There is another morbid state, we learn, “in which the nervous element plays equally the principal part under a different form, and which can be clearly distinguished by a greater or less number of disorders of intelligence, sensibility,



movement, and the chief organic functions, without any appreciable structural alteration of the tissues."—(p. 3.) This is the neurosis that Dr. Bouchut desires to signalize, and which merits to be the subject of special study.

Its existence has been recognised by previous writers, under various names, as for example, *nervous cachexy*, *marasmus*, *nervous state*, *nervous fever*, and *vapours*. It has been confounded with hysteria and hypochondriasis, after the manner of Sydenham, and it constitutes the *nevropathy* of Malcom Fleming; the *hystericisme* of Louyer Villermay; the *névropathie aiguë cérébro-pneumogastrique* of Girard; the *névrospasme* of Brachet; the *névropathie proteiforme* of Cerise; the *nervous diathesis* of many writers, &c. All these terms Dr. Bouchut regards as being objectionable from their tendency to localize the affection, and inconvenient from their length; hence he substitutes the solitary word *neurosism*.

Neurosism, however, expresses something more than any of the terms given, taken singly. These are synonyms of different forms of the disorder, rather than of the disorder itself. For this is now seen as an acute affection running a rapid course, and having a serious ending; now it is most justly designated as a diathesis; while anon the proposition of Mead with regard to hypochondriasis aptly fits it: *Non unam sedem habet, sed morbus totius corporis est*. "It is," writes Dr. Bouchut, "the most complex nervous malady that can be produced, and it is not surprising that, in its numerous forms, it has escaped the synthesis of pathologists."—(p. 4.)

Dr. Bouchut conceives that he has fettered this Proteus Morbidus, and that to his questioning unobscure answers have been returned. And truly, if this should prove to be the case, he will have achieved no mean feat; but we fear that the fetters are of sand, and that the oracular responses of the changeable deity are themselves but illusions. Let us glance at the disease as Dr. Bouchut depicts it:—

"Confounded even now with hysteria or with hypochondriasis by all those who systematically term thus the nervous ills observed in woman, man, and even the infant, often with chronic gastritis, and with gastralgia, with epilepsy, mental alienation, dyspepsia, organic maladies of the brain, of the spinal marrow, of the heart, &c., &c.; nevertheless it is very different from these maladies. It approaches to and removes afar off from at one and the same time the neuroses and certain organic diseases. We encounter there paralysis, contractions, tonic and clonic convulsions, tremblings, spasms, fainting-fits, syncope, neuralgias, visceralgias, disorders of the intelligence and the organs of sense, such as sensorial illusions or hallucinations, simple or hectic fever; and it is but the mode of apparition, development, and succession of these morbid phenomena which reveals to us their true nature. In this

respect they merit the attention of physicians, who will doubtless recognise a very common malady, which is often a source of the greatest embarrassment to them in practice.”—(p. 5.)

We have every respect for Dr. Bouchut, but does not this last sentence give to *nervosism* the character of being a word, and nothing more, provoking us to exclaim, with M. Jourdain, “Par ma foi, il y a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose, sans que j'en susse rien; et je vous suis le plus obligé du monde de m'avoir appris cela?”

Among ancient writers no one appears, to Dr. Bouchut, to have described clearly and precisely *nervosism*, except Hippocrates. He touched upon the subject incidentally, but unfortunately this earliest recognition of the affection was “étouffées” by the chimerical hypotheses of Galen upon hypochondriasis. Dr. Bouchut recognises *nervosism* in the description which Hippocrates gives of the nervous disorders accompanying inanition, seminal emissions, and gastralgia. Notwithstanding, however, Dr. Bouchut's dictum, that *nervosism* was “seen imperfectly and summarily described by Hippocrates,” we cannot say, with Géronte, in *Le Médecin malgré lui*, “Puisque Hippocrate le dit, il le faut faire;” neither can we admit that since Hippocrates' time the nervous ailments he described under the circumstances named, have been “confounded with different morbid, and, according to some symptoms, nearly similar states.”

“His numerous examples,” writes Dr. Bouchut, “have always been classed in a vicious fashion, and designated by inappropriate names in relation with certain reigning ideas. It would be a curious study to make, that of the influence of words upon the things that they represent, and of the evil effects of a bad denomination upon the progress of science. There is not a physician who has not observed examples of a general nervous malady, entirely distinct from hypochondriasis and from hysteria; but for want of a word, every one confounds the first of these morbid states with the two following, or still more wrongly, with gastritis, gastralgia, chlorosis, anæmia, diseases of the heart, or spinal marrow, according to the ideas in vogue at the moment.”—(p. 10.)

We shall presently see how Dr. Bouchut's suggestive remarks on vicious designations and their influence, may usefully be brought to bear in testing the merits of his present work.

Robert Whytt was, according to Dr. Bouchut, the first person who attempted to separate nervousness from hysteria and hypochondriasis. Whytt wrote:—

“Persons liable to perturbations of the nerves, some of which deserve the name of *nervous* much better than others, may be distinguished into *three classes*.”

And a little beyond :—

“The complaints of the first of the above classes may be called *simply nervous*; those of the second, in compliance with custom, may be said to be *hysteric*; and those of the third *hypochondriac*.”—(p. 14.)

Now Dr. Bouchut asserts that “the efforts of Robert Whytt have unhappily remained unfruitful, in this sense at least that they have not served as a rule to nosography.” The reservation is just, for we presume that Dr. Bouchut would hardly state, that the division adopted by Whytt is not the one practically in use among physicians, as well in France as in England. And whereas *hysteria* and *hypochondriasis* are the only two of the three classes into which Whytt divides the nervous perturbations to which he refers, that present any constant positive characteristics, they alone have been promoted to a position in our nosographies. Why the class specially called *nervous* should have been excluded, and whether it should now receive a fitting place, will be better seen when we have proceeded somewhat further with our examination of Dr. Bouchut's treatise.

The *predisposing* and *occasional causes* of nervousness are next treated by Dr. Bouchut at considerable length. Age, sex, menstruation, pregnancy, suckling, uterine maladies, &c., the nervous temperament, heritage, original or acquired feebleness, education, the passions, watchings, excess of work, venereal excesses, convalescence from acute and chronic maladies, anæmia, hydrohæmia, and chlorosis, all receive due notice under these heads. It is not needful that we should track Dr. Bouchut's remarks over this ground, but we may cull a few sentences here and there which will serve to throw additional light upon his opinions. He tells us that “there are few acute and especially chronic maladies, in which the nervous state does not primarily or secondarily play an important part.” We also learn that—“the *nervous temperament* which predisposes the organism to the different known disorders of the organs of innervation, favours more than any other cause the development of the morbid state of which he speaks. It seems in truth that the multiplicity of morbid phenomena of the nervous state are more in relation with the general constitution of the subject than the appearance of convulsions or of essential paralyses, for example.”—(p. 25.)

Further we are told that—

“The majority of chronic diseases, and especially those of the intestine and of the stomach, sometimes also of the uterus, can give birth to acute or chronic nervosism. Indeed, although this state may be *primitive*, it is much oftener *secondary*, and it depends very frequently upon a material somatic lesion, of which the sympathetic or reflex action is manifested by vague disorders, mobile and multiple, in the nervous system.”—(p. 31.)



Again, Dr. Bouchut sums up his remarks upon the occasional and predisposing causes of nervosism, by saying :—

“Finally : although the numerous causes of acute or chronic rheumatism are very varied in their nature and appearance, very different the one from the other, since we find natural or acquired feebleness by the side of the predisposing influence of age, of heritage, of chagrins, of passions of every kind, of convalescence, of hæmorrhage, or a chronic malady, they are all held together more or less by a common bond, which is the diminution of the *quantity* or of the *quality* of the total mass of the blood, and the decrease of one or other of its elements, particularly of its globules. There is nearly always at the bottom of nervosism primitively or secondarily, a modification more or less considerable of the blood, and of the organic crasis.”—(p. 32.)

These quotations, although they deal with very familiar matters, do not, however, yet enable us to form any very definite ideas of what *nervosism* consists in. We have now, however, arrived at the point where Dr. Bouchut introduces the symptoms of the disorder, and may consequently hope to see our way more clearly to the notion he wishes to convey.

And first of the symptoms of *acute nervosism*.

This, it appears, is a very rare disease. It is ushered in by malaise, accompanied by feebleness, loss of appetite, and disgust of food, sometimes also by ptyalism, nausea and aqueous vomitings, obstinate constipation, and general irritability with fever. The patient's strength is exhausted, and he is compelled to keep his bed. Some cannot raise the head from the pillow without fear of faintness or syncope. Odours, noises, and light are supported with difficulty. The senses, becoming very excitable and morbidly sensitive, occasion suffering when exercised, or give rise to numerous sensorial illusions, especially at an advanced period of the disease. Then wasting and alteration of the lineaments become conspicuous, the tongue is blanched, the vomitings continue, and the constipation persists, as well as the febrile state characterized by acceleration of the pulse and heat of the skin. Next, very grave neuralgic and cerebral accidents supervene; general or partial pains in the head or in the limbs, delirium at first transitory, then continued, enfeeblement of the organs of the senses, singular hallucinations, drowsiness, coma, rigidity of the muscles, convulsions, and in the end death after two or three months of unheard-of sufferings. In fatal cases the most scrupulous examination fails to discover any appreciable structural alteration in the principal organs.

In this general description of acute nervosism we have followed Dr. Bouchut's account almost textually. But this will be further elucidated by copying one of the cases which he quotes in illustration of the affection. We take the first recorded :—

"A lady, about forty years of age, mother of a family, wife of a member of the Academy of Sciences, was, at the climacteric period, enfeebled by profuse uterine hæmorrhages.

"In the winter of 1846, as the sequel of slight bronchitis which necessitated repose and regimen, this lady, who was extremely impressionable, did not recover her appetite, and continued to be feverish. An extreme irritability, bizarre ideas, very acute sensitiveness of the eyes to the light of day, hyperæsthesia of the ears and of the skin upon the limbs, neuralgic pains of the head, sleeplessness, nocturnal alarms, and considerable muscular debility, caused by amyosthenia, were observed.

"The patient wasted visibly, and she could not take anything, being disgusted even with drinks. She was fatigued by an abundant and mucous ptyalism. There was neither vomiting nor alvine evacuation. The skin was warm, and the pulse, small and frequent, beat 120 times in the minute.

"This state of things persisted one month. It was now December, and although *bouillon* was not digested, I ordered a cutlet, after an immersion in water at fifteen degrees, and a forced promenade of ten minutes duration in the street at a time of terrible snow. I prescribed also a daily slight dose of sub-carbonate of iron.

"This medication succeeded very well, and every day was signalled by a new amelioration in the increase of strength and of embonpoint, and in the diminution of nervous excitability.

"Nevertheless, four months of hydro-therapeutic treatment, of the use of ferruginous preparations, and lastly a sojourn in the *campagne des Mouligneux*, near Paris, were required in order completely to restore the patient."—(pp. 54, 55.)

Dr. Bouchut next describes *seriatim*, and at length, the different symptoms observed during the progress of the so-called acute nervosism; but these do not aid us much to a clearer knowledge of the affection. He then proceeds to discuss the chronic form of the disease.

This, we are told, is infinitely more common than the acute one, and "is found at every step in civil practice, there being few women of the world who do not present some symptoms of it, without being on this account completely ill."—(p. 92.) Dr. Bouchut proceeds:—

"It presents infinite degrees like other diseases, and just in the same manner that we may observe many symptoms of *scrofulism*, *lymphatism*, and *podagrisms*, &c., &c., without having either scrofula or gout as a well-defined malady, we observe among a great number of persons habitual nervous troubles which announce the diathesis, without still specifying the chronic nervous state which may be developed, somewhat later, with great intensity. Nothing is so common as the first degree of the malady, a true exaggeration of the nervous temperament; but when this previous disposition is aggravated under the influence of the moral or physical causes of which I have spoken, the nervous phe-

nomena are multiplied, and become more violent as well as generalized (*se generalisant*), the functional disorders, at first easily governed on account of their slight importance, become intolerable, and the whole of the perturbed organization becomes the theatre of numerous, varied, and often very grave accidents.

"The manifestations of the diathesis are multiplied to infinity, and the functions of the general or special sensibility, of intelligence, movement, of respiration, circulation, digestion, of the secretions singly or simultaneously disordered, give rise to a great number of symptoms highly characteristic of the disease."—(p. 92.)

The very various psychical and physical symptoms thus referred to are too familiarly known under the designation *nervous*, in its widest sense, to require recapitulation. It is needful, however, to note that they may occur *primarily*, to wit, "distinct from all natural visceral complication, or *secondarily*, that is to say, provoked by an acute or chronic, a tubercular, epithelial, or cancerous *nosorganie*, the symptoms being very nearly similar, except the presence of some phenomena intimately bound to the anterior morbid state."—(p. 93.)

In a malady manifested by so many and such varied symptoms, it may be surmised that the simple division into an acute and chronic, and again into a primitive or secondary affection, will hardly suffice to give a complete idea of its character, and the different forms it may assume, determined by the affections with which it is linked, or by the predominance of certain symptoms.

Thus in the course of pregnancy and of convalescence, under the influence of chlorosis and gastro-intestinal maladies, nervosism exhibits interesting peculiarities which cannot be neglected. The same is also true when certain nervous disorders predominate; and Dr. Bouchut suggests, interrogatively, the propriety of adopting the following subdivisions of the affection:—

1. *Cerebral nervosism*, characterized by vertigo, giddiness, severe pain in the head, partial or general paralysis, sensorial illusions and hallucinations. This form readily simulates apoplexy and diseases of the brain.

2. *Spinal nervosism*, accompanied by disorder of the sensibility and motility of the pelvic members, simulating disease of the spine.

3. *Cardiac nervosism*, determined by the constant presence of palpitations or faintings, and very frequently regarded as an organic affection of the heart.

4. *Laryngeal nervosism*, in which considerable cough or aphonia is observed, and which is sometimes considered as the commencement of phthisis.

5. *Gastric nervosism*, chiefly indicated by dyspepsia, heart-



burn, moderate or uncontrollable vomiting, &c., long considered as a form of gastritis, and treated as such.

6. *Uterine nervosism*, signalized by lumbar and inguinal pains, by sensation of weight in the perinæum, and by leucorrhœa, independent of any structural lesion, but which is apt to be regarded as chronic metritis.

7. *Cutaneous nervosism*, in which the predominant phenomenon observed is hyperæsthesia of the skin.

8. *Spasmodic nervosism*, giving rise to spasms in a great number of tissues and organs.

9. *Paralytic nervosism*, distinguished by general or partial abolition of movement and of sensibility in the muscles of the members, or in the sensory organs.

10. *Painful nervosism*—*nervosisme douloureux*—including *temporal, maxillary, occipital, auricular, intercostal neuralgia*, &c., a variety corresponding with the *neuralgic* affections of most medical writers.

Dr. Bouchut adds that the propriety of accepting these subdivisions is doubtful in the actual state of science, and that to resolve the question further studies will be necessary. But the suggestions are of interest from the light which they throw upon the signification which Dr. Bouchut would have us attach to the word *nervosism*.

We pass over the chapters which treat of the complications and pathological anatomy of the affection, as these aid us but little in acquiring a knowledge of it, and we come next to its diagnosis.

Many diseases, Dr. Bouchut tells us, may be confounded with nervosism in its acute or chronic state, either by their primary symptoms or those which are occasioned secondarily by a complication. Among the diseases that may thus be misinterpreted are, *hysteria, hypochondriasis, monomania, dementia, dyspepsia, gastralgia, constitutional syphilis*, &c. We shall confine ourselves solely to the discrimination of the three affections, hysteria, hypochondriasis, and insanity, from nervosism.

Hysteria and chronic nervosism are two diseases, Dr. Bouchut states, equally common among females, and which have several symptoms in common. Nevertheless, hysteria is an essentially convulsive neurosis, in which tears, spasms, convulsions, and loss of knowledge of a peculiar character, play the principal part; whilst in nervosism faintings are exceedingly rare, as well as convulsive attacks resembling eclampsia, and which are not always accompanied by unconsciousness. Hysteria gives rise to a sensation as of a ball rising in the throat, a phenomenon unknown in nervosism. Hysteria occurs in apyretic paroxysms at greater

or less intervals; nervosism as a persistent disorder, sometimes with fever irregularly intermittent, sometimes without fever when the disease is not very intense. Hysteria never suspends nutrition, whilst nervosism may arrest it and occasion marasmus. Both affections, however, manifest in common certain disturbances of intelligence, motion, general or special sensibility and of the secretory organs. Delirium, agitating dreams, hallucinations, sensorial illusions, paralysis of the muscles, or of the organs of sense, hyperæsthesia, or anæsthesia of the skin, intense neuralgia, superficial or deep-seated, clear and abundant urine, &c., are observed in both diseases, according to their form and the intensity of the morbid condition.

*Hypochondriasis* is particularly characterized by the constant pre-occupation of the patient with real or imaginary sufferings, and never exists in an acute state. The melancholy and sadness, the fear of death from indeterminate sufferings, whether profound or not, which are observed in this disease are never witnessed in the same degree in chronic nervosism, and the neuralgic pains which occur in the latter affection are of a severer character than those which happen in the former. Delirium, sensorial illusions, very rarely supervene in hypochondriasis, and never convulsions, muscular rigidity, or paralysis; never swoonings, nor fever, nor marasmus; but both affections have alike dyspepsia, constipation, shortness of breath, palpitations of the heart and arteries, and general loss of strength. "The development by an acute state followed by a chronic condition, the presence of fever and the intensity of the pains and of the principal nervous phenomena, are the most important differential characters of the two neuroses."

We have adhered almost literally to Dr. Bouchut's account of the diagnosis of hysteria and hypochondriasis; we must, however, give a still more faithful rendering of his remarks on the diagnosis of insanity. He writes:—

"Many forms of insanity, monomania, for example, may be easily confounded with acute or chronic nervosism, because they reproduce some of its most important symptoms. Without speaking of acute febrile delirium which every one now separates from mental alienation, there is in certain diseases a partial monomaniacal delirium, characterized among some patients by a tendency to suicide, among others by hallucinations or sensorial illusions of the touch, sight, taste, hearing, or smell, followed by unreasonable acts which are sometimes hardly to be distinguished from insanity. It is principally by their rapid progress and short duration that the nature of the accidents of nervosism can be recognised. In reality, the monomaniacal madman has all the appearances of health, and is but rarely feverish; his digestion is generally good, and he does not manifest either disorder of sensibility or of movement. All the indisposition is confined to the disorder of the faculties and under-



standing ; it has a chronic progress, and the remainder of the organization takes no part in it. In acute or chronic nervosism, on the contrary, the intellectual disturbance is entirely secondary, transitory and consecutive to grave functional disorders of all the organs ; it is indeed an epiphenomenon in the middle of a morbid state already well defined.”—(pp. 269-70.)

Dr. Bouchut treats duly of the prognosis, nature, and treatment of nervosism in the three terminal chapters of his work, but we gain little additional light from them upon the nature of the supposed affection. One remark, however, touching the connection of nervosism with blood-changes, may be quoted with advantage from the penultimate chapter :—

“Nervosism is not necessarily accompanied by alteration of the blood, and when this exists, it is not always similar, since chlorotic, gouty, syphilitic, or herpetic nosohæmia, &c., may be the point of departure. Moreover, anæmia, which is so often regarded as the absolute cause of the nervous state, or nervosism, has not this importance, because it is not always present at the beginning of the symptoms, and in most cases it is a secondary element, or an effect of the principal malady.”—(p. 207.)

We think now that we have written sufficient to put our readers in a position to form a tolerably definite judgment of the signification which should be attached to the term *Nervosism*, and of the value of the generalization which that word expresses. It is evident that Dr. Bouchut includes under the term *all* the so-called nervous symptoms which are not included under the expressions hysteria and hypochondriasis in their most restricted sense. But it is a little difficult to conceive why these affections should have been excluded from the generalization. Dr. Bouchut, we presume, uses the term *nervous* much in the same way as Whytt himself, who after remarking that all diseases may in some sense be termed nervous, writes :—“ However those disorders may peculiarly deserve the name of NERVOUS, which on account of an unusual delicacy, or unnatural state of the nerves, are produced by causes which, in people of sound constitution, would either have no such effects, or at least in a much less degree.\* Dr. Cullen has a comment upon this observation of Whytt's which is worthy of quotation. He writes :—

“ Dr. Whytt, who has treated this subject (the General Pathology of the Nervous System) *ex professo*, observes the difficulty there is in limiting the subject, as all diseases may, in a certain sense, be called affections of the nerves. Every preternatural state, either of sense or motion, depends upon the nervous system, so that the nerves are more or less concerned in every disease ; and this title might consequently

\* *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of those Disorders which are commonly called Nervous, Hypochondriac, or Hysteria.* By Robert Whytt, M.D. Collected Works. Edin. 1768, p. 529.



comprehend the whole of diseases. But some diseases are more strictly termed nervous, and some limits have been tacitly assigned or conceived in the minds of physicians. Those diseases, the symptoms of which appear only or chiefly in the nervous system itself, which appear purely in the functions of sense and motion, and in which the sanguiferous system is not necessarily or is only occasionally affected, such may be called more strictly nervous diseases; so that the whole of the febrile diseases, however much they may be said to consist in affections of the nervous system, are, by this limitation, excluded."

Now this is really the sense in which the term *Nervous* is still used by physicians, consequently hysteria and hypochondriasis are rightly included under the general head of nervous diseases. Hence admitting *nervosism* as a legitimate generalization, it would be more consistent with the spirit of the generalization to add the two affections to nervosism, regarding them as forms of that disease, and designating them *hysterical* and *hypochondriacal nervosism*.

"Of two things one," writes Dr. Bouchut, "either hysteria and hypochondriasis are different neuroses, or they are similar. If they be similar, which I do not believe, nervosism need not be studied apart; but if on the contrary, the two diseases are distinct, it is needful to admit that there is a particular form of neurosis, a species of nervous diathesis or *nervosism* which should not be confounded with them."— (p. 290.)

Suppose, however, that hysteria and hypochondriasis are two different *forms* of manifestation of one and the same diathesis—using that word in the sense ordinarily received? Dr. Bouchut's dilemma entirely overlooks this supposition, which, singular to say, is the one most generally indulged in, and the one adopted by Whytt himself, to whom Dr. Bouchut refers with such great respect. Whytt tells us that, in treating of nervous disorders, he shall confine himself—

"Chiefly to those complaints which proceed, in a great measure, from a weak or unnatural constitution of the nerves; and of this kind, I presume, are most of those symptoms which physicians have commonly distinguished by the names of *flatulent*, *spasmodic*, *hypochondriac*, or *hysterie*.

"As the sagacious Sydenham has justly observed, that the shapes of protæus, or the colours of the chamæleon, are not more numerous and inconstant than the variations of the hypochondriac and hysteric disease; so those morbid symptoms which have been commonly called *nervous*, are so many, so various, and so irregular, that it would be extremely hard either rightly to describe or fully to enumerate them. They imitate the symptoms of almost all other diseases; and, indeed, there are few chronic distempers with which they are not more or less blended or intermixed. Hence it is that the late Dr. Mead says of

the hypochondriac affection, *Non unam sedem habet, morbus totius corporis est.*"\*

Then Dr. Whytt proceeds to enumerate the chief of the many varied symptoms which characterize nervous disorders, and he writes :—

"Patients after having been long afflicted with many of these symptoms (for all of them never happen to any one person), sometimes fall into melancholy, madness, the black jaundice, a dropsy, tympany, *phthisis pulmonalis*, palsy, apoplexy, or some other fatal distemper. Some patients who are liable to the above complaints, some of which deserve the name of *nervous* much better than others, may be distinguished into three classes.

"1. Such as, though usually in good health, are yet, on account of an uncommon delicacy of their nervous system, apt to be often affected with violent tremors, palpitations, faintings, and convulsive fits, from fear, grief, surprise, or other passions; and from whatever greatly irritates or disagreeably affects any of the more sensible parts of the body.

"2. Such as, *besides being liable to the above disorders from the same causes* [suffer from *hysterical* symptoms properly so called].

"3. Such as, from a less delicate feeling or mobility of their nervous system in general, are scarce ever affected with violent palpitations, faintings, or convulsive motions, from fear, grief, surprise, or other passions; but, on account of a disordered state of the nerves of the stomach and bowels, are seldom free from complaints of indigestion, belching, flatulence, want of appetite, or too great craving, costiveness, or looseness, flushings, giddiness, oppression, or faintness about the *præcordia*, low spirits, disagreeable thoughts, watching, or disturbed sleep, &c.

"The complaints of the first class may be called *simply nervous*; those of the second, in compliance with custom, may be said to be *hysterie*; and those of the third, *hypochondriac*."†

And, again, he writes of *hysteria* and *hypochondriasis* :—

"Whether these two distempers be considered as the same or distinct, since the symptoms of both are so much akin, we shall consider them under the general character of *nervous*."‡

Here then we have Whytt regarding hysteria and hypochondriasis as different *forms* of manifestation of a general nervous state, while to the indications of that state, *not* of an hysterical or hypochondriac character, he proposes, for convenience sake, to speak of as *nervous par excellence*. This mode of viewing these affections has been retained to the present time, and the intimate mode in which the three different forms are linked the one to the other, explains how it has happened that the domains of hysteria and hypochondriasis have been so undefined,

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 530.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 532–33.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 534.

and also how individuals who have given their special attention to the one or other form of disease, have often contrived to include in its manifestations many symptoms not peculiar to it. There can be no doubt, however, of the propriety of the substantive terms *hysteria* and *hypochondriasis*. Typical forms of these affections are by no means of uncommon occurrence. But do the symptoms to which Whytt restricted the term nervous ever occur in so definite a form, that we may with fitness give to the whole of them a substantive name as Dr. Bouchut proposes?

The word *nervosism* which he suggests for such a purpose, nearly coincides in meaning with that of our popular substantive *nervousness*, and would be most accurately rendered by that word. But the necessary vagueness of use of the latter word would be exceeded by that of the former one, because it certainly includes a greater variety of symptoms. If we except, for the moment, Dr. Bouchut's subdivision *acute nervosism*, we cannot lay hold of a single group of symptoms which he details under the head *chronic nervosism* which is not better described by the simple and accustomed epithet nervous. This adjective expresses a general fact, and the word, on its face, neither implies nor conveys an idea of more accurate knowledge of the phenomena that it refers to than we possess. But if we put in place of it a substantive, as for example, *nervosism*, we at once imply a well-defined affection, which is not warranted by the symptoms. We should, indeed, convey the appearance of knowledge, when the reality is far from us.

It may be said, however, that in the *acute nervosism* of Dr. Bouchut, we find a clearly marked acute affection. We have quoted the first instance cited by Dr. Bouchut, and leave it to our readers to judge of its value as supporting a proposition for the recognition of a new and "very rare" form of disease.

Dr. Bouchut's observations on the diagnosis of *nervosism* partake too clearly of the method of selection which has governed his generalization to be of any value. Does terming the transitory insanity, which is occasionally observed in persons of a highly nervous diathesis, become any the less insanity by being termed *nervosism*? Does observation teach us that hysteria is trenchantly defined by the hysterical paroxysm; or that the absence, under given circumstances, of fever, wasting, and nervous accidents commonly so called, is essential to constitute a case of hypochondriasis? Dr. Bouchut certainly deserves no small credit for the ingenuity with which he has, as he phrases it, "at the expense of many nervous affections," constituted a new form of disease out of old material; but the work is not the less a work of ingenuity rather than of observation. We demur to any such method of improving our nosological arrangements unless it can



be clearly shown that it might aid as a stepping-stone to further research. Dr. Bouchut's work cannot be looked upon in such a light. To accept his generalization would be to adopt an expression calculated to cast a false light upon a class of phenomena, than which we know nothing that presents so interesting a field for, and which so well repays accurate observation and research.

It may be thought that we are giving more attention to Dr. Bouchut's work than is necessary, but truly to some persons newly-invented technical words have an irresistible charm, as if they possessed an occult property. Dr. Bouchut has well suggested, as we have already seen, the harmful influence which words exert at times upon science, and we wish, as far as in us lies, to guard his new word *nervosism*, from having like injurious results. We do not think that our neighbours require the word, and for those among ourselves who are not content to clothe their ideas concerning the phenomena of which we have been writing, in language which would neither fall short of nor exceed the knowledge they possess of them, the time-honoured word *nervousness* ought to suffice.

#### ART. VIII.—DR. B. A. MOREL ON MENTAL DISORDERS.\*

DR. B. A. MOREL, who is perhaps best known to our readers by his *Traité des Dégénérescences Physiques, Intellectuelles et Morales de l'espèce humaine*, has very recently given to the world a treatise on mental maladies. Any work emanating from so highly competent a source would command attention, but this work merits particular notice for two reasons; first, because the author has specially destined it for the use of physicians not alienists; and second, because it is based upon a new classification of mental disorders.

The present work may be fittingly termed a complement to the treatise on degenerations already referred to. In that work, Dr. Morel endeavoured to show that, the psychical and moral as well as the physical deterioration observed in degenerated conditions of the human race, had fixed and definite characters in immediate relation with the causes which gave rise to these conditions. In the work before us he seeks to establish an intimate and constant relation between the form of mental alienation and the cause in which it originates, a natural extension of the idea just mentioned, and he proposes a classification based upon the etiology of mental disorders.

\* *Traité des Maladies Mentales*. Par le Dr. B. A. Morel, Médecin-en-Chef de l'Asile des Alégués de Sainte-Yon (Seine Inférieure). Paris. 1860.

We purpose to lay before our readers some account of the nature and mode of formation of this classification, and an estimate of the effect it will probably exercise on the study of mental disorders, if it be accepted by the profession.

In the first place it is needful clearly to distinguish between the *necessary* and *conditional* causes of insanity. Thus, for example, meningitis, phthisis, pneumonia, typhoid fever, hypertrophy of the heart, &c., moral impressions, such as fear, love, exaltation of religious sentiment, all the passions, in short, can occasion insanity, but not necessarily so. All who are exposed to these causes do not become insane, or not even threatened with insanity. It is only on *condition* of a *predisposition* which determines the action of a particular cause in a special direction, that any of the so-called *determining* or *occasional* causes give rise to insanity. The causes called specific, for example, alcohol, opium, &c., and certain idiopathic cerebral affections, alone have the power of producing *necessarily* permanent disturbance of the intellectual faculties under certain given circumstances.

Now it is requisite that divers elements, which participate equally of the physical and the moral nature of man, be called into action under the influence of the predisposition, and should concur with the occasional cause in order that a *new morbid type* or a *particular form of alienation* be formed, which shall stamp all the insane which are attached to this form with a *common character*.

When, therefore, Dr. Morel lays down the law that an *intimate and necessary relation exists between the form of alienation and the nature of the cause which gives rise to it*, he is not to be understood as implying that this relation is established under the influence of the least cause, which in inducing the elements of delirium, may ultimately lead to alienation. He holds that the cause cannot be separated either from the individual predisposition, or from the *functional disorder*, or from the *lesion* that the cause determines in the organism. Three elements are indeed necessary for the realization of a particular form of insanity, to wit, the *predisposition*, the *occasional cause*, and the *functional disorder* or *lesion*.

The further development of Dr. Morel's theory of causation will scarcely bear abstraction, therefore we give it in full:—

“If the predisposition does not exist, the occasional cause may certainly induce a disturbance of the intellectual functions, a general or systematic delirium, durable or transitory, an alienation in short, but rarely will this delirium have the character which is observed in particular or essential forms of insanity. Moreover, the prognosis will be all the more favourable because no predisposition exists, and because the state of the patient presents generally conditions of acuteness.

“If the cause communicates to the organism but a passing impres-

sion, the delirium which may be occasioned by it will be transitory and fugacious. It is only on condition of originating a durable disorder in the organism, of determining a special lesion of the nervous centres, that the delirium, at first transitory and ephemeral, advances presently to proportions which give it an entirely different character, and which constitute a special form of insanity.

"It is then permanent or durable, general or systematic. It is developed according to laws fixed and invariable; it derives the elements of its activity, of its mode of production, both in the nature of the cause, and in the spontaneity of the intelligence, and in the gravity and progress of the functional disorder or of the organic lesion; it begets insensate determinations, acts of a fatal and irresistible character. It is in short the index of insanity, so called, of that state which, in a psychological point of view, is not only the expression of the general sufferings of the organism, but of this or that suffering in relation with the nature of the cause and that of the lesion. It is in this point of view only that I am able to say that intimate and necessary relations are established between the nature of the cause and this or that form of alienation.

"If it were otherwise, and the forms of insanity were developed in an invariable manner under the influence of the least determining or occasional cause, these forms would be innumerable, and every attempt at classification would become impossible in presence of the multitude of causes which would have the fatal privilege of creating forms of alienation in relation with the specific nature of their action.

"It remains then but to designate the form of insanity by the name of the determining or occasional cause, and we shall immediately see how many errors of diagnosis and prognosis would be occasioned. Does not experience prove to us daily that we are almost invariably induced to attribute to the *determining cause* the part of *final cause*, and to neglect thus the real point of departure of the evil; in other words, the real point of departure of that cause which gives to insanity its *particular form*, which does not permit us to confound one variety of alienation with another, and the insane appertaining to one class with the insane belonging to another?

"It is then indispensable that the cause which conducts to insanity, to that exceptional state which makes man different from himself, it is indispensable, I say, that this cause should derive the elements of its activity in an order of facts or of phenomena which are engendered and which dominate in such a fashion, that if nothing is opposed to this generation and to this reciprocal dependency, there will result from it determined, fixed, and invariable effects, which must necessarily produce not only insanity with all its consequences, but *such a variety of insanity rather than such another*."—(pp. 250-2.)

The facts upon which this theory is founded are duly recapitulated by Dr. Morel, and upon the principles contained in it he has framed a classification of mental maladies, in which these affections are no longer characterized by the greater or less degree of exaltation which accompanies the delirium, as is observed in



the states usually named *mania*, *melancholia*, *monomania*, *stupidity*. These phenomena are but symptoms which may be found in every variety of insanity :—

“My object,” writes Dr. Morel, “is to seek in each form the characters which distinguish it from any other form, in such a manner, that the fundamental aspects once being given, we shall be able to recognise to what nosological variety in alienation belongs the individual who betrays either delirium of ideas or acts, or diverse lesions or disorders of the nervous functions.”—(p. 258.)

Upon the etiological basis set forth, Dr. Morel divides mental disorders into six principal groups, each of which has several subdivisions. The following is a summary of this classification.—

1st GROUP.—*Hereditary alienations*.—This group is subdivided into four classes.

(a) The *first class* includes those in whom the nervous temperament is a congenital fact, in virtue of hereditary transmissions excessively varied. These individuals are more apt than others to be attacked with insanity.

(b) The *second class* contains those in whom hereditary transmission is revealed by psychical and physical phenomena, which approximate the insane of this category to a type that may be recognised by the following characters :—

“In the course of their existence, insanity is manifested among them much more by delirium of acts than words. They are distinguished by their eccentricities, by incoherence, singularity, and often even by the profound immorality of their actions. Certain remarkable intellectual qualities do not exonerate them from the impossibility of directing simultaneously their faculties towards a wise and useful end. Their creations are rare and commonly their inventions do not fructify. They are partial geniuses, and notwithstanding certain brilliant manifestations, they are struck with intellectual and sometimes even physical sterility.

“In this class are placed a multitude of individuals who indulge in chimerical projects, reformers of the human species, Utopianists of every kind, inventors whose discoveries are impossibilities, or who pursue the verification of insoluble problems (*monomanias* of certain authors).

“The dangerous acts which they commit in the paroxysms of their insanity, their *instinctively* bad tendencies, necessitate often the intervention of authority, and their sequestration. Their accessions of mania are of short duration, and in the remissions they manifest to observation the essential characters of their disease: systematic delirium, with haughty tendencies, without general paralysis. They astonish those who notice them but superficially by the apparent lucidity of their reason (*mania raissonnante* of authors, *moral insanity* of the English.”)—(p. 259.)

(c) The *third class* forms a transition series between the individuals of the second and fourth classes.

In this, the third class, the signs of hereditary taint show themselves at a very early period, even at the most tender ages, by intellectual inertia, and excessive depravity of the moral disposition :—

“ Their innate tendencies to evil have caused them to be characterized as *instinctive maniacs*. Incendiarism, robbery, vagabondage, precocious propensities for debauchery of all sorts, form the sad balance-sheet of their moral existence, and these unfortunates, who most commonly *have not been fecundated either in respect to physical or moral well being in humanity*, and who are in consequence the most direct representatives of hereditary transmissions of an evil nature, people in the greatest proportion our prisons and penitentiary institutions from their earliest childhood.”—(p. 260.)

(d) The *fourth class* includes innocents, *imbeciles*, *idiots*.

2nd GROUP.—*Mental alienations from intoxication*.—The intimate relation which exists between the form of insanity and the nature of the cause is, perhaps, more clearly seen in the alienations produced by intoxicating substances than in any other varieties. As in the instance of the inordinate use of alcoholic liquors, certain toxic agents exercise a determinate effect upon the system, each giving rise to peculiar psychical disturbances. Whether man seeks to procure factitious sensations with alcohol, opium, or other inebriating substances; whether he be the victim of working in lead, mercury, phosphorus, or other metals; or he suffer from the use of diseased nutriment, as spurred rye; or from the air he respires being polluted, as in marshy districts; or from the geological character of the soil, as in cretinism, we may look upon him as exposed to the influence of an intoxicating cause, and anticipate that the lesions of the nervous system will be in relation with the nature of the cause.

It may be said that these agents may cause rapid death preceded by more or less furious delirium, escaping from all classification in reference to insanity. This is true, but it is only in the chronic state that we shall have to study the different deliriums produced by these substances. The term *chronic alcoholism*, employed now to specify poisoning by alcohol, indicates in what manner this question ought to be posited.

Dr. Morel divides into three classes the morbid varieties included in the group of alienations caused by intoxication.

(a) The *first class* contains the varieties produced by *narcotic substances employed to procure factitious sensations, and by the deadly influence of certain forms of industry*. This class includes the effects of alcohol, opium, and other narcotics; also the morbid effects of working in lead, mercury, phosphorus, &c.



(b) The *second class* includes the effects of an *insufficient or deteriorated nutriment*, as, for example, the nervous epidemic *ergotism*.

(c) The *third class* includes the consequences of *paludal influences* and of the *geological constitution of the soil*.

3rd GROUP.—*Alienations determined by the transformations of certain neuroses.*

The alienation which is immediately developed from certain nevropathies, always reflects the fundamental character of the neurosis which has given rise to it. Dr. Morel divides the alienations of this group into three classes.

(a) *First class.*—*Hysterical alienation.*—In this form of alienation the phenomena characteristic of the hysterical temperament and state disappear, and are succeeded by certain symptoms every way special and peculiar. The greatest exaltation will succeed the most profound prostration. Hallucinations and bizarre sensations, extravagant delirium, rapid transitions from one nervous state to another, extraordinary remissions with apparent return to reason, and in some instances penchants to suicide, incendiarism, and to all kinds of acts of an evil nature; lastly, deplorable terminations in which human nature exhibits itself under the most degrading aspect,—these form the chief characters of hysterical insanity. Ecstasy, catalepsy, anæsthesia, in short, the phenomena that usually accompany hysteria are rarely observed. Hysterical insanity is, indeed, a transformed neurosis in the strictest sense of the term.

(b) *Second class.*—*Epileptic alienation.*

(c) *Third class.*—*Hypochondriacal alienation.*

This class is subdivided into three varieties.

(1) *Simple hypochondriasis.*

(2) *Hypochondriasis* characterized by *délire des persecutions*.

(3) *Hypochondriasis* distinguished by a general sentiment of well-being and delusions of grandeur, which supervene upon the habitual depression, exaggerated fears, and ideas of persecution observed in the second variety.

4th GROUP.—*Idiopathic alienations*,—the brain being directly compromised by affections which are peculiar to it, as periodic congestions, hæmorrhages, meningitis, cerebral softening, cerebral atrophy, traumatic lesions, blows, falls, &c. This group is divided into two chief classes.

(a) *First class*, distinguished by a *progressive enfeeblement or abolition of the intellectual faculties, a sequel of chronic maladies of the brain or its envelopes.*

(b) *Second class*, constituted by *general paralysis, or paralytic insanity with predominance of systematic, expansive delirium.*

“The determining causes of this affection are, as M. Parchappe has



justly observed, of the number of those which provoke a strong and prolonged hyper-excitation of the brain: *sensual excesses*, and especially the abuse of alcoholic drinks, of good cheer, of venereal pleasures, and intellectual excesses, represented particularly by prolonged watchings and pre-occupations with business, enterprises, works, &c. . . . But in order to form a just idea of this malady, so characteristic on account of the nature of the *ambitious delirium*, it is most necessary, after having studied the intimate relations which exist between the form of the insanity and the nature of the cause, to interpose the element of the *cerebral lesion*. In paralytic insanity, the lesion, which is nothing less than inflammatory softening of the cortical couch of the two cerebral hemispheres, stamps the malady with a character which is peculiar to it, and which certainly distinguishes it as one of the most marked morbid species met with in the nosological arrangement of mental maladies.”—(p. 268.)

5th GROUP.—*Sympathetic alienations*, in which the morbid state of the brain is determined sympathetically by mischief existing in other parts of the frame—the brain being affected by *consensus*, as the older authors were accustomed to say. In this group Dr. Morel includes *erotomania* and *nymphomania*.

6th GROUP.—*Dementia*.—Dr. Morel believes that it will be useful to preserve this designation, because it has been adopted by the legislature, although in a sense differing from that accepted in medicine. Dementia is not, properly speaking, a primitive form, it is rather a terminal one. But as it happens that the numerous lunatics who have become demented, from whatever cause this may have arisen, form a numerous family, of which all the members have common characters, and are recognised by certain internal and external signs, Dr. Morel considers that the order and method which he seeks to introduce in mental maladies will not suffer from a classification which makes dementia one of the important varieties of insanity.

In concluding the explanation of the motives which have induced him to adopt the foregoing classification, Dr. Morel adds:—

“ I shall be reproached without doubt for having blotted out two essential forms generally adopted, *mania* and *melancholia*. But I have already observed that mania (*exaltation*) and melancholia (*depression*) are symptoms which are met with in all the varieties of insanity, and which, consequently, do not constitute essential forms. In other respects I do not question the value of these designations which, indeed, ought to be preserved. The words *maniacal excitement*, *melancholic depression*, *mania* or *melancholy*, return frequently under my pen when it is necessary for me to describe the different phases of this or that variety of insanity which enters into the classification that I have adopted; but, I again add, these symptoms are only transitory phenomena which most commonly alternate with one another. Moreover, whenever I use the words *mania* and *melancholia*, it should be well

understood that I refer but to certain phases of mental maladies or predominant symptoms of exaltation and depression, not intending to indicate particular forms of insanity. I describe but one of the symptoms of a determined form of mental alienation.

"I shall not enter into other considerations in order to justify the classification which I have adopted. Here, as in all the sciences of observation, the results must suffice to justify the method. If then the classification of mental maladies, *in their relations with the nature of the cause*, leads us to comprehend better the progress of these insidious maladies, and to give to our prognosis and treatment a more solid basis, I shall have attained the difficult aim which I have assayed.

"It is necessary to remember, however, that in my opinion, the action of the cause, in the generation of special forms of mental maladies, cannot be separated either from the individual predisposition, or the functional disorder which the cause creates, nor lastly, from the organic lesion, which sometimes is a primitive, sometimes a consecutive phenomenon."—(pp. 271, 272.)

In terminating this notice of Dr. Morel's classification, the most important and novel portion of his work, it is proper to remark that our analysis will hardly suffice to convey a correct notion of its true nature and significance, unless the reader have a previous acquaintance with our author's researches on *Degenerations*, the results of which, it may be added, are fully set forth in the present work.

And now, if we gauge the value of this classification by the measure which the author himself suggests, and which is supplied in his Treatise, we think that we are justified in the following conclusions:—

(1) That the classification is a far more healthy and useful one than that in ordinary use. It indoctrinates us from the first into the whole of those slighter forms of mental perturbation, which constitute the very substratum, so to speak, of fully-formed insanity, but which have hitherto been treated only incidentally, or in a disconnected manner, in treatises on mental disorders. It links straitly and systematically the special study of insanity proper to those great social questions of psychical and physical deterioration which meet us at every turn of life, and makes the study of the one the necessary complement of the other, or rather the study of the latter the necessary foundation for a right knowledge of the former. It substitutes for a classification based upon symptoms, and which chiefly consists of arbitrary *typical* forms, and is consequently artificial and provisional, one based upon the intimate relation between symptoms and causes, and hence natural.

(2) That etiology being made the essential principle of the classification, this gives us greater precision as well in our prognosis as our treatment of mental disorders, and more especially it enables us rightly to apprehend those vast questions involved in

the general hygiene of mental disorders, and does not permit us, as we are too apt to do, to overlook these in the purely medical treatment of the disease.

It is probable that Dr. Morel's classification may be somewhat modified in form, or that it may be added to in process of time, but if adopted, the benefits arising from it, to which we have referred, would be direct and immediate.

We shall confine ourselves to this portion of Dr. Morel's work. If his name be not sufficiently well known among our readers, and form of itself a satisfactory guarantee for the manner in which the details of the book are worked out, we may assure them that these are in every respect admirable. The treatise is one, indeed, which, as a text-book for the student and the general practitioner, is unrivalled.

#### ART. IX.—ON EPILEPSY.

Two valuable contributions have recently been made to the English literature of epilepsy and disorders akin to epilepsy, by the translation for the New Sydenham Society of the under-mentioned essays of Professor Schroeder van der Kolk, and Drs. Kussmaul and Tenner.\*

The starting-point and source of spasm in epilepsy, according to Professor van der Kolk, is to be found in exalted sensibility and activity of the ganglionic cell of the medulla oblongata; and the grounds upon which this opinion is based are to be found in the seat of the characteristic spasms, in the bilateral character of these spasms, and in the appearances disclosed after death.

The spasms of epilepsy begin in muscles, the nerves of which arise in the medulla oblongata—in muscles, that is to say, which are supplied by the facial, accessory, hypoglossal, and the portio minor trigemini; and in slighter cases, the spasms may be limited to the sphere of these nerves. The spasmodic contraction of the muscles of the chest, which is the most prominent and characteristic feature in the complete attack of epilepsy, is also supposed to point to the medulla oblongata as the origin of the evil, for a similar state of things is produced by the action of a strong stimulus upon the great afferent nerve of the medulla oblongata—the pneumogastric.

The bilateral character of the spasms is used as another argument in favour of this idea that the medulla oblongata is espe-

\* 1. *On the Prominent Cause and Rational Treatment of Epilepsy.* By Professor Schroeder van der Kolk. Transl. by Dr. W. D. Moore, for the New Sydenham Society. 1859. 2. *On Epileptiform Convulsions from Hæmorrhage.* By Drs. Kussmaul and Tenner. Transl. by Dr. Browne, for the New Sydenham Society. 1859.



cially affected in epilepsy. The lateral halves of the medulla oblongata are connected in the most intimate manner by transverse fibres and commissures, and this intimate connexion between the two lateral halves is one principal point of difference between the medulla oblongata and the brain and spinal cord. So intimate, indeed, is the connexion between the two halves of the medulla oblongata that unilateral action is impossible. Moreover, it is evident in none of the natural movements of the features, or tongue, or voice, or breathing—movements more or less under the control of the medulla oblongata unless the muscles and nerves of the two sides concerned in these actions should act in concert. In the brain and spinal cord, on the other hand, where there is no such intimate anatomical and functional connexion between the two lateral halves, one side may act or fail to act independently of the other side. Hemiplegia is an illustration of such failure of action. Now in epilepsy, though the spasms may undoubtedly affect one side more than the other side, they are always more or less *bilateral*, and for this reason Professor S. van der Kolk supposes them to spring more or less from the medulla oblongata.

The appearances after death also point especially to the medulla oblongata. In early cases we may often fail to find any characteristic changes; but in confirmed cases, Professor Schroeder van der Kolk finds unequivocal changes in the medulla oblongata. Thus he finds this organ often harder than natural from the interstitial deposit of a minutely granular albuminous matter, or else softened, swollen, and exhibiting signs of fatty degeneration. He also finds very marked changes in the bloodvessels, and to these he directs particular attention. In fifteen cases the posterior half of the medulla oblongata, from the fourth ventricle, was redder and more hyperæmic than in the natural state, and this whether death happened in an attack or not; and on minute examination, the bloodvessels in the red and congested portions were found to be dilated to thrice their natural dimensions, and with their walls much thickened. On comparing, moreover, the medulla oblongata of epileptics who bit their tongue with the medulla oblongata of epileptics who did not bite their tongue, the dilatation of vessels was seen to be most marked in the course of the hypoglossus and the corpus olivare in the former case, and in the course of the vagus in the latter case.

The facts upon which Professor Schroeder van der Kolk founds his theory of *exalted action* of the medulla oblongata in epilepsy may be questioned. With him spasm is the great argument in favour of exalted action—an argument which will be disallowed by Dr. Radcliffe and those who think with him. A full bounding pulse, as implying an excited condition of the circulation, is also used as an argument in favour of exalted action in the medulla

oblongata ; but here again is a doubt, for it has been shown, we think conclusively, that a full bounding arterial pulse has nothing whatever to do with the phenomena of epilepsy. Nor do we think that the after arguments used are more cogent than these: We think, indeed, that Professor Schroeder van der Kolk does not establish his theory of *exalted action* of the medulla oblongata as the starting-point and source of spasm in epilepsy ; but on the other hand, we think that he has given us additional reasons for looking to the medulla oblongata if we would hope to read aright the most characteristic symptoms of epilepsy.

The treatment recommended is in accordance with the notion that there is exalted action to be subdued—prudent diet, no stimulants, daily evacuations from the bowels, tartar emetic, digitalis, local bleedings high in the neck, especially with cupping glasses, setons, issues, actual cautery, also high in the neck, and so on. Zinc and nitrate of silver are thought to act beneficially in the cases where they do so act, by moderating intestinal irritability. Sulphate of copper is condemned. Worms, in particular, are to be sought for and removed.

The chief results arrived at by Drs. Kussmaul and Tenner in their essay may be noted in the following general summary:—

1. The convulsions appearing in profuse hæmorrhage of warm-blooded animals (including man) resemble those observed in epilepsy.

2. When the brain is suddenly deprived of its red blood, convulsions ensue of the same description as those occurring subsequent to ligature of the great arteries of the neck.

3. Epileptic convulsions are likewise brought on when the arterial blood rapidly assumes a venous character, as, for example, when a ligature is applied to the trachea.

4. It is highly probable that in these cases the attack of spasms depends upon the suddenly interrupted nutrition of the brain. It is not caused by the altered pressure which the brain undergoes.

5. Epileptic convulsions in hæmorrhage do not proceed from the spinal cord.

6. Neither do they proceed from the cerebrum.

7. Their central seat is to be sought for in the excitable districts of the brain lying behind the thalami optici.

8. Anæmia of those parts of the brain situated before the crura cerebri produces unconsciousness, insensibility, and paralysis in human beings ; if spasms occur with these symptoms, some excitable parts behind the thalami optici must have likewise undergone some change.

9. Anæmia of the spinal cord produces paralysis of the limbs, of the muscles of the trunk, and of respiration. When the anæmia suddenly attains its greatest intensity, then only, and even

then but rarely, do slight trembling movements of the limbs precede paralysis. The sphincter ani acts analogously to the constrictor muscles of the face in anæmia of the brain, that is, it contracts spasmodically before it relaxes.

10. Convulsions from hæmorrhage are neither physical nor reflective.

11. Convulsions from hæmorrhage do not ensue—

- a. In cold-blooded animals, at least not in the frog.
- b. When the hæmorrhage is slow, so that the vital power is only gradually consumed.
- c. When the animals are very much debilitated.
- d. When the nutrition of the spinal cord has suffered.
- e. When large pieces of the excitable districts of the brain have been removed.
- f. In animals subjected to etherization.
- g. Doubtless also when excitable districts of the brain have undergone certain pathological alterations.

12. As suffocation brings on convulsions, and etherization averts them, it is evident that etherization and asphyxia are two different conditions.

13. The brain of warm-blooded animals can only be deprived of red blood for a short time; otherwise it loses its capability of resuming its functions when again supplied with the nutritive fluid, and the appearance of death becomes a reality. The brain of some rabbits preserved this capability for two minutes.

14. It is sometimes observed, after the arteries of the neck have been tied, that the muscles of the trunk perish and take on the rigor mortis before the action of the left heart is extinct. Hence the left heart is not always the *primum moriens* among the muscular organs.

15. Contraction and subsequent extreme dilation of the pupils in the agonies of death, is no certain sign of real death and of the incapability of being revived, as maintained by Bouchut.

16. To cure epileptic attacks caused by anæmia, there is no better method than that of renewing the supply of red blood.

17. The debilitating method of treating epilepsy, especially by *abstracting* blood, should almost always be rejected.

18. The quantity of blood in the cranial cavity can by way of experiment on the living subject be considerably increased or diminished.

19. Hyperæmia in the cranial cavity is caused by releasing the stoppage of circulation in the cervical arteries (arterial congestion), by tying the cervical veins (venous congestion), especially by simultaneously dividing the cervical branches of the sympathetic nerve (venous arterial congestion), and lastly by tying the trachea during inspiration (venous congestion by asphyxia).



20. Anæmia in the cranial cavity is produced by hæmorrhage and by tying the cervical arteries (passive anæmia), as well as by electric excitation of the vaso-motor nerves of the head (active anæmia).

21. The quantity of blood contained in the cranial cavity after the application of a ligature to the arteries is greater than after hæmorrhage; the anæmia as regards small arteries, the capillaries, and the smallest veins being always present to a greater extent.

22. From the quantity of blood contained in the skull after death, it is seldom possible to draw certain conclusions with respect to the quantity contained during life. The death-struggle brings on numerous conditions altering the circulation of the blood in the skull, and even in the corpse the quantity of blood may still undergo alterations.

23. The phenomena of the incomplete epileptic attack can be explained by alterations occurring in the cerebrum only; whilst the phenomena of the complete attack presuppose an alteration of the whole brain. Convulsions in epilepsy are justly styled cerebral ones, and the spinal cord probably plays only the part of a conductor, transferring the impetuses it receives from the brain to the muscles.

24. Circumscribed anatomical alterations of the brain or alterations of protracted duration cannot be regarded as the proximate cause of epileptic attacks, but may cause epileptic *affections* (dispose to epilepsy).

25. Pathological anatomy cannot give any explanation as to the nature of epilepsy.

26. Suddenly withheld nutrition is only one of the causes by which the brain is brought into that peculiar internal condition which is manifested in the form of an epileptic attack.

27. Arterial congestion of the brain, does not seem to be capable of producing any other symptoms than those of paralysis (dizziness and apoplexy).

28. Venous congestion of the brain, as well as arterio-venous congestion, brings about conditions which belong more to those of apoplexy than to those of epilepsy, and are characterized by paralysis of the glottis, together with a slower respiration and slight spasmodic symptoms.

29. Marshall Hall's sphagiasmus and trachelismus are not to be regarded as a source of epileptic attacks, but laryngismus will produce them. All theories are false which assert the epileptic attack to be derived from a sudden determination of blood, whether active, passive, or mixed.

30. It is probable that certain forms of epilepsy result from a spasm of the muscular coats of the cerebral arteries.

31. The epileptic affection, which disposes to the attacks, occupies either the whole of the brain, or some districts only, and by it the brain is brought into that altered state on which the epileptic attack is based.

32. The medulla oblongata, as being the part whence the nerves causing the constriction of the glottis and the vaso-motor nerves take their rise, seems frequently to be the spot from which eclamptic and epileptic attacks proceed.

All who read the essays that we have thus briefly examined will feel satisfied that the council of the New Sydenham Society have acted most wisely in presenting them to their members, and will feel under an obligation to Drs. Moore and Browne for the able manner in which the translations have been effected.

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#### ART. X.—MODERN MAGICIANS AND MEDIOMANIACS.

It is a huge mistake to imagine that the magicians of our own days are in any respect inferior to those of an earlier date. If there be any so utterly ignorant that they had believed that magicians were, at least so far as Europe was concerned, peculiarities of times long past, to them we would especially commend this paper, which is neither more nor less than a contributory waif to the psychological history of our own time. It may be that the magicians of a former and remote period exercised a greater influence over the minds of the people at large than those who exist now. Not, however, because the latter have drunk less deeply from the fountain of the occult sciences, or that they wield less potent powers, or have less faith in them, but because they have not escaped from the mollifying influence of an advancing civilization, and have thus become less fitted to deal with, and perhaps more heedless of, the increasing perversity and unbelief of the vulgar herd (although, by the way, the ingestive capacity of this in the matter of mystical odds and ends is by no means mediocre, witness for example, spirit-rapping). The exertations of the occult brotherhood are, notwithstanding, of far too great an interest as illustrations of the psychical eccentricities of the present epoch to be lost sight of, and we propose to cull a few examples to this end from the latest specimen which has come to light, to wit, the *History of Magic*,\* by Eliphas Lévi. This name is a pseudonym, and it may be translated, *associated in God's work*. The author is, we believe, a priest; consequently

\* *Histoire de la Magie; avec une Exposition claire et précise de ses Procédés, de ses Rites, et de ses Mystères.* Par Eliphas Lévi, auteur de *Dogma et Rituel de la haute Magie*. Paris. 1860.

the pseudonym may be looked upon as a double hit, applying on the one hand to his actual duties, on the other to his labours in conjunction with others in the cause of magic. He has inscribed on the title-page of his book, Khunrath's definition of a great work—*Opus Hierarchicum et Catholicum*.

The construction of the work is one befitting its subject, as the framework is built up out of the science itself of which the book treats. It must be premised that the present work is the second instalment of a complete course of magic, to be terminated in three parts. The first portion, published in 1856, treats of the *Dogmas and Ritual of High Magic*; the second portion is the one now under consideration; and the third, to be entitled the *Key to the Great Mysteries*, will be forthcoming sooner or later.

This threefold division of our author's lucubrations has been determined, it would appear, by magical rule and precept. The discovery of the great mysteries of magic rests entirely, he tells us, upon the signification attached to numbers by the ancient hierophants. THREE was regarded by them as the generative number, and in teaching any doctrine they first considered the theory, next the realization, then the adaptation to every possible usage. "Thus," writes the so-called Eliphas Lévi, "are formed dogmas, whether philosophical or religious. For example, the dogmatic synthesis of Christianity, inherited from the Magi, imposes upon our faith three Persons in one God, and three mysteries in the universal religion."—(p. 5.)

Our author, therefore, follows in the primary divisions of his work the ternary plan laid down by the Cabbalah, "that is to say, the foremost tradition of the occult sciences." Further, he is guided in the subdivisions of his writings also by the mysteries of numbers. Thus the *Dogma* and *Ritual* are each divided into twenty-two chapters marked by the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. He places at the head of each chapter the letter which belongs to it, adding "the Latin words which, according to the best authors, indicate the signification of the hieroglyphic." Thus he heads the first chapter in this manner:—

I & A  
LE RECIPIENDAIRE,  
*Disciplina,*  
*Ensoph,*  
*Keter.*

We are instructed that the letter *aleph*, of which the equivalent in Latin and French is A, and the numerical value 1, signifies the candidate, the man about to be initiated, the dexterous individual (the card-juggler—le bateleur du tarot). It signifies the dogmatic syllepsis (*disciplina*); Being (l'être) in its primary



and general conception (Ensoph); finally, the first and obscure idea of the divinity expressed by *Keter* (the crown) in the cabbalistic theology. "The chapter is the development of the title, and the title contains hieroglyphically all the chapter. The entire book is composed according to this combination."

The *History of Magic*, the book which immediately concerns us, recounts and explains the realizations of the science in the course of ages, and it is arranged according to the number *seven* this being the representative of the week of Creation, and of the divine consummation.

The *Key to the Great Mysteries* is to be based upon the number *four*, this it appears being that of the enigmatical forms of the Sphynx and of the elementary manifestations. In this book, we are told, will be fully explained the enigma of the Sphynx, and will also be presented the key to those things which have been hidden since the beginning of the world.

Let us then learn from this new Œdipus somewhat of the wondrous science by which these marvels may be wrought. It is evident that he may justly exclaim with Mephistopheles, when he seated himself among the Sphynxes—

"How easily I make myself at home!

I understand each spirit's tongue around me."

MAGIC, then, "is the science of the ancient Magi; and the Christian religion, which has silenced the lying oracles and put an end to the prestiges of false gods, itself reveres those Magi who came from the East, guided by a star, to adore the Saviour of the world in his cradle." Tradition has given to these Magi the titles of *kings*, "because (mark the reasons) the initiation into magic constitutes a true royalty, and because the great art of the Magi is termed by all its adepts the *royal art*, or the *holy kingdom*, *sanctum regnum*."—(p. 2.)

Magic unites in one and the same science all that is certain in philosophy and all that is infallible and eternal in religion. It links together perfectly and incontestably faith and reason, science and belief, authority and freedom—forms which at first seem so opposed. "It gives to the human mind an instrument of philosophical and religious certitude exact as mathematics, and explains the infallibility of mathematics themselves."—(p. 2.)

We shall quickly have an opportunity of seeing this wonderful instrument tested.

Thus, then, we learn, that there is an absolute in the matters which concern intelligence and faith. Supreme reason does not suffer the gleams of the human understanding to be blown about by the puffs of every idle wind. There does exist an incontestable truth, and by means of this truth, once seized upon, men who take it

for their guide can give to their volition "a sovereign puissance which will render them masters of all things inferior to them, and of all wandering spirits, that is to say, arbiters and kings of the world."—(p. 3.)

Well may we ask, guided by our author, if it be thus, how comes it that this science is unknown? How can we imagine that so glorious a sun exists in a heaven that we know to be most obscure? How? Alas! that the brimming cup should be dashed to the ground the moment we attempt to raise it to our lips. But so it is. The "lofty science," we are told, "has always been known, but solely by those understandings which belong to the *élite*, and who have comprehended the necessity of being silent and of waiting. If an able surgeon were, in the middle of the night, to give sight to one who was blind, how could he comprehend before the morning had dawned the existence and nature of the sun?"

Again, we are taught that this science can never be vulgarized,

"— Because it is hierarchical, and because anarchy alone flatters the prejudices of the multitude. Absolute truths are not necessary for the masses, otherwise progress would be arrested, and life would cease in humanity, the hither-and-thither of contrary ideas, the shock of opinions, the passions of the world, determined always by the dreams of the moment, are necessary to the intellectual increase of nations. (How charming is this candour of the *élite*! They possess bread, but *we* must rest content with stones.) The multitudes do not lack feeling, and it is for this reason that they abandon so willingly the chair of the professor in order to hasten to the trestle of the charlatan. Men even who are supposed to occupy themselves especially with philosophy, resemble almost always children who amuse themselves with enigmas, and who invariably send away first those who may chance to know the solution, lest these should put an end to the game by destroying all the interest which appertains to the embarrassment excited by the questions."—(p. 6.)

It is always thus with these men of transcendental knowledge. Like Ralpho's "New Light"—

"'Tis a dark lanthorn of the spirit  
Which none see by but those that bear it.

Although they promise strange and great  
Discoveries of things far fet,  
They are but idle dreams and fancies,  
And savour strongly of the ganzas.  
Tell me but what's the natural cause  
Why on a sign no painter draws  
The full moon ever, but the half?  
Resolve that with your Jacob's staff;

Or why the wolves raise hubbub at her,  
 And dogs howl when she shines in water?  
 And I shall freely give my vote,  
 You may know something more remote."

It is well, however, that we should seek to know somewhat more precise respecting the potency of magical science; and seeking, we find, that if we conform ourselves to the rules of the eternal force (whatever that may be), man can assimilate himself to the creative power and become creator and conservator like unto it. God—our author is pre-eminently religious after a fashion, and he has a habit of tagging a Scriptural illustration or quotation to the opinions he emits—God, it would seem, has not restricted to a limited number the steps of Jacob's luminous ladder. Whatever exists in nature inferior to man is submitted to him, and to him belongs the faculty of increasing indefinitely his dominion in always ascending:—

"Thus the length and even the perpetuity of life, the atmosphere and its storms, the earth and its metallic veins, light and its prodigious mirages, night and its dreams, death and its phantoms, all these obey the royal sceptre of the Magi, the pastoral staff of Jacob, and the terrible rod of Moses. The adept becomes king of the elements, a metamorphoser of metals, arbiter of visions, director of oracles, and master of life, according to the mathematical order of nature, and conformably to the will of the supreme intelligence. There is magic in all its glory! But who will dare, in our age, to give faith to our words? Those who desire loyally to study and frankly to learn; because we shall no longer hide the truth under the veil of parables or of hieroglyphical signs, the time has come when all should be made known, and we propose to do it."—(p. 9.)

If the right apprehension of this knowledge is, however, reserved for the elect, it is to be feared that we shall profit as little by an explanation of the modes in which it is to be attained, as Jessica did from Lorenzo's disquisition on the music of the spheres:—

"For while this muddy vesture of decay  
 Doth grossly close us in we cannot hear it."

M. Lévi's account of the power possessed by the modern magician, magniloquent though it may be, scarcely satisfies us. It certainly does not fail in assigning to magical science a sufficiency of power; but we still want something a little more definite; we want, in short, a few subsidiary details. We shall turn, therefore, for a few moments to M. Cahagnet's confession of faith, he being a contemporary of M. Lévi, and one who reposes trust in *animal magnetism*. But both he and M. Lévi mean the same thing, and go over pretty much the same ground.



M. Lévi is, however, much the more honest and praiseworthy writer of the two, for he frankly adopts magic as a science, while M. Cahagnet seeks to smuggle into favour the phenomena of magic under the guise of a pseudo-science.

M. Cahagnet's confession is given in the form of question and answer, and lest we should be thought guilty of gross exaggeration, we must transcribe it literally:—

“Can we produce a cataleptic state by the action of human magnetism?—Yes.

“Can we subtract or triple the powers of a magnetic subject submitted to our action?—Yes.

“Can we produce upon this subject those effects of attraction, which every magnetizer assures us have been produced, not only upon animated beings, but upon inanimate bodies?—Yes.

“Can we by means of this attraction occasion the suspension of natural bodies?—Yes.

“Can certain subjects in the magnetic state execute gymnastic movements, as well as movements inadmissible by the laws of anatomy?—Yes.

“Can an individual in this state attain a taller growth than natural?—Yes.

“Can he walk upon *points d'appui* contrary to the constitution of his being, and to the laws of equilibrium?—Yes.

“Can he produce upon his person boundless local and general inflammations?—Yes.

“Can he in this state see, the eyes being closed, either by the neck, the stomach, or the fingers, at incommensurable distances, and hear what is said there?—Yes.

“Can the so-called spirit separated from matter, have material affinities?—Yes.

“Can the *lucid* speak many languages which are unknown to him, as well as acquire a knowledge of science of which he was always ignorant?—Yes.

“Can he in this state defy the action of fire and poisons?—Yes.

“Can he communicate with the dead, speak to them, and ascertain from them useful things?—Yes.

“Can he, in his turn, fascinate his magnetizer by rendering himself, or such objects as he wishes, invisible at his will?—Yes.

“Can the magnetizer possess his subject by sounds which he makes him hear from a distance, work upon him the effects of attraction also at a distance, produce apparitions of beings or fantastic objects, and force him thus to do things against his repose, morality, and honour?—Yes.

“Can the magnetizer in this manner render any one idiotic or mad, or even kill, without any *traces being visible*, the victim submitted to his action?—Yes.

“Can he induce any malady whatsoever, or destroy the use of a limb?—Yes.

“Can he give blows from very great distances?—Yes.

“Can he lead persons astray, cause them to leap ditches, or to drink

*au chalumeau*,\* create obstacles in straight roads, and occasion the appearance as it were of robbers or ferocious animals?—Yes.

"Can he throw stones into places afar off, without being seen, and bewitch lands, gardens, beasts, and men, as all books on sorcery aver?—Yes.

"Can he cause multitudes, at one and the same time, to see, touch, and eat productions real in appearance, but ideal in reality?—Yes.

"Can he have spirits, freed from matter, at his orders, and receive from them services?—Yes.

"Can he bring about rain, winds, hail, or cause these natural phenomena to cease, at his will?—Yes."†

Thus far M. Cahagnet, and happy it is for us that the magicians of our days know how to temper their power with a merciful kindness, and that they must be men of like sound-feeling as M. Lévi, else who could escape from mischief at their hands? M. Lévi instructs us that he

"— Willingly gives lessons to serious individuals and teaches those who ask to be taught, but it is necessary that, in good faith, he should forewarn his readers that he does not inculcate fortune-telling or divination, neither does he make predictions, nor fabricate love-potions, nor lend himself to any sorcery or evocation. He is a man of science and not a juggler. He condemns energetically everything that religion reproves, and consequently he ought not to be confounded with those men who, without fear, advertise themselves and their science for dangerous and illicit uses."—(p. viii.)

But supposing for a moment that one or more of the magical confraternity would come forward and lend the world, without hesitation, his or their aid in doing some good or other for a short time. Surely so all-powerful a science ought to help somewhat more efficiently than it does our blundering efforts to leave the world around us a little better than we found it. But it is singular, that when these professors of the occult arts speak of the amazing good flowing or which ought to flow from it, it is simply good in the *abstract*, and that the *concrete* examples which are paraded

\* To drink *au chalumeau* is a little procedure of sorcery, by which we may quench our thirst or indulge a taste for vinous fluids at the expense of our neighbours. A straw or other convenient tube is rested, by one extremity, against the wall of a cellar, or dairy, or a hole is made in the wall. Certain words of power are next uttered, and then, at will, the wine in the cellar or the milk in the dairy may be subtracted through the pipe or the hole. It is pretended, M. Cahagnet remarks, that this subtraction is real, but he very properly doubts this. He can produce the same phenomenon, but it is an ideal one. He proceeds in the manner we have detailed, but "the wine (or the milk) which issues from his magnetic points, exists only for the sensitive subject in whom he has created this particular spiritual appreciation."—(*Op. cit.* p. 461.)

The termination of the drinking-scene in *Faust*, when Mephistopheles produces wine from gimlet-holes in the table, is a true drinking *au chalumeau*.

† *Magie Magnétique*. Par L. A. Cahagnet. Paris. 1854. Pp. 26-29.

in illustration of the power of magic, under whatever name found, are invariably of a useless and *evil* tendency.

And this reminds us of a question which we had well-nigh overlooked. Our author tells us that many readers believe that magic is the science of the prince of darkness. He avows candidly that he himself entertains no fear of Satan. "I fear only those who fear the devil," was a remark of Saint Theresa's. But we are cautioned that raileries on this subject would be much misplaced, and M. Lévi then proceeds to discuss the relation which exists between the devil and science, or rather to consider the former from a scientific point of view. He deals with the personality of Satan even less respectfully than St. Dunstan, for at one bold stroke he pounds Satan into an impalpable powder, and then blows this irrecoverably to the wind. "It is a lamentable truth that moral evil exists; it reigns in certain minds, it is incarnated in certain men; it is then personified, then demons come to light, and the most wicked of these demons is Satan. This is all that I wish you to admit, and this it will not be difficult for you to accord to me." (p. 11.)

" — Every man  
Conjures the fiend of hell into himself  
When passion chokes or blinds him."

" — All are devils to themselves;  
And every man his own great foe."

This is what science teaches us anent the fallen one—"the science unpolluted and most pure (*Vierge et mère*), the science of which Mary is the sweet and luminous image, was it not predestined to crush also the head of the ancient serpent?"—(p. 11.)

It follows, therefore, that if magic ever tend to ill, it is from the vileness of the wielder of the art, not of the science itself.

It is high time that we began to learn how it comes to pass that the wondrous things we have set forth can be possible.

"How is all this possible? Because there exists a mixed agent, a natural and divine agent, corporal and spiritual, an universal plastic intermedium (*médiateur*), a common receptacle of the vibrations of movement and of the images of form, a mind and a force that may, in some sort, be called the *imagination of nature*. By this force all nervous organisms communicate secretly together; from it arise sympathy and antipathy; from it come dreams; by it are produced the phenomena of second-sight and of extra-natural vision. This universal agent of the works of nature, is the *od* of the Hebrews and Chevalier Reichenbach (just so: our readers will now more clearly perceive why, a few sentences back, we classed the imaginations of the animal magnetizer and the magician proper together, as belonging to one and the same category, although expressed in different terms), it is the astral



light of the Martinists, and we prefer this last appellation as being the most explicit one.

"The existence and possible usage of this force form the great arcanum of practical magic. It is this force which constitutes the wand of the thaumaturgist and the clavicule of black magic.

"It was the serpent in Eden which transmitted to Eve the seductions of a fallen angel.

"The astral light magnetizes, heats, enlightens, electrifies, attracts, repulses, vivifies, destroys, coagulates, separates, breaks to pieces, collects together any and everything under the impression of powerful volitions.

"God created it on the first day when he said FIAT LUX!

"This explains already all the theory of prodigies and miracles. How, in reality, could the good and the wicked be able to compel nature to make manifest exceptional forces? How could there be divine miracles and diabolical miracles? How could a reprobate, wandering, loose spirit have more force in certain circumstances than a just one, so puissant in its simplicity and wisdom, if we were not to suppose an instrument of which all may make use, under certain conditions, some for the greatest good, others for the greatest evil?"—(p. 19.)

Ask us not to expound, dear reader, these sentences. Because, frankly to confess, we belong to those unlearned, who, to use an apt simile of Tristram Shandy, Esquire, are busied in getting down to the bottom of the well, where TRUTH keeps her little court, while M. Lévi belongs to those learned who, in their way, are as busy in pumping her up through the conduit of dialectic induction, and who *concern themselves not with facts, but with reason.*

There is, however, one application of this hypothesis of astral light, in M. Lévi's work, which we imagine will interest highly the present generation, and which will serve partly as an exposition of the method in which the force operates. To get to this portion of M. Lévi's book we have to pass over the greater bulk of it untouched, and to plunge at once into the latter days of the nineteenth century. It would not be just to the author to skip over thus much of his labours without some comment, and we may remark, that we know no history of magic which surpasses M. Lévi's historical exertations, and few that equal them in interest. The arrangement is good, the illustrations apt and striking, and many curious mystical drawings are scattered through the book. It is written by a man who is enthusiastic in his subject, and his enthusiasm and confiding faith imbue the writing. To those who are interested in studying eccentric and abnormal developments of thought, we can promise much interest and no slight instruction if they take up M. Lévi's book.

The example to which we have just referred as an illustration of the mode of action of the astral light, is *Table-turning*. M.

Lévi assumes, without even manifesting the ghost of a doubt, that under the influence of human magnetization the heaviest masses can be raised from the ground, and promenaded in space. Nay, he speaks of articles of furniture delivering themselves at the same time as somnambulists, to frensied dances, and becoming fatigued, and even smashing their fragile members in the mad career, while the ladies suffered nothing, and were, indeed, all the better for the exercise.

But how can these things happen ? Listen !

“ — Weight exists only by reason of the equilibrium of the two forces (attraction and repulsion) of the astral light ; augment the action of one of them, and the other will at once yield. Now, if the nervous apparatus (system) aspires and inspires this light in rendering it positive or negative (it is a custom of these gentlemen to pilfer terms from the experimental sciences, and to stalk under their cover when practicable), according to the personal hyper-excitations of the subject, all inert bodies submitted to its action, and impregnated with its life will become lighter or heavier, according to the flux and reflux of the light which carries along with it in the new equilibrium of its movement porous bodies and bad conductors around a new living centre, in the same manner as the stars are balanced, and projected, gravitating around the sun.”—(p. 494.)

What follows is really a most interesting addition to our knowledge of psychical abnormities, and the novel designation made use of by our author may, from its aptness, be legitimately admitted into scientific usage.

He continues :—

(*Mediomaniacs.*)

“ This eccentric power of attraction or of projection always supposes a sickly state in the individual who is the subject of it. All *mediums* are eccentric and badly balanced beings ; *mediomania* presupposes or occasions a succession of other nervous manias, fixed ideas, dis-tempered desires, vicious erotomania, penchants to murder or suicide. Among persons thus affected, moral responsibility seems no longer to exist ; they act wrong, not knowing what is right ; they weep with piety in the church, and yet give themselves up to hideous bacchanal revels ; they have one mode of explaining everything, to wit, they are possessed by the devil. What would you have ? What do you require ? They no longer live in themselves ; they are animated by a mysterious being, it is he who acts, not themselves, and his name is Legion !

“ The reiterated essays of a healthy individual to create the faculties of a *medium*, occasion fatigue or illness, and may derange the reason. This has happened to Victor Hennequin, formerly editor of the *Démocratie Pacifique*, and a member, after 1848, of the National Assembly. He was a young advocate of fluent and facile speech, he did not lack either instruction or talent, but he was infatuated with the works of



Fourrier. Exiled after the 2nd December, he gave himself up during his idleness to experiments on table-turning. Presently he was attacked with *mediomania*, and believed himself to be the instrument of revelations of the soul of the earth. He published a book entitled *Sauvons le genre humaine*, which was a mélange of phalansterian remembrances and Christian reminiscences, a last flicker of the dying reason. He persisted in his experiments, and insanity triumphed. In a last work, of which the first volume has been alone published, Victor Hennequin represents God as an immense polyp fixed in the centre of the earth, with antennæ and tentacles twisted gimlet-fashion, which pierced hither and thither through his brain, and that of his wife Octavia. Soon after this Victor Hennequin died in a lunatic asylum, in consequence of an access of furious dementia.

"We have heard speak of a fashionable lady who yielded herself to conversations with the pretended spirits of her furniture, and who, being scandalized beyond measure by the unbecoming answers of her candlestick-stand (*gueridon*), went to Rome in order to submit the heretic piece of furniture to the holy seat. She carried with her the culpable article, and made an *auto-da-fé* of it in the capital of the Christian world. Better to burn the furniture there than become mad, and truly for this lady the danger was imminent.

"Let us not laugh at these things, children of a rational age or of serious men, as the Count de Mirville attributes to the devil the inexplicable phenomena of nature."—(pp. 494—6.)

We may laugh, however, at an account which M. Lévi gives, in all faith, of a certain Henri Delaage, who possesses the gift of ubiquity, and who at times exercises so beneficial an influence upon those who have the good fortune to be thrown into contact with him, that when influenza raged in the winter, a little while ago, he had but to present himself in a room where any of the unhappy sufferers from the disorder were present, to effect an immediate cure. The waft of his presence alone sufficed for this, but sad to relate, the disease which he drove from others, clung most revengefully to himself, and has never since left him. Would that we could conjure the presence of this healing man into our library at this moment, for now, while we write, the conduits of our nostrils are streaming, our eyes distil tears, our throat is raked by a teasing cough, while the innermost recesses of the brain are ever and anon pounded by horrific sternutations.

M. Lévi's description of *mediomania* and *mediomaniacs* is in truth so vivid and good that it may at once, justly, be referred to our text-books of psychological medicine, and it is none the less valuable that it comes from an unprofessional source.

Hasten we now to seek a few specimens of the concentrated wisdom of the "lofty science."

Magic, it would seem, "is the absolute science of equilibrium." It is, however, an essentially religious science, and it "presided over the formation of the dogmas of the ancient



world, and"—the conclusion of the sentence may be commended to Mr. Buckle's notice, as calculated to facilitate his labours—"has been thus the foster-mother of all civilizations. Mother, chaste and mysterious, who, whilst suckling with poesy and inspiration nascent generations, covers her face and her breast!"

Before everything, the "lofty science" teaches us to believe in God, and to adore him without seeking to define him, because it often happens that with us (a consequence of our imperfection) a defined God is in some degree a finite God.

After God, it gives us to know the sovereign principles of things, the eternal mathematics, and the balanced forces. "It is written in the Bible that God has disposed everything by weight, number, and measure. Here is the text: *Omnia in pondera et numere et mensura disposuit Deus*. Thus, weight, that is to say equilibrium, number, quantity, and measure, that is to say proportion: such are the eternal or divine foundations of the science of nature. The formula of equilibrium is this: "*Harmony results from the analogy of contraries*."

Then, we hear, that the letters of the sacred alphabet, as expounded by the ancient hierophants, contain potentially all the secrets of nature. By sundry arrangements of this alphabet, every possible combination of natural forms can be discovered. Further, we are told, that God, as it is recorded in Genesis, made man in his own image. "Now man being the living *resumé* of creation, it follows that creation also is in the image of God. There are in the universe three things: *spirit*, the *plastic intermediate*, and *matter*." The ancients rightly symbolized these by *sulphur*, *mercury*, and *salt*. But the three constituents of the Universe unite in one, *light*; "Light, positive or igneous, the volatile sulphur; light, negative or rendered visible by the vibration of fire, the fluid ethereal mercury; and light neutralized, or shade, mixed, coagulated, or fixed under the form of earth or salt."—(p. 531.)

This must suffice; for it cannot be but that this bathos of wisdom is as painful to read as tedious to write.

It remains to us now but to illustrate the certitude of magical science as an instrument of philosophical and religious inquiry. We have already said that it renders "reason as infallible as mathematics."

Towards the close of his book, M. Lévi proposes and boldly grapples with the following questions:—

1. Can we escape death?
2. Does the philosopher's stone exist, and in what manner can we find it?
3. Can we cause spirits to serve us?
4. What is the clavicule, ring, and seal of Solomon?
5. Can we foretell the future with certainty?

6. Can we cause good or evil at will by magical influence?
7. What is needful to constitute a true magician?
8. In what do the forces of black magic precisely consist?

Of course we can escape death, and in two manners, "in time and in eternity. In time by *curing* all maladies and evading the infirmities of old age: in eternity, in perpetuating the memory of our personal identity through the transformations of existence." The principles upon which these conclusions are framed, are summed up, but we naturally hasten on to seek at least in what fashion we can effect the escape from death in time; but as may be imagined, no such information is forthcoming. We are overwhelmed instead beneath avalanches of abstractions. We are further told, that the philosopher's stone most certainly exists "*in theory*," and that if we would find it (it has not yet been found, by the way,) "it is indispensable that we should seek it, at least it will not be found by chance. We (M. Lévi) have said sufficient to facilitate and direct researches."

And yet these responses are about the clearest given, but they by no means correspond with the magnificent promises with which we started. Those who wish to know anything of Solomon's clavicule, ring, and seal, had much better turn to Lane's edition of the *Arabian Nights*, and read the tales in which the said occult articles figure. One portion of the answer to the eighth question must, indeed, be quoted. It is an unique specimen of Gallic blasphemy:—

"Between Jesus Christ and Napoleon, the world of the marvellous remained void. Napoleon, the Word of war, this armed Messiah, came fatally, without knowing it, to complete the Christian world. The Christian revelation taught us but to die; the Napoleonic civilization ought to teach us to vanquish. Of these two and apparently contradictory words, devotion and victory, to suffer, to die, to combat, to conquer, is formed the great arcanum, HONOUR!"

Could we desire a better illustration of *chronic national mania*?

We might, perhaps, with propriety lay down our pen here. We have, we think, satisfactorily established the proposition with which we started, that our modern magicians are by no means inferior (at least in professions) to those of an earlier date. We have also achieved what we intended—the contribution of a waif of information on the psychical eccentricities, or abnormities, if you will, of the present period. We cannot, however, resist the temptation to tag a moral to our recital.

It can need only a hint to our readers (if the thought has not been painfully present to them during the whole of their reading) to direct their attention, and to lead them at once to



apprehend that the principles and practices taught by M. Lévi are but a phase of that pseudo-scientific delusion, animal magnetism,\* which has settled into a chronic state among us, as well as of the epidemic delusions of table-turning and spirit-rapping which have so recently prevailed in this country. We are too apt to forget that the cessation of the two latter delusions as *epidemics* by no means implies their *total* cessation. It would be easy to prove, if it were needful, that both delusions, as well as that of animal magnetism, exist in a chronic form. Now, it must be evident to those who have carefully watched the progress of the delusions in question, and who have noted (as we may observe, for one example, in M. Lévi's book) the manner in which the believers in any one of the delusions named seize upon, as confirmatory of their peculiar form of belief, whatever turns up in any other form of a congenerous character, that the condition of mind which leads the possessor so greatly astray, must be very similar in every instance. Further, it will also be comprehended that the determination to this or that peculiar form of delusion depends, most probably, upon the point and the circumstances from which the believer started on his quest into the marvellous.

We assume that the substratum of these wide-spread delusions and their congeners chiefly results from a fundamental error of education, both of the emotions and intellect, *in early life*, and that this substratum and the causes engendering it are pretty much the same in every case. We are not going to dogmatize on the precise nature either of the substratum or its causes. These cannot be dealt with at the fag-end of an article, and they have often been treated by abler pens than ours. Our object is bounded here to impressing on the minds of those who may glance their eye over these words, that the recrudescence of delusions such as we have specified, and their chronic character, decisively indicate that the sources from which they are developed are both wide-spread and but little inferior in intensity, although, we have little doubt, less injurious in character and less extended in their operation, than the superstitious delusions of the middle ages.

If we would endeavour earnestly to break up the delusional substratum of which we have spoken, this, we aver, is to be done during the interval of the epidemic outbreaks, and not at the time of their occurrence. Then the mischief has been done. We cry out loudly, Wolf! wolf! but before help arrives, the wolf has devoured many a hapless lamb, which, while the sun shone brightly, and the birds chirped loudly, and the leaves trembled

\* It would be more correct to say that animal magnetism is but a phase of magic, the latter being of more ancient date.



into additional life in the cheering breeze, we suffered to dally with itself in idle play,\* while that we reposed upon the green-sward, haply dreaming of Arcadia. We hold, therefore, that it is an important duty to watch during times of repose from delusions, their ordinary every-day course, and to ascertain their actual standing. By so doing we always hold in sight the deleterious mental poison, and not only so, but by having its natural development before us, we run less danger of under-estimating those slight indications of its presence which form a sure sign of predisposition to its epidemic influence. Each individual who has escaped the insidious poison—how insidious, we have surely sufficiently seen in the book we have just analysed, in which we behold one in holy orders tainting with vain imaginations Gospel truths to their very source—each individual, we say, who has escaped from the infection may thus be tempted to inquire for himself in what the predisposition to be affected by these modern superstitions consists. If he do so, he will doubtless learn much, and, perhaps, do more to prevent its development, as well in himself as in those around him, than if a shower of right precepts and happy truisms were cast at him.

If it be said that this our didactic method may be fittingly compared to a guide-post, the inscriptions on which have been partially effaced, and can only be deciphered with difficulty, we admit the charge implied, and standing reproved, we will throw into our teaching a postscript which, in a concrete form, pierces pretty nigh to the root of the whole matter.

The sagacious father of Tristram Shandy, Esquire, has expressed an opinion that "there is a north-west passage to the intellectual world." A somewhat similar opinion, expressed or understood, exists very widely among men as to the world of natural science, and they seek to carry it to fruition much in the same way as the aforementioned gentleman thought was practicable in regard to the intellectual world—to wit, by the aid of the *auxiliary verbs*. "The use of *auxiliaries*," he asserts, "is at once to set the soul agoing by herself upon the materials as they are brought to her, and by the versatility of the great engine round which they are twisted, to open new tracts of inquiry, and make every idea engender millions." The wisdom of this opinion is profound, but, as Bacon would have said,† Mr. Shandy, senior, while admiring and extolling the powers of the human mind, *did not search for its real helps*. Thus the man who has learned to know the value of the auxiliaries, without at the same time be-

\* "—— Poor hapless ones  
That leave their mother's milk  
To dally with themselves in idle play."—Dante.  
† Novum Organum, Aph. 9.

coming acquainted with the errors that beset their use, is apt, as Mr. Shandy would have put it, to adopt a form of ratiocination on any given subject, somewhat like this:—*Is it so? Was it so? Will it be so? Could it be so? Would it be so? May it be so? Might it be so?*—and the imagination gaining strength with this capital exercise, soon adopts the affirmative formulæ, *It is so: It was so: It ought to be so: It must be so: It SHALL be so.* If the inquirer have early learned, however, that these auxiliary forms have their peculiar pitfalls and stumbling-blocks, he will not be any the less an inquirer, but he will learn to look modestly upon his own powers, and having this modesty he will be placed in a more favourable position for escaping the rampant pseudo-scientific follies which haunt the world.

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#### FOREIGN PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

OUR retrospect of Foreign Psychological Literature will embrace the following subjects:—

1. On the Discovery of General Paralysis.
  2. On a form of Hypochondriacal Delirium succeeding Dyspepsia.
  3. On Sitomania.
  4. On the Criminal Responsibility of Hysterical Individuals.
  5. On the Mental State in Chorea.
  6. On consecutive Cerebral Ramollissement.
  7. On Interdiction.
1. *On the Discovery of General Paralysis, and on the Doctrines emitted by the first writers upon the Disorder.* By M. BAILLARGER.

Two orders of facts were successively brought to light before general paralysis was really established.

Esquirol pointed out the frequency of paralytic symptoms amongst the insane. He studied the character of this paralysis, its march and influence on the prognosis. But these symptoms, to which Georget, and, above all, M. Delaye, subsequently paid special attention are, if we adopt Bayle's doctrine, but a part of the disease.

In order to complete its discovery, it was necessary to recognise its initial period, and to show that lesion of the intellect forms as essential a characteristic as paralysis itself. The disease consists in two elements. Esquirol saw but one; Bayle discovered the other. Doubtless the second task was much easier than the first, since attention was thenceforth directed to lunatics presenting symptoms of paralysis; but still, the general paralysis of Esquirol, of Georget, and of M. Delaye, was not the disease which the name now imports, with its double lesion of the intellect and movements having each its proper characters. The merit therefore returns to Bayle of having thus



established it in adding two new elements, congestion and grandiose delirium (*délire des grandeurs*).

No one contests this merit with Bayle; it is not so with Esquirol. Reference has been made to a passage in a work of Dr. Haslam's, and this work is anterior to the first labours of the French physician. Without, however, wishing at all to diminish the credit due to Haslam, I think the objection is not entitled to all the weight which has been attributed to it.

It should be remembered, in fact, that many passages quite as precise have been passed over for ages without remark, and that the one now in question would probably never have been known if the works published in France had not, thirty years after, led to a close research after everything in other books relating to the new disease.

This is not all that is to be said in favour of Esquirol. He not only described the principal symptoms of general paralysis in 1814 and in 1816; but he treated each year in his lectures of paralysis of the insane. This may be gathered from M. Delaye's essay.

But again, at this period Esquirol had learnt to recognise the first signs of the disease, and consequently to predict its development, and the new facts thus passed into practice.

"General paralysis," says M. Calmeil, "is widely prevalent amongst the insane, and it is one of the most fatal complications of *vesaniæ*. All physicians who make mental disorders their special study have clearly defined opinions on this subject, and each time they are consulted on behalf of a lunatic, they carefully examine whether the pronunciation is free from impediment or accompanied with stammering. They rarely hesitate to pronounce the malady incurable when they are able to verify the existence of paralysis, however slight may be its symptoms."

M. Calmeil wrote this in 1826, and added, "M. Esquirol was the first to direct attention to this point, and he has caused due weight to be attached to the gravity of the prognostic."

"M. Esquirol," says M. Calmeil in another place, "has seen professional brethren of great ability maintain that the tongue was not paralysed when even the pronunciation was so embarrassed that a practised ear could not be mistaken."

Esquirol described in writing the symptoms of paralysis in 1814 and 1816, as Haslam had done before; but that is not his chief merit. He has besides both in his lectures and his practice constantly called attention to this complication, the first and slightest manifestations of which he completely apprehended. To overlook it was thenceforth impossible.

Whenever any discovery in science, great or small, is unrolled, it is rare that we do not find in preceding authors its hidden germs. Far from derogating from the merit of the inventor, this circumstance is a proof of the reality of the facts which he has first brought to light.

Haslam has mentioned the pretentious pride of paralytics, but it was nevertheless Bayle who discovered the relation between ambitious delirium and paralysis, and it was he who gained for it a place in science which no one at the present day contests.

Esquirol discovered general paralysis, because in reality it was he



who fixed attention upon the gravity of the prognostic presented in the case of the insane by the first signs of stammering, and because he insisted upon this fact every day both in his lectures and his practice, and taught those about him to verify its importance. Had he done but this, without having written anything in 1814 and 1816 on general paralysis, it would still have been to him that we must have accorded the honour of being the first to establish this order of facts.

In my opinion, then, the names of Esquirol and Bayle should be united, and it is to these two authors jointly that we should attribute the merit of having written this great chapter in the history of mental diseases.

To resume: two very different doctrines have been enunciated by the first authors who wrote upon the subject of general paralysis.

The first is that of Esquirol, of Georget, and of M. Delaye; the second is that of Bayle. In the first it is admitted—

1. That there is room in the nosological system for a new species of paralysis—*Chronic muscular paralysis* (Georget), *Imperfect general paralysis* (Delaye).

2. That this paralysis, like all others, is characterized by but one order of pathognomonic symptoms, the symptoms of paralysis.

3. That this new species of paralysis has this peculiarity, that it is observed almost exclusively as a complication of insanity.

4. That the insane paralytic should always be considered as the subject of two distinct diseases, insanity and general paralysis.

5. That this general paralysis intervenes indifferently in all forms of insanity.

From Bayle's doctrine, on the contrary, we arrive at the following conclusions:—

1. That we must inscribe in the nosological system a new species or form of insanity—*ambitious insanity with paralysis* or *chronic meningitis*.

2. That this new species of madness is characterized by two orders of pathognomonic symptoms:—1. Ambitious delirium under the form of monomania and of mania, and delirium with signs of dementia.

2. A general and progressive paralysis.

3. That insanity and general paralysis observed in the same patient are not two distinct disorders like insanity and scurvy, but two orders of symptoms of one single morbid entity.

4. That general paralysis cannot be considered as a complication of insanity.

5. That the symptoms of general paralysis are not observed in all forms of insanity indifferently, but only in cases of insanity characterized by the predominance of ideas of grandeur and power.

6. Finally, to Esquirol and Bayle belongs the honour of having realized by the discovery of general paralysis the greatest progress that can be pointed out in the history of mental disorders.—(*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, Jan. 1860.)

2. *On a form of Hypochondriacal Delirium occurring consecutive to Dyspepsia, and characterized by refusal of Food.* By Dr. L. V. MARCÉ.

AMONGST the numerous and varied forms of dyspepsia there are some which should especially attract the attention of pscopathists, on account of the peculiar mental condition thereby determined.

We see, for instance, young girls, who at the period of puberty and after a precocious physical development, become subject to inappetency carried to the utmost limits. Whatever the duration of their abstinence they experience a distaste for food, which the most pressing want is unable to overcome; with others the appetite is not wanting, but the digestion is painful, accompanied with flatulence, lowness of spirits, and discomfort. These two varieties of dyspepsia, which are very common, when they occur in young subjects predisposed to insanity from hereditary antecedents, and rendered still more impressionable by that profound nervous disturbance which accompanies the establishment of the menstrual functions, may, by a process of ideas easy to follow, determine a state of partial delirium. Deeply impressed, whether by the absence of appetite or by the uneasiness caused by digestion, these patients arrive at a delirious conviction that they cannot or ought not to eat. In one word, the gastric nervous disorder becomes cerebro-nervous.

It is easy to foresee the consequences of this new morbid condition. All attempts made to constrain these patients to adopt a sufficient regimen, are opposed with infinite stratagems and unconquerable resistance. The stomach digests perfectly what is committed to it, but in the end it comes to content itself with the feeblest doses of nourishment, until one is surprised that life should survive so long with such slender means of reparation. I have observed several cases (and in these the suspicion of fraud must be altogether discarded) where the patient has lived six months, a year, and even more, upon a few spoonfuls of soup or a few mouthfuls of sweetmeat or pastry daily: in one case observed, the amount of liquid and solid food taken, which was exactly weighed, did not exceed fifty grammes a day. It is true that then attenuation proceeded to the last degree; all trace of adipose tissue had disappeared, and the patients were reduced to skeletons; the teeth blackened, the mouth became dry and the tongue red and furrowed; the constipation was such that it was difficult to provoke the expulsion once a fortnight or once a month of matter hard and ovular; the urinary excretion was almost nil, and the abdominal coat was so contracted as to touch the vertebral column; the skin became dry and wrinkled, the pulse filiform and insensible, and all the symptoms preceding death from inanition were strikingly displayed; the weakness soon became so great that the patients could scarcely walk a few steps without being seized with fainting. The nervous predisposition increases with the debility of the organism; the affective sentiments undergo alteration, and all the intellectual energy centres round the functions of the stomach; incapable of the slightest exertion or of sus-



taining the least conversation beyond their delirious ideas, these unhappy patients only regain some amount of energy in order to resist attempts at alimentation, and very often the physician beats a retreat before their desperate resistance.

Some of these sufferers, at the end of months or years, and after numerous oscillations in their condition, literally die of hunger. In one case of this description, in which a *post-mortem* examination was made under my eyes, the stomach was perfectly uninjured; the mucous membrane was healthy, without injection or softening; the capacity of the stomach was perfectly normal.

It must not be forgotten, therefore, that by reason of the anatomical integrity of the digestive organs, medical intervention may be most advantageous even when the patients appear devoted to incurability and death. I have seen three young girls thus cured, who were reduced to a most alarming and almost desperate state; it remains then to inquire what are the indications we have to follow, and in what way should medical action be directed.

In reference to the greater number of these cases which have come under my notice, I would venture to say that the first physicians who attended the patients misunderstood the true signification of this obstinate refusal of food: far from seeing in it a delirious idea of a hypochondriacal nature, they occupied themselves solely with the state of the stomach, and prescribed, as a matter of course, bitters, tonics, iron, exercise, hydro-therapeutics, with a view to stimulate the activity of the digestive functions. However apparently excellent these therapeutic measures may be, they always proved insufficient when the malady was in an advanced stage. It is then no longer the stomach that demands attention, for the stomach is well able to digest, and suffers only from want of food; it is the delirious idea which constitutes, henceforth, the point of departure, and in which lies the essence of the malady; the patients are no longer dyspeptics—they are insane.

This hypochondriacal delirium, then, cannot be advantageously encountered so long as the subjects remain in the midst of their own family and their habitual circle: the obstinate resistance which they offer, the sufferings of the stomach, which they enumerate with incessant lamentation, produce too vivid emotion to admit of the physician acting with full liberty and obtaining the necessary moral ascendancy. It is therefore indispensable to change the habitation and surrounding circumstances, and to entrust the patients to the care of strangers. If the refusal of food continues notwithstanding these efforts, it becomes necessary to employ intimidation, and even force. If by this last method a satisfactory result be not obtained, I would not hesitate to recommend the use of the œsophagus sound. But it is necessary to proceed progressively and by degrees. Each day and at each repast the nourishment, be it liquid or solid, should be gradually increased, and it would be even well to weigh the food, in order to proceed with greater sureness and confidence without relinquishing a single step.

Adjunct means should not be neglected, and bitters, as well as steel medicine, combined with sufficient alimentation, may render good service. As to exercise and gymnastics, which are commonly recom-



mended, they have the inconvenience of occasioning a great expenditure of strength, which the daily alimentation is unable to withstand; these should therefore be reserved until convalescence is well established, and should be used with great caution.

When, by the aid of these precautions, the amount of nourishment has been raised to proper proportions, the patients will be seen to undergo a great change, their strength and condition to return, and their intellectual state to be modified in a most striking manner. It will be prudent, however, for a long time to exercise rigorous watchfulness, and to combat energetically the least retrograde tendency, should such appear. Relapses are in these cases easy; and besides, this form of hypochondria is the index of a nervous predisposition which cannot be noticed without a feeling of uneasiness as to the intellectual future of the subject.

Without wishing to generalize too much on the influence ultimately exercised by the intellectual condition with reference to insufficient alimentation, I think that this is an element which it is well to bear in mind when dealing with many nervous disorders: the majority of hysterical and nervous sufferers make themselves remarkable for the slenderness of their diet, by their liking for indigestible food, and their antipathy for bread, meat, and strengthening dishes. These dispositions are met without any stomachic-nervous disorder, properly so called, for a sustained effort of the will suffices to lead the alimentation back to regular conditions: let this point of practice, then, be insisted on, for the sickly predominance of the nervous system is kept up by the impoverishment of the blood which results from imperfect nutrition; and so long as the patients will not apply their will to nourish themselves in a suitable manner, it will be impossible to reckon upon a solid cure and safety against all danger of relapse.—(*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, Jan. 1860.)

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### 3. *On Sitomania.* By Dr. WILLIAM J. CHIPLEY.

DR. CHIPLEY applies the term *sitomania* to those forms of insanity which are accompanied by an obstinate rejection of food. He uses the term as a matter of convenience, and not as implying the existence of a distinct form of mania. In certain cases the term *sitophobia* would be most correct, as expressive of the intense dread of food experienced.

Sitomaniacs are classed by Dr. Chipley in two groups: the *first*, including those cases who refuse food, actuated as they believe by a divine command or other supernatural direction, or by the impression that it is dangerous to eat, or that it is morally wrong, or that the food offered is poisoned, or that the stomach and bowels are closed up or are wanting; the *second*, including those cases in which the aversion to food is manifestly associated with chylopoetic derangement. In the first class the cases depend upon some peculiar condition of the brain or state of the mind, the digestive organs remaining apparently intact; in the second class the cases depend upon manifest disorder of the digestive organs.

He does not mean to assert that every case can be readily and

certainly placed in one or the other of these two classes. This division shares the fate of all other efforts at classifying diseases. It is necessarily imperfect. We meet with cases where the refusal of food is mainly owing to the existence of some illusion or hallucination, but is strengthened by some digestive derangement which lessens the appetite, and in so far weakens the natural inclination for food. On the other hand, hallucinations are not unfrequently attendants on secret lesions of digestion, and they are apt to enforce an abstinence naturally resulting from an entire absence of appetite. The division is practically important, because the proper treatment of the two classes of patients is radically different. It would be folly to force food on one whose stomach is manifestly incapable of elaborating it, and with whom the assimilative functions are perfectly torpid; and it would be an error of equal magnitude to dose one with physic whose digestive apparatus was in a state of integrity, and who endures the torments of hunger because he has heard a voice commanding him to seek martyrdom. In the one case we should increase existing evils, and augment in no small degree the sufferings of the patient; in the other we should but add physical obstacle to the mental difficulty already in our way.

Dr. Chipley continues:—

“Having regard for my own observation, I have no hesitation in stating that by far the most fruitful cause of sitomania is some morbid condition of the brain giving rise to hallucination, and this is in accordance with the observations of most of the writers whose works I have consulted on this subject. Among the most common delusions is the fear of poison. There is no evidence of physical derangement. The tongue, the pulse, the skin, all may indicate a healthy condition of the digestive apparatus, and hunger may be intense, but the belief that his destruction is sought by poison is so profound, that the patient will endure its torment rather than take the food offered to him. His conversation may be rational, he may enter into the discussion of various topics with animation and with every appearance of perfect judgment, and nothing may seem capable of throwing him off his balance until food is presented, when he will suddenly break off the conversation, and either seek to retreat from the food or exhibit the depth of his suspicions by a minute examination of the articles offered to him, subjecting them to the test of the senses in the most careful manner. Breaking the bread, he will scrutinize the fractured portions, or smell it, or touch it to the tongue, confidently expecting to detect proofs of the truth of his suspicions. In certain instances there is some perversion of taste, and in this case the altered flavour of the food is, to the deluded victim, the highest evidence of the foul wrong that is sought to be inflicted upon him. But whether this perversion of taste exists or not, on closing his examination the patient turns away, often resolving to die of hunger rather than of poison. Sitophobia from an apprehension of poison has been more or less apparent in almost all the cases of obstinate rejection of food which have fallen under my observation.

“A certain number fancy that God has commanded them to fast, sometimes for a definite, at others for an indefinite period of time. These are among the most difficult cases to vanquish, and almost always demand a resort to force. As they firmly believe they are obeying the commands of God, they exhibit all the devoted resolution of the martyr; and many of them would submit to be thrust into a fiery furnace rather than appear to be so impious as to seek to countervail the will of Heaven. Religious fanatics are not unfrequently impressed with the notion that it is their duty to imitate the self-denial of our Saviour, and are thus led to attempt a fast of forty days. One who dreads



poison may be frightened into compliance, or he may elect to swallow the food offered rather than have the same, or perhaps more deadly mixtures forced upon him; but the fanatic relies upon the support and succour of Deity in the one case, and consoles himself in the other by the reflection that he is not responsible for what he has no power to avoid.

"In other cases the victim imagines that he is commanded to do penance, as in the case mentioned by Morison, of a married man, who becoming connected with a dissolute woman felt the immorality of the act so deeply that he was rendered insane. He obstinately refused food, alleging that God forbade him to eat.

"There are others who allege that they have communication with spirits, good or evil, and that they are enjoined by them not to partake of food. A case of this kind occurred to me. The patient had been greatly excited on the subject of spirit-rapping, and became insane. He obstinately refused food because, he said, the spirits told him that he would thus purify the body, exalt his spiritual nature, and render himself more worthy of free and unrestricted intercourse with the virtuous dead.

"Some patients have obstinately refused to partake of food under the influence of a vague notion that to eat would dishonour themselves, or in some mysterious manner compromise their friends. In these cases the patients will rarely give, or attempt to give a reason for the fear by which they are agitated. They say they know that such is the case, although they may not be able to explain it; and if food is pressed upon them they become greatly agitated, and offer a resistance which might be expected if you were really seeking to dishonour them or to injure some of their best friends. I have a person now under treatment who for some time before he was brought to the hospital obstinately refused all sustenance, because of a conviction that his family were destined to starvation, and that it would be wrong for him to indulge in a gratification that was soon to be denied to his wife and children. He had been unfortunate in some speculation, and had also lost money by endorsing for a friend, though his fortune was but little impaired. Yet he could see no termination to his misfortunes but extreme poverty and the absolute starvation of his family. When at home, seated at table, bountifully supplied with all that could be desired, he would admit that want was not yet upon them, but it would soon overtake those he so devotedly loved, and it was his duty to be the first sufferer, and by abstinence to leave the more for his wife and child, and thus postpone for them the evil day. The gentleman admitted that his appetite for food was good, that he craved it, and would relish it if what he conceived to be a correct principle did not forbid indulgence. Such feelings have not unfrequently led to terrible tragedies; and the safety of the patient and his family alike demanded immediate seclusion, which I did not hesitate to advise.

"Two years ago a patient was confided to my care who had not partaken of food for more than a week, because, as he alleged, his throat was completely closed, and it was impossible to swallow the least morsel. This was the only evidence of insanity; otherwise he conversed with reason, was sensible of and lamented his unfortunate condition; but no persuasion of his family and friends could induce him to make the effort that would have demonstrated the falsity of his opinion, if it did not dissipate his hallucination. When he came into my hands I lost no time, but, having ascertained by a careful exploration that no obstacle to deglutition existed, and that there was nothing in the condition of the digestive organs to forbid food, I took prompt measures to convince him that the channel was not wholly closed. But he yielded this delusion only for another. He declared that he was only mistaken as to the point of obstruction—that it would be worse than folly to eat when the lower bowel was completely closed, and nothing could pass from him. A dose of oil, indicated by the condition of the bowels, drove him from this last refuge. Linger-



faintly, and becoming more or less apparent at times, the delusion ultimately disappeared, and the patient returned to his family in good health.

"Others have supposed that life had ended with them, and reasoning correctly from false premises, they refused to eat, as dead people have never been known to indulge in that sort of luxury. Others have rejected all sustenance, because they laboured under the delusion that immortality had been conferred upon them, and that consequently they had no need for the gross food on which poor mortals subsist. Some are deterred from eating by illusions of the senses. Their food seems to bristle with pins or needles, or they fancy that it is mere filth that is tendered them for food, or it may be that they are convinced that an effort is made to induce them to partake of human flesh or of the flesh of their own children. In all these cases the sense of sight is perverted, and the brain is not in a condition to correct the false sensation.

"In many cases food is deliberately and pertinaciously refused with a view to terminate life, together with all the real or fancied ills to which the poor victim is subjected. It is fortunate, however, that this resolution is much more frequently adopted than persevered in; yet some of the most troublesome and protracted cases are of this description. Nothing can be more astonishing than the strength of will and self-control exhibited by some who have thus sought to destroy themselves. The most wonderful feature is that one, who has determined to quit a life of misery voluntarily, should select the most painful and protracted of all modes of committing suicide. Take, for example, certain cases where the subjects have persevered to the consummation of their purposes, and, during the terrible and protracted agony, have coolly noted their sensations from day to day, until the failing strength could no longer wield the pen. I need not say how difficult is the task of bending this iron will, or of bringing such an one to the abandonment of a purpose so firmly fixed. Yet this has been accomplished, as I shall have occasion to say presently, by very simple means.

"There is another description of cases met with by the general practitioner, but which do not ordinarily fall under the observation of the members of our speciality until they have so far progressed as to have ceased to be wholly mental—the digestive organs having become involved, and appearing then to be principally at fault. I allude to those cases in which a morbid desire for notoriety leads to protracted abstinence from food, in spite of the pangs of hunger, until finally all sustenance is refused. I have never witnessed a case of this kind except in females predisposed to hysteria. These cases are remarkable because they are almost peculiar to well-educated, sensible people, belonging to the higher walks of society, and on any other subject would scorn to deceive or prevaricate, and who, in the language of Dr. Seymour, have nothing 'to gain by pity, except that commiseration, attention, and astonishment, which excite and occupy the mind.' This is another phase of that terrible malady, hysteria, which so often incites its high-born and accomplished victims to most curious attempts at inposition on those around them. But this desire to excite the astonishment of the world by abstinence from food is not more wonderful than the numerous instances on record where sand and pebbles have been introduced into the urethra and passed with the urine as products of the bladder; or the cases of inordinate vomiting sustained for long periods of time by swallowing secretly nauseous substances, while the physician was anxiously labouring to arrest the progress of what he supposed to be a grave form of disease. The intense anxiety of a loving father, the deep, indescribable agony of a devoted mother, the pallid cheeks and fast-falling tears of all who surround the couch, have no other effect on these subjects than that of incentives to carry the gross imposition to extreme lengths. Notoriety is the object—the poor gratification of being pitied and talked of as suffering in a manner and to an extent which no other mortal ever endured, is the paltry

reward that lures the victim on to ruin and the grave. And where shall we seek a solution of the problem involved in these cases, save in the morbid condition of the brain; and if this is their source, in what light are we to view these perverted actions but as evidences of insanity? I am one of those who believe that the poet availed himself of the licence of his tribe when he wrote:—

‘A rose by any other name would smell as sweet.’

I think there is a great deal in a name, and especially where disease is concerned. I am sure I have known persons to die who might have survived if their malady had been correctly named, and I am pretty certain that I have seen some die in the bloom of youth who might have lived to a green old age, if the practitioner had had the discernment to perceive, and the moral courage to pronounce the true name in such cases as are the subjects of this paragraph before it was too late to rescue the infatuated one from the grave. . . .

“I presume every gentleman present has met with cases among those confided to his care where food was refused for some time, for the obvious purpose of effecting some particular end, or in revenge for some fancied wrong. With such subjects there exists neither hallucination, illusion, perversion of taste, nor derangement of the digestive organs. They are deliberate attempts to extort some privilege or favour which it may not be thought proper to grant at the time, or mere petty efforts to annoy those having them in charge. The device may have been suggested to the patient by witnessing the anxiety of the physician, in regard to some real case of *sitomania*, in which he was evidently ready to allow any privilege or favour that promised to effect a compliance with his wishes. For this, among other reasons, the observation of other patients should be always avoided when it becomes necessary to resort to forced alimentation.”—(*American Journal of Insanity*, July, 1859.)

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#### 4. *On the Criminal Responsibility of Hysterical Individuals.* By Dr. LEGRAND DU SAULLE.

VERY recently the question has been raised in France of the criminal responsibility of persons subject to attacks of hysteria. A girl had been guilty of child-stealing, in order to impose upon a former lover the belief that she had been pregnant by him. In her defence it was pleaded that her moral liberty had been weakened from her being a subject of hysteria, and on this ground she was acquitted. Dr. Legrand du Saule discusses and disputes the legitimacy of this decision. He asks, Does hysteria fetter the moral liberty? Does an affection which has its source in a particular sensibility of the nervous system, and not in mental disease, exclude culpability, and transform a crime into a simple fault (*délit*)? To these questions he answers as follows:—

“It is evident that hysteria may well shake a little the edifice of our faculties, properly so called; but in order that no one may consider this an equivocal expression, we ought in the first place to define what we understand by faculties, and to show what is the order of faculties, the exercise of which is liable to be disturbed by the malady in question. Well, then, looking at man from the physiological and psychical points of view, we see that he is the subject of two orders of faculties—the *affective* faculties and the *intellectual* faculties. To the affective faculties belong the phenomena which express a love, a propensity, for certain things, and a hatred, a repulsion, for certain others. To surrender oneself to the affective faculties, being otherwise of sound mind, is to defer to the impulses of the passions; it is to subordinate the actions of life willingly and knowingly to the satisfaction of the desires.



"To the intellectual faculties appertains the gift of enlightening the determinations of the will, and making apparent the conformity or disparity of our actions with the precepts of morality. By the aid of judgment, based on observation and experience, they discover also the consequences of each action.

"From a consideration of the phenomena of hysteria, it may be concluded that this affection might forcibly re-act upon the affective faculties, and in the end might conduce to their injury, but that the intellectual faculties would ordinarily remain intact, the reason assisting in the ruin of the heart, but surviving it.

"The first degree of affective disorder results from the *passions*, the second from insanity. The passions alone being in question in the consideration of hysteria, and the *affectivity* being only obliterated in the first degree by this malady, we need not occupy ourselves with insanity, to which hysteria only leads in prodigiously rare exceptions.

"But if the passions leave to the law full liberty of action in the matter of repression, it is not the less true that they are a very frequent cause of extenuated responsibility, and in certain cases familiar to all, of absolute exoneration from all penalty—as, for example, in the case of the murder of a wife found in flagrant adultery in the conjugal dwelling; or again, where it concerns the crime of castration immediately provoked by a violent outrage upon modesty.

"As no one could promise for himself that at any given moment he would have power to master one of those impetuous motions of the mind under the instantaneous influence of which an action is committed, justice, before applying the rigour of the law, is accustomed to inquire whether at the moment of action there was not a partial eclipse of reason, and if such be the case, she allows the accused the benefit of extenuating circumstances. The culpability is lessened, and the punishment also.

"According to the intensity of the hysteria, and the more or less marked perversion, concomitant or consecutive, of the affective faculties, there ought, we think, to be responsibility or extenuated responsibility, but never, or almost never, should total irresponsibility be allowed for this cause."

From these considerations it follows:—That in hysteria the affective faculties are disordered in various degrees, but the intellect almost always remains intact. That an hysterical condition of weak or even medium intensity, interfering in no way with the perception of the quality of actions committed, it ought not to constitute a title to the indulgence of a tribunal. That hysteria, raised to a high pitch of intensity, carries with it extenuation of responsibility, and consequently of penalty.—(*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, Jan. 1860.)

#### 5. *On the Mental State in Chorea.* By Dr. MARCÉ.

THE moral and intellectual faculties are very commonly disordered in cases of chorea. In a given number of instances, two-thirds at least will manifest, in a more or less prominent manner, indications of this psychical disturbance. As to the immunity which is observed in the remaining third, it cannot be explained either by the age or the sex of the subjects, or by the extent or intensity of the convulsive movements.

Four morbid elements, sometimes isolated, more often associated one with another, ought to be studied in the mental state of patients suffering from chorea:—

(1) Disorders of the moral sensibility, consisting in a notable change



of the character, which becomes bizarre and irritable; in an unaccustomed tendency to gaiety or to sadness, especially the latter.

(2) Disorder of the understanding, characterized by weakness of memory, and great mobility in the ideas and impossibility of fixing the attention.

(3) Hallucinations, phenomena which until now have never been noted in chorea. These hallucinations supervene in the evening, in the state intermediate between sleeping and waking, more rarely in the morning when awaking, and sometimes whilst dreaming. Often they are limited to the sense of sight, but in rare cases they affect the general sensibility and even the sense of hearing. They are met with in purely uncomplicated chorea, but their occurrence is much more frequent whenever the affection is associated with hysterical symptoms. If, in the majority of cases, these hallucinations constitute a symptom without gravity, they may, under certain exceptional circumstances, induce excitement and delirium.

(4) Finally, chorea may, at its commencement, or during its course, be complicated with maniacal delirium. This gives rise to a very grave state, which in more than half the cases has a fatal termination in the midst of formidable ataxic accidents; and even in the favourable cases, it often induces sundry disordered states of the intellect of variable duration. Inhalations of chloroform, prolonged baths, and antispasmodics are the therapeutic means which have proved most serviceable in the treatment of this delirium, which, in the majority of cases, is to be regarded as a purely nervous affection.—(*Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, Jan. 1860.)

#### 6. *On Consecutive Cerebral Ramollissement.* By Dr. ADOLPHE GUBLER.

DR. A. WALLER has shown that if the anterior root of a spinal nerve be divided, the nerve tubes towards the peripheral extremity of the nerve quickly become modified in structure, whilst the portion of the nerve-trunk remaining attached to the spinal column retains its normal character. But if the posterior root of the nerve be divided, between the ganglion and the cord, it is, on the contrary, the central portion of the nerve which undergoes a change of structure, whilst the peripheral remains unaltered. Dr. Gubler thinks that this difference in results may be explained by the inverse nature of the two nerve currents, centrifugal in the first case, centripetal in the second: the permanence of the current, that is to say of the function, maintaining integrity of structure, and the cessation of the current or function inducing quickly alteration of structure in the diseased organ. Thus he conceives that we see constantly verified a general law of physiology, to wit, that the organ is made for the function. Whatever the explanation may be, the experimental facts demonstrated by Dr. Waller exist, and Dr. Gubler believes that traumatic or spontaneous lesions, which occasion an organic breach of continuity in the nerves and nervous centres, will bring about structural results and consequences, similar to those observed on experimental division of nerve-cords.

In illustration he relates a fatal case of illness marked by symptoms of cerebral ramollissement, unilateral hemiplegia, with muscular rigidity, and abolition of speech. The autopsy showed plastic infiltration with inflammatory softening of a great portion of the medullary substance of the left hemisphere; and softening of different parts of this hemisphere situated between the first lesion and the spinal cord, and particularly of the inferior portion of the left cerebral peduncle. The pathological changes were, he conceives, to be assigned to two orders of facts, the one active, the other purely passive. The plastic infiltration of the left hemisphere was evidently of an inflammatory character, and had doubtless marked the outset of the affection, giving rise to symptoms of softening with irritation which had been observed four months before the fatal termination. On the contrary, the softening of those portions of the encephalon situated between the centre of the left hemisphere, the seat of the inflammatory change, and the periphery of the body, Dr. Gubler regards as a phenomenon comparable to that alteration of the peripheral portion of a nerve, which follows a section of its anterior root in the vicinity of the cord. If we note the seat of the peduncular softening, the inferior portion of the peduncle, we find that it is precisely this locality in which, according to all anatomists, are found the prolongations of the anterior pyramids, in other terms, of the motor bundles which are about to be distributed to the members. This would follow from what we have premised, these lesions being regarded as peripheral ones in relation to the primitive centre of the cerebral affection. Another circumstance to be noted was, that the softened parts below the region of the hemisphere which was inflamed chronically and infiltrated with plasma, did not present any signs of exaggerated vascular action, any exudation, and nothing which indicated active morbid action: there was seen simply a breaking down of structure, and an accumulation of fatty globules, coming no doubt from the *axis cylinder* of nerve tubes in process of destruction. The softened and nearly deliquescent bed of the left cerebral peduncle seemed to be about to undergo a melting like the putrefaction of a dead fœtus in the uterus, or of a sphacelated organ. Dr. Gubler concludes, therefore, that there was in this case a *primitive lesion* due to active changes of an inflammatory nature, and a *consecutive* and *passive lesion*, depending upon the interruption of the nervous efflux in the bundles of motor nerves. The same thing, he thinks, may have place in all cases of cerebral affections, and it is important to bear this probability in mind.

Lallemand relates (Letter II., obs. 3, § 4) a very extraordinary fact, which may be looked upon as an example of secondary lesion, ascendant or centripetal. A soldier suffered from a traumatic aneurism of the right axillary artery. The vessel was tied, but unfortunately the brachial plexus was included in the ligatures. The operation was immediately succeeded by excruciating pain in the neck, which often recurred during the following days. To this pain were subsequently joined cerebral phenomena, convulsions, and sinking. Death occurred, and at the autopsy the posterior extremity of the left hemisphere was found softened and greenish, these changes extending to the corre-



sponding lateral ventricle. The softening had proceeded even to diffuſion, and in the centre there was more than a ſpoonful of a thick greeniſh liquid, which Lallemand conſidered to be pus.

Dr. Gubler aſks, by what mechanism this profound alteration of the left cerebral hemisphere was produced, which aroſe from and depended upon the nerves of the right brachial plexus? Was it cauſed by a transmission of irritation, a propagation of inflammation, or a ſuppreſſion of function? If it were certain that the ultimate cerebral changes were purulent, it would be requiſite to have recourſe to the firſt of theſe hypotheſes, and the probability would be in favour of the transmission of irritation, with the creation at the ſpot of an inflammatory change determined by nervous excitation; but the greeniſh tint of a ramolliſſement does not neceſſarily imply the preſence of an infiltrated purulent liquid, certain cerebral gangrenes independent of all inflammatory action having ſhown a like tint. A doubt then is permiſſible, and the idea of the caſe being one of *ramolliſſement atrophique* is not improbable. Dr. Gubler thinks, alſo, that other caſes are on record which ſupport his views. For example, M. Charcot has published a caſe of atrophy of a cerebral hemisphere, coinciding with atrophy of the ſpinal cord on the oppoſite ſide; and M. Luys has communicated to the Society of Biology the reſult of his reſearches upon a caſe of alteration of certain nerves of the members, as the ſequel of an attack of hemiplegia of cerebral origin.

Dr. Gubler terminates his obſervations by the following concluſions:—

1. It is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh, in affections of the nervous ſyſtem, two claſſes of leſions: the one promordial and eſſentially variable; the other ſecondary, or consecutive.

2. The consecutive alterations are ſometimes localized around the protopathic leſions, ſometimes transmitted to a diſtance. The firſt, long known, are occaſioned by eliminating or irritating inflammation, and conſiſt in circumferential ſofternings, ventricular or ſub-arachnoid effuſions, reſorption of tiſſues, formations of cysfs, &c.

3. The ſecondary leſions, propagated to a diſtance, and newly ſubmitted to obſervation, appear to be of two kinds—active and paſſive.

4. Thoſe reſembling the retrograde transformations undergone by tumours which have ceaſed their evolutions, or by a fetus which has died in the uterus, ought to be conſidered as the reſult of an aboliſhed or enfeebled nutrition; in a word, of atrophy. And as theſe changes are characterized by a diminution of cohesion of the nervous ſubſtance, extending even to diffuſion, it will be convenient to apply to them the denomination *atrophic ſoftening—ramolliſſement atrophique*.

5. This atrophy appears to be linked to the ſuppreſſion of the functions of the part which is the ſeat of it; conſequently, a protopathic leſion being given, there will be ſecondary paſſive ramolliſſement in two directions; on the one hand, between the primitive leſion and the central parts, affecting the bundles devoted to feeling; on the other, between the ſame leſion and the periphery, affecting the conductors of movement.

6. Thus the ſoftened tracks in the one and the other direction,



studied by attentive observers, will serve to fix the respective situation and position of the sensitive and motor fibres in the cords, as well as in the nervous centres. Here still pathology will furnish light to anatomy and physiology.

7. Clinical observation has not yet given us any information upon the particular symptoms of secondary atrophic ramollissements; but we can foresee that in their progress the phenomena of excitement, such as muscular rigidity, will cease, provided that the long duration of the primitive affection has not given place, in the muscles, to changes of condition which are opposed to the mobility of the parts.—(*Archives Générales de Médecine*, July, 1859.)

#### 7. On Interdiction. By M. H. DE CASTELNAU.

M. CASTELNAU examines the question of interdiction physiologically and legally, and arrives at conclusions differing very considerably from those usually entertained on the subject. He considers that the law of interdiction, although ostensibly instituted for the benefit of the lunatic and his family, sins egregiously against both the one and the other, and that it should be removed from civilized legislation. This law he holds is the means of effecting much injury to the civil and personal rights and the property of many individuals—injury which is in no degree compensated by the therapeutical good which is supposed to be, but which in reality rarely is, obtained from having recourse to interdiction. We shall not follow M. Castelnau in his arguments, but solely confine ourselves to one or two points which may serve to indicate his method of thinking.

M. Castelnau thinks that interdiction is rather unfavourable than favourable to the interests of a family, these being rightly understood.

"The bonds," he says, "which unite all its members constitute the essence even of a family; the more these bonds are straitened, the more solid is the foundation which a family gives to social order. All law ought, therefore, to have for object to draw tighter these bonds in a measure compatible with liberty; and interdiction, so far from cementing these bonds, is in effect a powerful solvent. Before being pronounced, it places the family in opposition, if it be in enmity with the pretended lunatic, and we can certainly predict that, if the least resistance be exhibited on his part to the first steps, all feeling of affection, or even of mutual kindness between him and his family, is irrecoverably destroyed.

"The first effect of the measure is to place those who demand interdiction in one of those situations which the immortal melancholic of Geneva said that we should apply ourselves to avoid; which, indeed, place our duties in opposition to our interests, and which show us our welfare in the ills of others. 'In such situations,' he said, 'whatever be our virtue, it will decline sooner or later without our being aware of it, and we shall become unjust and wicked in act, without having ceased to be just and good in soul.' Observation shows that in the case under consideration, this happens too often."

M. Castelnau conceives also that the law in prohibiting the marriage of lunatics has exceeded its just bounds. He thinks, moreover, that—

"Medicine has equally lost sight of important truths of physiology, to wit,

that the natural appetites never lose their rights, and that is that which concerns the sexual functions; monogamous marriage is not solely the best social condition to accomplish them, but also the most salutary. To interdict, therefore, marriage to all insane, is then to neglect the rules of hygiene, to injure the interests of the family that they wish to serve, and to pay a legal tribute to immorality."

M. Castelnau terminates his remarks by several considerations upon the rights and interests of society in their relations with the rights and interests of lunatics.

"The rights of society upon the individual may be reviewed in a word. Every citizen has a right to live free, who does not interfere with the liberty of another. He who cannot effect his good without compromising the liberty and security of his fellows, it is evident that society ought to have the right of taking against him all necessary measures to shield itself; but these measures have not and ought not to have anything in common with interdiction. Moreover, society cannot punish on suspicion of a presumed danger; it is necessary that the danger be manifest. Science often assumes the pretext of fore-seeing, and sometimes justifies this, sometimes not; to authorize preventive measures, it is requisite that science should never deceive itself; still it is probable that many excellent persons recoil before the idea of inflicting a punishment for a fault which is not yet committed.

"This day the law suffers to wander freely in our cities relapsed criminals; it is demonstrated by experience that the majority of them, if not all, renew their criminal attempts against the person or against property, but the law respects their liberty until the committal of the act which can be most surely foreseen. How then can society be more rigorous with those who are thought to have lost their reason, than with those that they regard as acting in the plenitude of their freewill? Not only is it repugnant to the notion of equity to punish for presupposed facts, but true justice, that is to say, enlightened justice, would have it that society used its rights with moderation for accomplished facts, and that it should not show itself eager to rank among punishable actions perfectly innocent extravagances, as too often happens *vis-à-vis* of lunatics."

M. Castelnau's opinions will at least rank among the curiosities of psychological literature.—(*Brown-Séguard's Journal de Physiologie*, October, 1859.)

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ART. I.—ON THE REFORM OF LUNATIC ASYLUMS.\*

BY J. PARIGOT, M.D.,

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(Written expressly for this Journal.)

"We should like to see the experiment tried in some new district of producing in its integrity the Belgian system."—*Quarterly Review*, 1857.

A WIDE difference of opinion exists amongst alienist physicians of the present day in reference to two essential points in the treatment of the insane. These points relate to the most favourable conditions under which we can place lunatics with a view to their cure, and to the mode in which the public bounty shall in future be applied in providing for the treatment of such patients—supposing it to be necessary that they should all be confined, and that the localities prepared, at great expense, for their reception, are still insufficient in number.

Hence arises a question of reform all the more important because it requires, in several respects, a complete renovation of our ideas on the treatment of insanity. It must be confessed that up to the present time we have been barbarous enough to punish the insane like criminals, to exclude them from society, to place them on a level by law with ferocious and mischievous animals, and, in fine, to abandon them to their fate. A denial of justice such as this, which has been patent for ages, can only be remedied

\* In giving a prominent position to the able and interesting communication with which Dr. Parigot has favoured us, we wish it clearly to be understood that we dissent entirely from the conclusions which the learned Belgian physician has arrived at respecting the *asylum* system of treating the insane. The results of the so-called "*free-air*" system at Gheel, no doubt furnish most valuable hints towards the solution of the important question of the best method of providing additional accommodation for lunatics; and we would refer to a modification of this system, suggested by the Scotch Commissioners in Lunacy in their Second Annual Report, and detailed in a subsequent page of this Journal.—ED.



by the civilization of *manners*; let us hope then that our eyes may be opened with reference to this point in the moral history of humanity, at the very earliest possible moment.

It will not suffice to improve our asylums, to attend to their hygiene, and to render the lot of the insane more bearable; we must cure as quickly as possible the curable (as the Father of Medicine enjoined), and we must not put the incurable to needless pain.

Unhappily the actual state of things gives rise to great difficulties, for at the same time that the growth of a miserable and ignorant population causes mental disorders to increase, it everywhere results that considerable capital is sunk both in public and private speculation for lodging and taking charge of the insane.

But is it necessary that we should delay our search for a remedy, which we know to be needed, until by an excess of misery and the results of our own carelessness, the eyes of the public are opened?

For more than fifty years the countries most advanced in what may be called plastic civilization—that which has taught us to construct and to manufacture, but finds us still desiring somewhat, which on being applied to the science of humanity, shall best develop the mind and the heart—these countries, we say, as well in Europe as America, have founded vast asylums for the insane, sometimes indeed so gigantic that the imagination stands aghast in contemplating them. “What a mass of misery they must contain, and still they are not of sufficient magnitude!”—such are the words that then escape from our lips.

To what a pitch of industrial elevation have we attained, when our most effective mode of succouring the afflicted forcibly leads us to banish them from our sight! There are, indeed, many amongst us who hold that if society sought and desired to direct the education of all to a humanising and religious end, insanity would fare less hardly in the midst of the difficulties of social life; but so long as we are content to seek palliatives in order to render the effects of our neglect less sensible, we must expect difficulties which science can foresee, though it is without the means of combating them with advantage.

In the present day we build asylums everywhere; masonry is the fashion; every province in Belgium, every county in England, and every department in France, it is said, should possess this proof of our solicitude. Physicians of reputation and officials of high rank recommend the measure. This we might expect, for these very honourable men, habituated to magisterial functions, find nothing of greater efficacy to meet every contingency, and the horizon of their ideas appears to be bounded by a desire to possess greater asylums for the *restraint of madness*. But as we already

have hospitals for every corporeal infirmity, and as we could not immure all that are afflicted, since the incumbrance would at once imperil the public health and the funds at our disposal, the question regarding the reform of our asylums has naturally become the order of the day, and so will remain until a satisfactory solution be arrived at.

More than thirty years ago physicians of high repute, such as Esquirol, and Moreau of Tours, convinced of the necessity of continuing the reforms commenced before their day, proposed measures, the practicability of which they were led to appreciate, in examining and relating the experience of a Belgian village, in a locality lost, so to speak, in the steppes of Campine, in the province of Antwerp. Since that date, the organization of the colony having been more closely examined, it has been asserted that, by following the example of the Ghéeloise peasants, unhopèd for advantages might be attained in the treatment of lunacy, such as the acceleration and augmentation in number of the cures, the diminution of expense, the removal of that species of disgust or reprobation with which insanity is most commonly regarded, and the attainment of a twofold action of benevolence and mutual *moralization* between the patients and those who attend upon them.

If all this be possible, why is the establishment of similar institutions in other countries still delayed ?

We will state frankly what are our ideas upon this subject.

In the first place, we may consider as the most perfect asylum models in existence, those establishments where but a small number of patients are admitted, maintained by men of high scientific reputation and undoubted probity. In return for fees proportioned to their reputation and the fortunes of their clients, these physicians offer the most consummate science, the most assiduous care, town and country houses, suitable and sufficient domestic arrangements, and, above all, a *family life*. Accomplishing their duties towards humanity, these distinguished men naturally see no reason to renounce their system. Other physicians, equally to be respected for their science and their zeal, placed at the head of large public or private establishments, which have been well kept and honourably administered, also very naturally defend their domestic hearth, the asylum, which is in some sort their patrimony, since it has very commonly been transmitted to them by their ancestors. Moreover, it would be unreasonable to expect that every one should feel himself equally called upon or disposed to imitate the self-devotion and personal sacrifice of those physicians who strive for reform against their own interests. But, finally, there lives under shelter of the reputation of the conscientious men of whom we have spoken, the

mass of speculators and traffickers in madness who, in countries where there are laws for the protection of the insane, only do what is strictly required in order to escape blame, yet who in everything else, or on favourable occasions, only seek to retain captive unfortunate beings whom, most frequently, unnatural relations, from disgraceful motives, wish to get rid of.

It is true that in the abandonment and neglect of the insane we must recognise shades and gradations: the patient is no longer beaten nor injured; he has all that is indispensable, and sometimes the passers-by are imposed upon by the sound of music, dancing, fêtes, and entertainments of various kinds; but if we go to the bottom of these appearances, we often find they proceed from a wish to render the aspect of a prison less disagreeable, while the desire to cure is either altogether absent or but lightly appreciated. In the face of such inveterate evils, it will be easily understood that a reform which is to change the whole face of things will have to suffer delay; but in sounding the evil the conviction forces itself upon the mind that the desired victory will ultimately be achieved.

There are then two chief obstacles to success,—particular interests coalescing against the public good, and a general indifference of public opinion towards the malady, notwithstanding that it so often attacks men distinguished in all branches of intellectual activity, those whose sensibility is too strongly developed, and again those who have fallen victims, from physical or moral causes, to the vices of society,—all of whom deserve our pity.

In the midst of these circumstances opposite opinions have been formed. There are those on the one hand who would reform the public asylums by transforming them into *free-air colonies*, or at least in modifying them so as to unite at once the advantages of an asylum with those of a colony; there are those on the other hand who maintain proposals for purely local amelioration. The system at present in vogue consists in secluding the lunatic in an asylum, where, according to the nature of the case, he is either placed in a barred cell or in one of the divisions of patients; in rare and exceptional cases he is allowed to go out under the guardianship of a keeper. This method, misnamed *cure*, is based upon moral and physical restraint, and is still counselled by very estimable men: the patient is compelled to live in a new world nearly approaching to that of a convent. Such asylums in Catholic countries are very often directed by religious corporations, to whom the undertaking has been entrusted. Assuming then that under this system the mercantile idea is placed in the second rank, and that the requirements of the system are satisfied, still the accumulation of patients is an obstacle in the way of good treatment. But besides this, a contempt of science, and personal interest, insensibly lead to the same



result. How can we expect that a physician, to whom is denied pecuniary means and the time necessary to profound study, should maintain the unequal conflict? Again, governors and officials, and even ministers of State, are sometimes of opinion that no reliance is to be placed upon psychical medicine. Amongst all these powerful personages, those who belong to, or are under the influence of, the clergy, think that moral medication is but a dependency of devotion. Were this indeed the case, the religious habit should be the best remedy. Lastly, as a general rule, it is considered *good management* to get any kind of a physician to undertake the care of hundreds of patients at a low remuneration. Such being the system, saving the exceptions which we have referred to, one can understand without difficulty why cures are rare and asylums so well filled.

The reform system proposes on the contrary a complete medical treatment,—that is to say, it embraces all the means, moral and physical, which address our double nature. Its sole object is to return the patient to his family as cured. For this it requires the devoted attention of a competent physician, for the latter will never consider his patients as incurables whom he is at liberty to abandon to nature; he studies and strives for their interest to the last; nothing is indifferent to him. Under this system also all the ordinary circumstances are changed; in order to avoid complications a free space is required, each patient is permitted a degree of personal liberty, and with this view he is placed in the midst of a special society created for him. The attentions generally confided to domestics are replaced by those of a family, whose mission is to render inoffensive a man sometimes furious, and, in consequence, deprived of moral liberty and a knowledge of his acts. It is, so to speak, by a moral *tour de force* before the eyes of those who can only recognise brute matter, that this system commences a medication of the man afflicted, as Lord Byron says, *from on high*.

It will be readily understood that no importance attaches to the name of a system having this end, and which may be adapted to countries of different climates and manners; but as this system is practised in the country and rejects restraint, it has received the name of the *free-air treatment* (*traitement à air libre*). It may be carried out by one or more families in combination, by a village or a colony, without losing its special character. All is to be attained by kindness, not by intimidation or violence. Nothing should be allowed to oppress the individuality of the patient, the spring of intellectual life which, once broken, involves the loss of the individual. The capacity for amelioration and cure by the aid of science is to be taken as inherent in the moral and physical conditions of the patient. No one can be ignorant that the efforts of the man of art must be stronger than the evil

which he combats ; neither must we forget the labour necessary to trace the origin and seat of evil, to foresee its phases and to determine its treatment ; or the time and patience required for these examinations of the patient ; nor, on the other hand, the satisfaction of the physician when his labour ends in a happy result.

If we should be asked where this system is completely adopted, we should be compelled to reply that the Ghéeloise Colony approaches the ideal without attaining it ; but we hope that, with the concurrence of its present chief physician, the reforms commenced there ten years ago will be continued until they be realized.

Finally, it appears to us that the question of reform is so urgent that the *non-medical* public ought also to be consulted upon the subject. *Res sua agitur* ; independently of its direct interest in the matter, the public can very well judge of the practical bearings of the subject, as, for example, which system is the simpler and the less painful ; bearing witness at the same time to that which effects the quickest cures.

In the elucidations which we offer in this paper, we shall endeavour to be as impartial as possible ; and although it be written in favour of reform, and owes its birth to a controversy raised against us in Germany and in England, we have been moved by a sole regard for the interest of truth.

I. After what has been stated above, it will be easily foreseen that those physicians who are in favour of restraint will contend, that a house in which life is subject every instant to rule and discipline, becomes in some sort an instrument of cure, and they will hasten to add that, according to the celebrated Esquirol, it is the *most powerful therapeutical agent in the hands of an able physician*. It would not be difficult to refute this assertion, so far as it is absolute and general ; but it is sufficient to say that it proceeds less from a scientific theory than from an idea of perfection, which is habitually attached to a conventual and religious life. The secular clergy, not restricted to this mode of existence, are from this point of view *irregular* : many men consider, therefore, that monastic life leads to perfection ; they think that the passions, which according to them are the sole sources of madness, may be more easily controlled in this species of cloister-life. It may certainly produce very marked effect upon some minds, but we must not forget the effect due to seclusion and removal from the family circle. There is nothing, however, surprising in the fact that a physician such as Esquirol, *well versed in mental therapeutics*, knew how to turn to advantage this moral commotion by instituting a rational treatment, to which most commonly the patient or his family were opposed. But it is not this which, in aid of their cause, the advocates of restraint find it necessary to maintain ; taking their stand upon the letter of the

aphorism, they pretend that the walls surrounding an asylum possess some mysterious therapeutical action, and they allege, as has been recently stated with reference to an architectural competition for the plan of an asylum near Madrid, that *curative methods*\* are intimately connected with architectural arrangements, so much that one might more surely arrive at the construction of a good hospital for lunatics by studying the latter rather than in perfecting the former; but this is to maintain that the material distribution of the asylum has some secret relation to maladies of the mind; it is passing from phrenological organology to still greater absurdity,—its imitation in the divisions and subdivisions of quarters, as if there were intellectual madmen, sentimental madmen, and instinctive madmen. Hence proceeds the sophism that the treatment of insanity is capable of assistance from classification. It is impossible; classification serves at best but to render life more endurable to the prisoner, and that is all; the psychopathist worthy of the name rarely finds himself obliged to use as a therapeutic measure the wearisome and painful expedient of four walls.

Thousands of plans have been produced in the search for the *x* of this much desired classification; all the asylums in Europe have been visited and studied by a mass of travelling psychopathists in search of its traces and therapeutic signification, amidst all possible combinations of straight lines and curves; labour in vain, no one has yet discovered the relation between bricks and thought. Psychiatry has nothing to hope for from classification; as a matter of administration it is well to divide the patients into boarders and paupers, turbulents, semi-turbulents, and idiots. But the registers of the administration have no columns reserved for sufferings real or imaginary (the physicians alone know and are able to estimate these), and provided that order reigns, and a physician visits twice a day the halls, warming-places (*chauffoirs*), or workshops, it is considered that all has been done that can be to obtain the cure of the insane.

The time approaches when such exaggerations will be abandoned; it will ultimately be understood that isolation ought not to be confounded with imprisonment; true it is that we must separate the patient from the circumstances which have led to or have witnessed the commencement of his madness, but it is clear as the day that this advantage is obtained as easily by removing the patient as by causing him to be shut up. In the free-air system, the patient adapts himself to the change more easily, he accepts the pretexts invented for it; the head of the family with whom he is placed, treating him well, the salutary effect of isolation is obtained without violence, and above all without risk of exciting a patient who has need of repose.

\* *Des articles d'aliénés en Espagne.* Paris. 1859.



The partisans of restraint have, at various times, attempted to make it appear, that personal liberty is both hurtful to the patients and fatal to those by whom they are surrounded, and that the conditions which permit it involve so much peril and danger of abuse, as to render it desirable that the only colony which furnishes the example of it, should disappear as soon as possible.

Happily these insinuations have no foundation. This is apparent, for the least potent of the influences which are looked upon as noxious, having been in action for many centuries, would have destroyed root and branch the very Gheel which we find, on the contrary, to be most flourishing at the present time. The system is good, and what proves this is that, notwithstanding the inherent defects of the colony, as originating from the spontaneous commiseration of ignorant peasants, who themselves are the object of speculations of every kind, this method of receiving patients into their houses for a trifling emolument has been advantageous to all parties. Gheel, moreover, has borne up against certain *ameliorations* which have diminished the number of boarders there. In consequence of a regulation imposed by the State, on the suggestion of a commission, the colony has been deprived of all lunatics suspected, on whatever ground, to have suicidal, homicidal, or dangerous propensities. All the insane coming within these categories have been sent into closed asylums.

The partisans of reform, on the contrary, hold that isolation from the world and its activity is always mischievous, when the excitement of active life does not exceed certain limits. If a restless patient be shut up, all salutary diversion is prevented, and he is subjected to a fatal internal excitation. If he is restrained by a strait-jacket, or bound fast, the unfortunate thus condemned to immobility, undergoes the most atrocious torture; and, finally, shut up with his equals, the constant contact with madness (as we shall subsequently show), adds fresh anguish to his position. Under such circumstances, the phases of the disease most favourable to its cure cannot but pass by rapidly, and the affection quickly degenerates into an irremediable chronic state. This we believe to be one of the most active causes in encumbering asylums.

So far we have stated the arguments of two extreme parties; it is only just to mention the opinion of men who may be considered the eclectics of psychiatry. They lay down as a principle, that the application of any system whatever should depend on the nature of the mental disorders to be treated; thus it is necessary, say they, that we make up our minds to restrain the furious, the melancholics of perverse sentiments, idiots of criminal or scandalous tendency, &c. On the other hand, although they adopt cellular confinement, they permit it only for a very short time; lastly, they agree that restraint, whether mechanical or moral, debases the patient in his own eyes, and they think that recourse

should rarely be had to it. The English system of non-restraint probably owes its origin to a repugnance to violent means. Although difficult in its application, it may be said to have succeeded at Hanwell, where more than a thousand patients dwell together in peace; the same system has been adopted at Meerenberg, near Haarlem, in Holland, and is maintained with advantage. At the same time we must not forget that non-restraint is only possible under most paternal control. I would say further that it must often permit evils which it cannot prevent without greater inconvenience: the family is too great; it is necessary in an asylum to consider the mass and to neglect the individual; this is not the case in a private house which the chief can direct without difficulty. Non-restraint in an asylum requires also on the part of the servants and superintendents an uncommon amount of knowledge respecting the characters and actions which are peculiar to madness; it demands very great prudence in order to foresee and avert catastrophes imminent at every instant in such an organization. The government of these asylums is for this reason always somewhat oppressive. Finally, notwithstanding precautions, some victims have expiated their temerity in the midst of lunatics afflicted with a perversion of the will, and detained against their protestations in what they call their prison; indeed it will be allowed that there is a kind of antithesis in giving liberty to a number of lunatics, forcibly kept together within restricted limits.

It appears to us that non-restraint under the old system is the negation of a physical evil, the name indicates this; whilst in a more advanced stage it becomes, as applied in a family, the affirmation of a moral well-being which permits madness to be dealt with like any other malady. The English have made one more step from the *non-restraint* towards the *free-air system*, viz., the *cottage system*, in which the patient is placed in a villa or cottage, dependent upon an asylum, and either isolated in a park or standing in its own enclosure. If I were to define this method, I should say that it is the *free-air system*, less the *family life and the medical organization* of a colony. In England, criticism has not been wanting when it was seen that this system consisted in the isolation of a patient under one or more keepers, with an accidental visit from a physician; but it is evident that the reform has only one more step to make to establish itself definitely in a country where the practical view of everything is eminently developed.

II. Actuated by a very praiseworthy feeling, Dr. Roller, one of the most distinguished savants in Germany, senior physician to the Illenau asylum, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, lately proposed a modification of the "*free-air*" system. In an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, and on the occasion of



a bibliographic review of a memoir of Gheel, by M. Duval of Paris, inserted in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, he observes that the existence of a free colony, dating several centuries back, contains in itself the proof of its rationality. Thus it is clear that a large number of lunatics, united in a village, have no need of an enclosed asylum; that the patients are more capable of enjoying their liberty than many people think, and that they may live sociably without danger. M. Roller asks if this example ought to be lost. Why not apply it, he says, to the solution of the problem which the increase of population imposes upon public aid? According to M. Roller's plan, the incurables being placed in the neighbourhood of an asylum, would at least allow of the admission of fresh cases; and these last would then be able to receive the attendance necessary to their cure, during the stage when it could be effected. In fact, there exists no sadder evil (England and Germany complain) than the *overcrowding* of an *hospital* or asylum. In this case, the establishment of colonies having become a necessity, let the asylum be central, let it be the therapeutic centre, which every one will approve of; the name matters nothing, and the method proposed is perfectly acceptable.

If M. Roller had paid Gheel a visit, instead of contenting himself with descriptions and reports, perhaps his opinion of the value of this colony would have been different. Thus, this distinguished man thinks there is an opposition between ideas and facts in the words "*liberty*" and "*chains*;" he thinks that the assassination of innocent persons, and the pregnancy of female lunatics, form a sad reverse to the medal, while they do not go to prove the excellence of the principle of liberty for lunatics.

There are some men, the importance of whose opinion is too considerable for us not to seek to rectify it when it is based upon facts imperfectly appreciated; so we think that, on behalf of free colonies and of Gheel, we ought to point out to M. Roller that, if faults have been remarked by ourselves on the subject of the colony, it was with the hope of putting an end to abuses which attach to the best things, and not for the sake of criticising an excellent principle. Can one suppose that circumstances so rare that we might almost pass them over, are to taint a whole population and annihilate the good which it does? Gheel has existed for generations; would it be an exaggeration to suppose that the colony has assembled several hundreds of thousands of invalids? Certainly not. Up to the present time the archives report *two* crimes against the life of the individual; has crime never been committed in a closed asylum?

We are far from hiding the disgust with which the rape of a female lunatic inspires us (whether committed with or without her consent, is of no consequence—it is a crime), but, among four



hundred or five hundred women, there are some hysterical patients who manage to elude vigilance even in an enclosed asylum, much more in a colony; and at Gheel, this crime is certainly very rare.

With regard to the irons, chains, and fetters, it is necessary to know what they mean, and then many people would say that the names are more terrible than the things themselves. The question is merely to find a means of preventing a sudden start on the part of restless idiots or maniacs, who might lose themselves in the fields; besides, we are thus rid of the necessity of imprisoning patients; a fetter consists of a small chain, uniting two kinds of bracelets made of iron plates covered with leather; it is attached to the lower part of the leg. We have frequently questioned cured patients who, when at Gheel, had worn these chains, and they have all assured us that it is far better to have one's movements cramped in the fields than to wear a strait-waistcoat in a cell. Besides, when we are willing to pay a keeper sufficiently well to indemnify him for his loss of time, he will take charge of the restless patient, and the chains will disappear.

As to escapes, they are less frequent at Gheel than from enclosed asylums; statistics prove this.

III. There is scarcely any need to insist upon an inspection of the financial side of the question at issue between the asylum *conservatives* and the partisans of reform, for there is a law of economy in psychology which says: "*There is no treatment more expensive than that which does not cure.*"

The public, like government, look for establishments which charge at the lowest possible rate for the keep of lunatics. True, little is paid; but the patient most frequently remains there all his life; where then is the economy? We have calculated, for instance, that for fifty-one years' residence in an asylum an administration had paid more than 14,000 francs for a single lunatic. Notwithstanding the low charge, the sum is considerable; and if we were to inquire into what the average would be for three hundred or four hundred lunatics, the sum would be more considerable still.

The principal question with regard to funds has then for its basis the medical treatment and its ability to perform a cure. Give what is requisite to make treatment useful; recompense suitably the men who are to devote themselves to the cause of humanity; organize a staff sufficient for a certain number of patients; and you will be in a position at the end of the year to judge, by profit and loss, of the service rendered. Of course, as head of this corps, a man must be chosen whose reputation is established; but you must surround him again with young assistants in order that he may leave after him a *school*; this man, eminent in science, must of necessity, as he grows old, slacken his work; and when he is lost, it would be a disaster to science and the country that there should be no one fit to take his place.

We know that the partisans of the old system ask for grand buildings: but at what cost? Millions are fixed in bricks and mortar. If the establishment prospers, it must be enlarged—here are new difficulties. A German alienist physician lately proposed to construct an asylum, the divisions of which separated in the country should form, so to speak, *stations of disease*, through which a patient would successively have to pass before reaching the end of his troubles.

Indeed, the building of palaces “sorrowfully magnificent,” as the *Lancet* says, has already cost many millions in Europe. Next comes the *classification*, which requires a repetition of courts, galleries, doors, windows, &c. Each of these objects has given rise to the writing of big volumes for their better construction, in order to effectually shut in the patients; what ingenuity has it not cost to defy mischief, ennui, and the love of liberty! We may ask ourselves now what humanity has derived from all this capital? Has the cost of all these buildings been repaid by cures, or rather are these palaces machines for perpetuating folly?

Clearly, the reform of these abuses would be doubly useful; it would supply hands for work and for produce; in a colony there is little need of keepers, scarcely any of documents, and none whatever of hangers-on; everything should combine without interruption for the care and comfort of the patient; the patient himself even finds employment; every kind of work is open to him, and he repays society by lessening in this way the expense to which he puts it. An infirmary, containing chiefly bathing rooms, rooms devoted to surgery and medicine, and a chapel, and small offices for the use of a whole population, would not probably equal the cost of an ordinary asylum.

But when an asylum has its complement of patients, and a new case arrives, what a fix the managers are in! They are as much embarrassed by this new arrival as if there were no asylum at all. The case is not so in a colony: a colony has no boundaries; it can take in all that offers. When there arrives in a family, a stranger whom they wish to find room for, they inconvenience themselves a little, until a suitable lodging can be got ready. Gheel might take in, without great extra expense, twice its present population.

The expenditure of the principal asylums in Europe has been estimated at from three to five thousand francs a head for each inmate. From this point of view, a colony numbering a thousand lunatics would lead to a saving of 200,000 francs a year, if a village were used in which each cottage should receive from three to four patients, without reckoning the keeper's family. The real advantage which the asylums have over the colonies consists in the possibility of organizing the work in the former; there are all the necessary means for compelling each one to work. All

kinds of things are made there ; there are trades of all kinds in long workshops, and the various duties of the house are shared by the patients. Now this work has two faults in a therapeutic point of view—first, it is compulsory, and secondly, it is usually not done in the open air. If the work is productive to the rulers of the asylum, the lunatic receives but a small share of the benefit. Hence, right or wrong, the origin of complaints and recriminations prejudicial to every one ; *murder* has been known to follow these quarrels.

In a colony, the labour is voluntary, and consequently beneficial. They work who choose, and on conditions regulated by their own fancy. The keeper, his wife, or his children, can induce patients to work better than an overseer, charged with the execution of an unpleasant discipline. Generally, the price of the day's work is higher in places situated in towns ; the manager in that case seeks to re-establish the balance according to the work, which is also paid in proportion.

With regard to the rich, they accept work with much difficulty, and hence comes a life of inaction, which does them much harm. Shut up in an asylum, they cost less than if they were in a colony or looked after by a family, but their chance of recovery is also less. Nothing is more sad or more pernicious than to deprive people accustomed to all kinds of diversions, of that liberty which has formed the chief element of their lives. In a colony, the relations and even the distances of social life are preserved. The level of the disease does not reach education or fortune, and as we never lose the innate feeling of ourselves, the moral abasement is not remarked by the inmates. Of this, Gheel presents numerous examples.

However, it is a pity that for persons possessed of a certain competence, and for those who are rich, no one has yet thought seriously of applying the principle of association to found an establishment destined for the cure of sickness in general. How many people, for different reasons, are unable to get themselves suitably treated at home ; often they are at a distance from the great centres of population where all kinds of help are abundant ; or perhaps economy compels them to apply to men who have not acquired special knowledge, &c. The principle of association which has already solved so many difficulties, steps in here perfectly to answer a general want. A society might offer at a moderate charge all the possible conditions of recovery. Belgium can, from its position, concentrate in a few hours the most eminent science of the countries of France, England, and Germany. Let us suppose that every month general consultations were held ; would there be a man rich enough to procure himself such a means of study, discussion, and cure ? With regard to insanity, there is no reason why it should not be mingled with other ailments without detection. Three requisites are suggested :—First, country life in a thinly populated district ; second, town



life near Brussels; third, life at the seaside, of which the pure and bracing air is so great a help. We are convinced that lunatics would find in such an association a means of escaping public notice, and of recovering more speedily than in the most handsome asylum that could ever be designed.

IV. A German alienist physician believed himself called upon lately to set himself up as champion of the asylums which imprison their inmates. In order probably to make himself agreeable to the crowd of speculators we have spoken of, he thought it his duty to set to work to demand the suppression or abolition of Gheel; and why? He knows scarcely anything of the subject, and this want of knowledge is evident in the long article he has edited, and which the *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie* has been pleased to accept. The best argument he can summon is that Gheel ought to be a practical criticism upon asylums, such as that of which he is the head. Now there would be a very simple plan of clenching the debate upon this point. Let a jury of medical men, lawyers, and philosophers, all impartial men, be empanelled. Let them examine the patients of any asylum named, and compare an even number of those furnished by Gheel *under the most unfavourable* conditions. The jury should decide upon the greatest likelihood of recovery, the good appearance, the air of contentment, and the sum of happiness of each of these patients.

I would wager all I am worth upon Gheel, and for this reason: we know that nervous irritation or excitement among lunatics is principally owing to their often exquisite sensibility, and their almost invariably exaggerated impressionability. Now, by forcing these patients to live together in a kind of inn or cloister, you expose their suffering and delicate natures to innumerable shocks, to insupportable miseries of association, and perpetual dislikes. "I am then truly mad, to be condemned to live with such people as these," cried a despairing monomaniac. To prove what we say, go into any lunatics' sitting-room, and you will be struck with the sight of a fearful assembly of people whose malady consists in their repeatedly recognising themselves to be everywhere and always among maniacs. These men and these women, meeting again and again in different rooms, are dying of ennui; the room in which they pass the night does not belong to them; and this sitting-room, this yard, this garden surrounded by walls, form a kind of cage which they can only leave in an evening to regain their real abode, at least that abode where they experience only their own ennui.

Well! we maintain that their aspect will be the evidence of what they suffer in their minds.

Examine now this other lunatic, who has the enjoyment of free air and the possession of his own room, his own books,

his own tools, his own flowers, his own stores, &c., his home is decorated after his own fashion; there are often inscriptions or drawings on the wall which disappear only through the instrumentality of the half-yearly whitewashing. This man is busy in perfecting his dreams: nothing opposes him. He has fields, woods, or extensive heaths at his command; he angles in the rivers or canals; he spreads nets for the birds; in fact, he does with his time just what he pleases. He is most frequently only required to reach the keeper's house by the hours of meals; and if he forgets them, the housekeeper will have his share saved by the common fire. There is another man who all day long traces in the sand of the street the history of his thoughts; they are hieroglyphics of which he alone holds the key. Another finds in walking some mitigation of his nervousness; he is always busy, and returns happy to his dwelling. A score of others go to work with the keeper and his children—the latter are their brothers, their friends; they share the labour of the weakest.

We ask whether, sanitary treatment being the same, Gheel would not carry off the prize? We are certain of it, because, of all human beings, lunatics are those who betray most irresistibly the emotions they undergo.

Among the most determined anti-reformists, we find Dr. Stevens, the resident medical superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, London. As far as we can recollect, Dr. Stevens, before his visit to Gheel, appeared little prepossessed in favour of colonies, and criticised even the reports made concerning Gheel by a very distinguished English physician. In a paper (which we regret we are not personally acquainted with), inserted in the *Asylum Journal*, and which is quoted by the "Allgemeine Zeitschrift," Dr. Stevens asserts that my honourable successor, Dr. Bulckens, told him, "that he did not possess any means of controlling the exorcisms practised in the chapel of St. Dymphna that if it was in his power to put a stop to them, he should not think it prudent to do so, because what constitutes the colony is not medical science, but faith in St. Dymphna; and that if the saint disappeared, or was neglected, Gheel would have no more cause to exist."

Nothing would so much confirm Dr. Stevens's conclusions as an assent to them by the Medical Inspector of Gheel, the very man whose business is the amelioration of the colony, and who performs his duty with the greatest zeal. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Bulckens affirms, and we have no difficulty in believing him, that he said nothing of the kind. Dr. Stevens, doubtless from want of familiarity with the French language, has evidently misunderstood what was said to him, and even what he saw. At Gheel no one is exorcised; nothing of the kind has taken place for

probably a century. Dr. Stevens must have confounded exorcism with the "nine days of devotion" (*neuvaine*), which is still, though rarely, held in one of the chapels.

Ought not a psychopathist, with the facts before him, to give some better account of what has been termed *blind faith and superstition* in a saint?—and can one think that it is a "relic of barbarism" at Gheel to take good care of the infirm? Do the premises and consequences bear a logical relation to one another?

In our opinion, St. Dymphna bears a character entirely different from other saints who *by right* are of an intolerant nature. The "Sainte Campinaire" is simply charitable; she loves and protects all the wretched who come for shelter to her spiritual domain. *Ego sum charitas* is her motto: hence Jews, Turks, Catholics, or Protestants of all denominations, find a place in the hearts of the Gheelites, her priests. Now-a-days, when everything is bartered for gold, this relic of barbarism is truly extraordinary. To come to the point; the story of St. Dymphna, moral in its essence, handed down from generation to generation,—what might be its origin? There exists no document or legend dating from the time at which she must have lived. Might not the oral tradition of a fact react upon the feeling of a population removed far from any centre of criticism? The idea of helping the unhappy gathered from all sides, has become transformed into the holy image of a young girl resisting the Passions; she is represented in the act of appealing to Heaven on behalf of the wretches who surround her: there is nothing in that to irritate an alienist physician. Neither do we think that Dr. Stevens has any right to suppose that we believe in the mystic virtue of the creed, while he is ready enough to recognise a christian virtue, Charity, hidden beneath the story of the daughter of an Irish king, an obscure individual in a distant era, who attempted the honour of his child.

Now, in what respect can this legend prejudice medical treatment? It is clear that the saint has deserved well of human nature; upon this claim, and upon the ground of respect for conviction, ought the medical man at Gheel to affect contempt for those who wish to have recourse to this reaction of mind over matter? The Saint might be abolished: but what have we to replace her? Psychiatry is quite a new science, and has had to pass through certain stages of development; incarceration, and all the violence undergone by lunatics form one of its most cruel stages, from which we have just escaped. At present we confine ourselves to the study of the *physical* man; *psychical* man is not yet the order of the day, and the proof is that in no University of the State, nor even in any book, is the study of the morbid wanderings of the mind inscribed on the programme of the course. This study, so intimately connected with lesions of the nervous



centres, with the troubles of general sensibility, and with nervous diseases, is left to dreamers and psychologists, who, in their character of medical men, are called in England *mad doctors*, and in Germany *zotten doctoren*. No; St. Dymphna is not yet superfluous.

Following an article by Dr. U. Jessen, in which all the arguments against Gheel are crowned by the idea that this colony is a *disgusting* (abschrecken) example of the free-air treatment, we find that Dr. Bucknill, relying upon the observations of Dr. Stevens, compares Gheel to the small English asylums, which he calls with reason, "*squalid asylums*." Apparently the opponents of our opinion have come to hard words: we will not follow them over this ground, but we will ask Dr. Bucknill in what respect the colony can be compared to private houses, where lunatics are maltreated in the grossest manner, while at Gheel what is admired is the devotion and disinterestedness of the keepers.

The *squalid asylums* of England, the expenses of which are scarcely covered by a few rare patients, have this inconvenience, that persons might be detained there unlawfully: at Gheel, the lunatic once cured, there is no power on earth capable of making him stay against his will, and if he wished to live there, the medical officers of the establishment would not allow it. Let Dr. Bucknill come and study Gheel, and we are sure he will no longer say (according to Dr. Jessen's article), that "to create a Gheel is the dream of persons of inexperience, or of weak-minded men."

When colonies are established everywhere, the public will no longer be able to suspect medical men (as has happened), even those whose reputation is best established, of making secret arrangements with managers of private asylums to detain in them, criminally, persons of sound mind.

It appears (still following Dr. Jessen, of Hornheim, near Kiel) that Dr. Brown, inspector of lunatic asylums in Scotland, has made certain observations unfavourable to colonies. As Dr. Jessen reproduces these objections, we will answer the first one, to wit, that the financial administration of a village, subject to feudal rights, would prevent the establishment of a colony, by observing that Government in this country can buy up these feudal rights without injuring any one's interest, but on the contrary to the advancement of every one's interest, if a colony is deemed useful. As to the second objection, that after all the expenses incurred for the keep and clothing of the patients, as in asylums, there would be no profit, we will reply, that this is a great mistake; for admitting even that the expenditure was the same (which is not the case, as we have shown), there would remain a double number of cures to the credit of free air, conjoined with the rejection of useless discomforts for the incurables.

In conclusion, let us remark that all the arguments against free colonies depend upon our interests or our prejudices. The principle which gives rise to the supposition of their adversaries, that they cannot exist, is grounded upon a sophism, namely, that there are no doctors, managers, or keepers, honest and disinterested enough to do good for its own sake. When people are reduced to such objections, they must be indeed near defeat.

In France, several medical men admit the possibility of establishing colonies there. Nevertheless, a very distinguished savant has raised as an objection that the *blackcoats* in a village (taken as a sign of depravity), would be an objection to trusting lunatic females with isolated families: but if there are seven millions of hectares of uncultivated land, and a few hundreds are taken for the colony, it would be like choosing the site of a large establishment: the interest of each family would be the pledge of its morality. Supposing even that the Roman or Latin race were depraved (as is wrongfully asserted), there are in the North and East of France populations of Germanic stock who would suit perfectly.

In Germany and England, the opposition to lunatic colonies is difficult to understand, for they are merely, as in Belgium, the reflection of German thought and Anglo-Saxon common sense.

I conclude by repeating my words before the Society of Medical Science of Brussels, at the convocation of 1st February, 1856:—"I acknowledge, with pain, that the name of Gheel is not appreciated as it deserves to be. But why so? In the first place, you know that the word '*lunatic*' has in it something repulsive; but if it is unfortunate to be insane, it is still more unfortunate, nay it is even dishonourable, according to the notions of the present time, to be *poor*. It is, indeed, the union of the two words, *lunacy* and *poverty*, that causes so many to despise Gheel, whereas, in my estimation, from them arises its glory. Yes, gentlemen, I am convinced that Gheel fulfils a high philanthropic duty, and that its name will become still more illustrious in the records of humanity."

I spoke truly, for since then Gheel has given its name and that of the country to a system which, on account of its humanity, is called "*The Belgian System*."

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## ART. II.—A MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGIST OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WE wish to introduce to our readers a worthy of the seventeenth century. JOHN BULWER, to wit. He does not take rank with the great ones of his day, and yet he well deserves to be had in remembrance. He would claim this of us from his writings

alone; first, on account of their intrinsic interest, and, secondly, from the illustration they afford of the early effects of Bacon's method and teachings. But a higher claim may be advanced, inasmuch as Bulwer was the first Englishman who systematically gave himself up to the search for a scheme by which the moral and intellectual cultivation of deaf-mutes might be effected.

Of himself we know little or nothing, except what is derived from his works, and we cannot even say whether these, dated from 1644 to 1653, were published in the prime or the decline of his life. He was a physician, and the son of a physician, and he constituted a portion of the better mental soil which existed at that period, of which Macaulay has thus written:—

“While the lighter literature of England . . . was becoming a nuisance and a national disgrace, the English genius was effecting in science a revolution which will, to the end of time, be reckoned among the highest achievements of the human intellect. Bacon had sown the good seed in a sluggish soil and an ungenial season. He had not expected an early crop, and his last testament had solemnly bequeathed his fame to the next age. During a whole generation his philosophy had, amidst tumults, wars, and proscriptions, been slowly ripening in a few well-constituted minds. While factions were struggling for dominion over each other, a small body of sages had turned away with benevolent disdain from the conflict, and had devoted themselves to the nobler work of extending the dominion of man over matter. As soon as tranquillity was restored, these teachers easily found attentive audiences. For the discipline through which the nation had passed had brought the public mind to a temper well fitted for the reception of the Verulamian doctrine.”\*

Among the small body of sages thus referred to, Bulwer deserves to hold a note-worthy place. True, his works abound with those credulous eccentricities which too frequently disfigure the writings of his day on experimental philosophy (then but merely dawning) and which were made the butt of Butler's bitter satire. True, that Bulwer is, perhaps, best known at the present time, among bookworms, by the curious and wonderful recitals which are found in his last and most popular work; yet notwithstanding these things, we think it may be shown that his works form a happy illustration of the early ripening of Bacon's method, and that thus they may be regarded as an apt, if an odd comment upon the sentences we have just quoted from Macaulay. Further, Bulwer's writings have a special interest for us, because they contain an early attempt deliberately to solve several questions of great psychological interest, and this in a manner from which we may even yet learn a lesson.

We shall, as far as is consistent with the space at our disposal,

\* “History of England from the Accession of James II.,” vol. I. c. iii.



let Bulwer tell his own story. His works are now very rare,\* and but few persons are familiar with them. Moreover Chaucer instructs us that—

“Who so shall telle a tale after a man,  
He most reherse, as neighe as ever he can,  
Everich word, if it be in his charge,  
All speke he never so rudely and so large;  
Or else he must tellen his tale untrewē  
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.”

To adopt the latter expedient would be to offer our readers an artificial for a real flower, to set before them mock-turtle when real was in the larder.

Bulwer's works are five in number, each being complete in itself, but each forming a portion of a wide scheme of observation and research. The two earliest published works—*Chirologia* and *Chironomia*—are found under the same cover, and with the following common title-page, which well expresses the nature of the books:—

“CHIROLOGIA: or the natural language of the HAND! Composed of the Speaking Motions and Discoursing Gestures thereof. Whereunto is added CHIRONOMIA: or the ART of MANUALL RHETORICKE. Consisting of the Natural Expressions, digested by Art in the HAND, as the chiefest Instrument of Eloquence, by HISTORICAL MANIFESTO'S, exemplified out of the Authentique Registers of Common Life and Civil Conversation. With TYPES or CHYROGRAMS: A long-wished for illustration of this Argument. By J. B. Gent. Philochirosophus. —*Manus membrum hominis loquacissimum*. LONDON. Printed by Tho. Harper, and are to be sold by Henry Twyford at his shop in Fleet-street. 1644.”

The volume is dedicated by Bulwer to “his Heroique Friend Edward Goldsmith of Graies-Inne, Esqr.,” and in the dedicatory epistle he writes:—

“—Affecting no Dedication that rises above the levell of *Friendship*, having intentionally consecrated all the issues of my recesses and leisure to certain select Friends; This book by *prescription* and *signiority* of acquaintance as by a *Prerogative*, and by a reciprocation of *love* for your affection to it, falls to your *Tuition*. I confess some other of my digested thoughts struggled for precedence, claiming by the analogie of *Natures* usuall course, and the *head* would have had the privilege of *primogeniture*. But it fell out in the contention somewhat like as in the case of *Tamar's* twins, where *Zarah* put forth his *Hand*, and the midwife said, *This is come out first*. However this *Chirosophie* or first fruits of my *Hand* be accepted abroad, having put forth my *Right Hand* in signe of amity to you, and for performance of promise, there remains nothing (most noble *Chirophilus*) but that you take it between Yours in token of warranty and protection, as the tender offspring of one who is Your affectionate Friend.”

\* There is a complete series of his works in the library of the British Museum.

The preface of the book is addressed—"To the Candid and Ingenious Reader: This Copy of my Idea; or the Hint, Scope, and general Projection;"—which are thus quaintly set forth:—

"The consideration in generall, and at large of humane Nature, that great Light of Learning hath adjudged worthy to be emancipate and made a knowledge of it selfe. (*Franc. L. Verulam. Viscount St. Albans, de Augmen. Scient. l. 4.*) In which continent of humanity hee hath noted (as a maine deficiencie) one Province not to have been visited, and that is Gesture. Aristotle (*saith he*) ingeniose et solerter, corporis fabricam, dum quiescit, tractavit, eandem in noctis, nimirum gestus corporis, omisit, that is, he hath very ingeniously and diligently handled the *factures* of the Body, which are no less comprehensible by art, and of great use and advantage, as being no small part of civill prudence. For the lineaments of the body doe disclose the disposition and inclination of the minde in generall; but the motions doe not only so, but doe further disclose the present humour and state of the minde and will, for as the tongue speaketh to the eare, so *Gesture* speaketh to the eye, and therefore a number of such persons whose eyes doe dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither can it bee denied but that it is a great discoverer of dissimulation, and great direction in businesse. For, after one manner almost we clappe our *hands* in joy, wring them in sorrow, advance them in prayer and admiration; shake our head in disdaine, wrinkle our forehead in dislike, criske our nose in anger, blush in shame, and so for the most part of the most subtile motions. Taking (therefore) from hence my Hint, I shall attempt to advance in the scrutinie and march after the scattered glances, and touches of Antiquity, tracing them through most classical Authors, with intent to reduce them into one continued and intire History, propounding this form to myself, to handle *Gesture*, as the only speech and generall language of Humane Nature. For ballast to the subject, and to make the matter in *hand* more sollid and substantive, I shall annex consultations with Nature, affording a glosse of their causes: and for the further embellishing thereof, I shall enrich most points of expression with examples both of Sacred and profane Authority, more especially drawne from Poets and Historians, the only great Doctors in this point of Humane literature; wherein, by the way, I shall lay claime to all metaphors, proverbiall translations or usurpations, and all kinde of symbollicall Elegancies taken and borrowed from Gestures of the Body, with the depredations the subtler Arts of Speech have made upon them for the advancement and exaltation of their particular inventions and designs. All these (together with the civill rites, and ceremonies customes and fashions of divers Nations in their nationall expressions by Gesture, with the personall properties and genuine habits of particular men) being but as so many severall lines that meet in an angle, and touch in this point; I intend to reduce and bring home to their fountaine and common parent the Body of man. Two Amphitheaters there are in the Body, whereon most of these patheticall subtilties are exhibited by Nature, in way of *discovery* or *impression*, proceeding either from the effect of sufferance, or the



voluntary motions of the Minde, which effect those impressions on the parts which wee call the Speaking Motions, or Discovering Gestures, and naturall language of the body, to wit, the *Hand* and the *Head*; in answer whereof, I intend two receptacles of the observations, falling within the compasse of their particular Districts, under the generall Titles of *Chirolugia* and *Cephalologia*—The *naturall language of the Hand*, and, *The naturall language of the Head*; and these two comprise the best part of the expressions of humane Nature. *Chironomia*, or the *Rule of Hand* is adjoynd as the perfection and sublimation of *Chirologie*, as *Cephelelonomia*, or the *Rule of the Head*, is to appear with *Cephalologia*, as being the gratification of all Cephalicall expressions, according to the Lawes of *Civill Prudence*. The personall or genuine expressions fall in with these. What I finde remarkable in the naturall expressions of the other parts, I shall refer to a generall Rendevouze, wherein I shall take a muster of the Postures and Gestures of the body in generall. All that I shall have to say more to the *Hand* in point of *Gestures*, is under the title of *Chirethnicologia*, or the *Nationall expression of the Hand*. This I account my left Hand. By this *Clavis* (I suppose) the *Intellectual Reader* will see that the work will be supplementall to Learning, and not of supererogation, New, and in regard of the generality of the Designe, never attempted by any, affording profitable hints to such ingenious spirits, who desire to understand the mysterious properties of so admirable and important a piece of themselves."

The psychical aspects of gesture and movement constitute then the theme which Bulwer discusses in the *Chirolugia* and *Chironomia*, and it is interesting to observe that this theme was suggested to him by a passage in Bacon's *De augmentis Scientiarum* (first published in 1605).

In the *Chirolugia* Bulwer works out a complete alphabetical and phraseological system of Manual expression, and shows the practicability of its application to several useful purposes.

The hand he holds is by no means a bad substitute for the tongue, for from the use made of gestures in carrying on trade with foreign nations, whose language is but imperfectly or not at all understood,—

"'Tis apparent, that there is no native law, or absolute necessity, that those thoughts which arise in our pregnant minde, must by mediation of our Tongue flow out in vocall extreame of words, unto which purpose we must attend the leisure of that inclosed instrument of speech. Since whatsoever is perceptible unto sense, and capable of a due and fitting difference, hath a natural competency to expresse the motives and affections of the minde, in whose labours, the *Hand*, which is a ready midwife, takes oftentimes the thoughts from the forestalled Tongue making a more quicke dispatch by gesture; so when the fancy hath once wrought upon the *Hand*, our conceptions are display'd and utter'd in the very movement of a thought. For the gesture of the *Hand* many times gives a hint of our intention, and speakes out a good part of our meaning, before our words, which



accompany or follow it, can put themselves into a vocal posture to be understood. And as in the report of a Piece, the eye being the nimbler sense discerns the discharge before any intelligence by conduct of the vocall wave arrive at the eare; although the flash and report are twins born at the instant of the Pieces going off, so although Speech and Gesture are conceived together in the minde, yet the *Hand* first appearing in the delivery, anticipates the *Tongue*, in so much as many times the *Tongue* perceiving herself forestall'd, spares itself a labour, to prevent a needlesse tautologie. And if words ensue upon the gesture, their addition serves but as a comment for the fuller explication of the manuell Text of utterance; and implyes nothing over and above but a generall devoyre of the minde to be perfectly understood." (p. 4.)

If the details of Bulwer's system of manual expression are now regarded as somewhat cumbrous, yet it must be granted that they display a rare ingenuity and quick apprehension. The subjects of both the *Chirologia* and *Chironomia* are illustrated with neatly executed plates; and both works are preceded by curious allegorical frontispieces.

The laudatory verses which preface the *Chirologia*, manifest in a very curious manner the influence which Bacon's writings were, at the time when the work was published, beginning to exercise over literary men. One gentleman, tendering his rhythmical homage to Bulwer, writes:—

"Since the *Great Instauration* of the Arts  
By *Verulamian Socrates*, whose parts  
Advanc'd *Learning* to a perfect state,  
Thou art the first that from his *hints* must date,  
For arts bemoan'd *defects* a new supply,  
(The hardest Province in *Humanitie*).  
Which doth in thy *Projections* ample spheare,  
Another *Novum Organum* appeare.  
And as we much unto Thy *Hand* doe owe  
For *Augmentation*, some as farre shall goe  
Another way, to shew their learned might,  
While *Science*, Crescent-like, extends her light."

Another admirer writes:—

"Let *Bacon's* soule sleep sweet: the time is come  
That *Gesture* shall no longer now be dumbe;  
And Nature's silent motions shall advance  
Above the Vocall Key of utterance:  
There every *Digit* dietates, and doth reach  
Unto our sense a mouth-excelling speech.  
Arts Perfector! what *Babell* did denie  
To Lips and Eare, t' hast given the Hand and Eye;  
Hast reconciled the world, and its defect  
Supply'd by one unmeaning Dialect."

A third, most attracted by the immediate practical applications of Bulwer's ideas, exclaims:—

"All that are deafe and dumbe may here recruite  
 Their language, and then blesse thee for the mute  
 Enlargement of thy Alphabets, whose briefe  
 Expresses gave their Minds a free reliefe.  
 And of this silent speech, Thy *Hand* doth shew  
 More to the world than ere it look'd to know.  
 He is (that does denie Thy *Hand* this right)  
 A Stoique and an Areopogite."

The title-page of the *Chironomia* runs as follows :—

"*CHIRONOMIA*: or the Art of *Manual Rhetorique*, with the *Canons, Lawes, Rites, Ordinances*, and Institutes of RHETORICIANS, both ancient and moderne, touching the artificiall managing of the HAND in speaking, whereby naturall GESTURES of the HAND, are made the Regulated accessories or faire spoken adjuncts of RHETORICALL Utterance. With TYPES, or CHIROGRAMS: A new illustration of this Argument.—By J. B. Philochirosophus.—*Ratio est Manus Intellectus; Rationis Oratio; Orationis Manus*. Scal. LONDON: Printed by Thos. Harper, and are to be sold by *Henry Twyford*, at his shop in Fleet-Street, 1644."

Although Bulwer simply gives the initials of his name on the title-pages of both the *Chirologia* and *Chironomia*, he signs his name in full at the termination of the dedicatory epistles contained in the works. After the publication of these works he became known as the *Chirosopher*, a cognomen which he adopted in the books he subsequently printed.

The publication of the *Chirologia* and *Chironomia* was followed, in 1648, by that of the *Philocophus*. The title-page of this work reads thus :—

"*PHILOCOPHUS*: or the *Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend*. Exhibiting the Philosophicall verity of that subtile Art, which may enable one with an *observant Eie*, to *Heare* what any man speaks by the moving of his lips. Upon the same Ground, with the advantage of an Historical Exemplification, apparently proving, that a man borne Deafe and Dumbe, may be taught to *Heare* the sound of words with his *Eie*, and thence learne to speake with his Tongue.—By I. B. sirnamed the Chirosopher.—*Sic canimus Surdis*—London. Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard, 1648."

This work is dedicated to "the Right Worp<sup>th</sup> Sir *Edward Gostwicke*, of *Willington*, in the County of Bedford, Baronet; and *M. William Gostwicke*, his yongest Brother: and all other intelligent and ingenious Gentlemen, who as yet can neither heare nor speake. To be communicated unto them that can, and have acquaintance or alliance with any whom it may concern."

In the dedicatory epistle Bulwer writes :—

"—What though you cannot expresse your mindes in those verball contrivances of man's invention; yet you want not *speech*, who have your *whole body*, for a *Tongue*, having a language more naturall and significant, which is common to you with us, to wit *gesture*, the

generall and *universall language* of *Humane nature*, which when we would have our speech to have life and efficacy wee joyne in commission with our wordes, and when wee would speak with most state and gravity, we renounce wordes, and use *Nods* and other naturall signes alone.

“When coasting along the borders of *gesture*, and *voluntary motion*, I discovered a *community* among the *Senses*, and that there was in the continent of *Humanity* a *Terra incognita* of *Ocular audition*; a treasure reserved for these times, which had escaped their privy search, who guided by the illumination of their own endeavours had in *sudore vultus* ransackt the bosome of nature, wherein wisdome had hid it among other Arts and Sciences which have their foundation in Nature, and neither grow nor increase, but appeare when time and observation unlockt them unto us: Having well scanned this *magna naturæ*, I found it to be one of the subtlest pieces of *Recondit learning*, and that it bordered upon other avenues unto the braine, as *Orall* and *Dentall Audition*, of which we have discovered sufficient ground to raise a new Art upon, directing how to convey intelligable and articulate sounds another way to the braine than by the eare or eye; showing that a man may heare as well as speake with his mouth. Upon which and other unlooked-for discoveries, I began in idea, to conceive the modell of a *New Academie*, which might be erected in favour of those who are in your condition, to wit, originally deafe and dumbe.”

Thos. Diconson, Esq., of the Middle Temple, who acts as chief chorus to Bulwer's writings, has so aptly expressed the object and tendency of the *Philocophus*, in certain laudatory verses, prefixed to the book, that we should err if we did not quote them.

“Rejoice, you Deafe and Dumbe, your Armes extend  
T' embrace th' inventive goodnesse of a Friend!  
Who heere intends, for your relief to Found  
An Academie, on NATURE's highest ground:  
Wherein He doth strange mysteries unlocke,  
How all the Sences have one common Stocke,  
Showes how indulgent Nature for each sence  
Wanting, allows a double recompence.  
How she translates a sence, transplants an Eare  
Into the Eye, and makes the Optiques heare.  
Inoculates an Eare with sight; whereby  
It shall performe the office of an Eie.  
Presents rich odours Tasted, viands Smelt,  
And Sound and Light in a strange maner felt.  
The sences (Art's new Master-piece) are taught  
T' exchange their objects by a new-found thought.  
The Deafe and Dumbe get Hearing Eies, which breake  
Their Barre of Silence, and thence learne to speake.  
Words may be seene or heard: w' are at our choyce  
For to give Eare or Eie unto a Voyce.  
Where men by their transposed sences gaine,  
This Anagramme of Art and Nature's plaine.”

Bulwer thus sums up the “Hints and Notions” he has ex-



pressed in the *Philocophus*, which "more directly concerne Deafe and Dumbe men:"—

"That men born *Deafe* and *Dumbe* have a kind of significant speech and naturall language; and what that is.

"Wherefore it is that *Deafe* and *Dumbe* men can expresse themselves so lively by signes.

"That all *Deafe* and *Dumbe* men seeme to have an earnest desire to unfold their lips to speak, as if they accounted their *Dumbness* their greatness unhappiness.

"That a man born *Deafe* and *Dumbe* may be taught to *heare sounds or words with his eyes*.

"[That *articulate speech* doth not necessarily assist the audible sound of the voyce, but may consist without it, and so consequently be seen as well as heard.—c. xiv.]

"The strangenesse of that expression abated and qualified, by proving a community among the sences, and their mutuall exchanging of objects.

"And hearing to be nothing else but the due perception of motion."

We now come to the rarest and, in a psychological point of view, perhaps the most interesting of Bulwer's works, the *Pathomyotomia*. In this work we see still more thoroughly worked out the ideas which had governed Bulwer's previous writings. Moreover, from it we learn how clearly he apprehended the importance of these ideas as clues to a wide, and at that time, almost undisturbed field of research. The title-page of this, Bulwer's fourth published work, is as follows:—

"PATHOMYOTOMIA, or a DISSECTION of the significative *Muscles* of the AFFECTIONS of the MIND. Being an Essay to a new Method of observing the most Important movings of the *Muscles* of the Head, as they are the nearest and Immediate Organs of the Voluntarie or Impetuous motions of the Mind. With the Proposall of a New Nomenclature of the *Muscles*.—By J. B., Sirnamed the *Chirosopher*.—*Augebitur Scientia*.—London, Printed by W. W. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the *Princes Armes* in St. *Pauls Churchyard*. 1649."

The author dedicates this work to "his loving Father, Mr. Thomas Bulwer," writing (and this dedicatory epistle contains a curious piece of contemporary medical history),—

"It hath been a laudable Custome with Persons of eminent degree to descend to honour their Sonnes with directing Books unto them; the reciprocation of which affectionate Complement is a duty well-becomming a Son; moved (therefore) with a certaine Filiall Decency I made choice to dedicate this Book unto you in regard the Argument of it is Provinciall to Physick, wherein your experience hath crowned your Profession, having ever been *Fortunatus in Praxi*. You shall find in it that which I use to call the Clock-work of the Head, or the Springs and inward Contrivance of Instruments of all our outward motions, which give motion and regulate the Dyall of the Affections,

which Nature hath placed in the Face of Man ; Being a New light, and the first Irradiation which ever appeared through the Dissections of a Corporeall Phylosophy. Could the Times have afforded it, it had come to your hands illustrated with the Ornamental Demonstrations of many Figures prepared for it ; but indeed the Stationers cautionary prudence met with an indisposition in me ; for I thought that in such new and unexpected matters too great a splendor might possibly have dazled. I confess I have met with little encouragement in this Designe, for all the Physicians and Anatomists that I have hinted it unto have held it scarce fecible, Doctor *Wright* Junior onely excepted, with whom having interchangeably communicated Intellectual Affaires, He shewing me the hint of his grand undertaking, which was *Anatomia Comparata*, that great Defect in Anatomy noted by my L. *Bacon* in his book *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, in returne whereof I having first told him of an Atchievement of mine in this Art, which I called *Vox Corporis*, or the Moral Anatomy of the Body ; I acquainted him also with this Essay, whose apprehension I found so well possessed with the gallantry (as he was pleased to speak) and the possibility thereof, that he promised me (to testifie his approbation,) he would commend it in his first publique Lecture of Anatomy in the College ; a day much expected by those who had took notice of the most eminent and Divine Impulsions of his Anatomique Genius. But prevented by his much lamented Death, what entertainment this Essay shall meet with among the Sect of Corporeal Philosophers, (having bin so unfortunately deprived of the advantage of such a Recommendation,) must be left to the Fate of Books. However, I hope it shall find acceptance with you, and be received as an evidence of the proove of that Education you bestowed on me, and of my Duty."

Bulwer next proceeds to unfold "The Scope and Use of the Essay for some previous satisfaction to the Intelligent Readers. More especially Physicians and Masters in Anatomia, whose Candor and Indulgence on this Essay is most properly desired." This is the cream of the book, and together with the fragments we have quoted from the *Chirologia*, *Chironomia*, and *Philocophus*, will enable our readers to form a tolerably accurate judgment of Bulwer's habits of thought. He writes :—

"Having resolved to trace the Discoursing Actions of the Head to their Spring and Principle upon which their outward significations depend ; when I had passed the superficial parts, and digged a little more than skin-deepe into the Minerall of Cephalicall Motion, I came to the *Muscles*, the instruments of voluntary motion ; or the instruments of those motions that are done by an earnest affection, that is, from an inward principle. The effects of whose moving significantly appeare in the parts moved ; when by an arbitrary motion we freely reject or embrace things understood (not with our mind only, but with our mind and body both). Here I made a stand ; and began curiously to enquire and hunt after all the Anatomists both Ancient and Moderne that had writ of the *Muscles*, and the motions of the Head, as well to satisfie my self as to crave in ayde of them : and having



had a view of as many as I could heare of and conveniently procure, and observed their severall views and methodicall variations no way answering my expectations; An emergent thought suggested to my imagination a notable Defect, hitherto undiscerned in that Art which of late hath attained unto a great perfection, which cast me into an extasie of admiration at so strange a Preterition, that among the Conscript Fathers of Anatomy there hath not been any one who, *Datá operá*, had undertaken a generall survey and Cognomination of the muscles of the Body, as they are the necessary Instruments of all those motions of the Mind, which are apparently expressed and made manifest by the effect of their use and movings in all the parts of the Body, although more Emphatically, by those operations they have in the Head and the most remarkable parts thereof. *Galen*, in that excellent Commentary, *De Motu Musculorum*, wherein he went beyond himselfe, and shewed the greatest miracle of his wit, a Book which all Anatomists kisse with reverence, as containing the Oracles of Myologie, doth not so much as glance at it, but under the generall notion of voluntary and arbitrary motion; and in his Anatomieall Administrations wherein he abundantly prosecutes these motions, and glories to have found out many which were hid and unknown to the Physicians that were before his time, and where he teacheth a method whereby every single motion may be found out; Nor in his Dissection of Muscles not a word, scarce, pointing to this Intention, not naming many, but only numerically, not three with an imaginable reference to any Emphaticall motion of the Mind. And all the Nomenclators since his time, who have undertaken to play with new names, which for memory, brevity of speech, and perspicuity of the thing, they have imposed upon the Muscles, have omitted the due regard proper to the Spirit and Life of their mentall significations: whereas the Denomination had been better from the Nature and energetically property of the Muscle, which should by that Rule have been taken from the more extant and pathetically representation of those parts they actuate, and by which they exhibite their Organicall significations. More strange yet, that no Artists should have made this the Subject of their Orations, but should have all to this day, either turned their discourse to the structure onely of the Humane Fabrique, the perfections or Symetry of the Body, or the excellency and antiquity of the Anatomique Art, or the *Encomiums* of the Antient and Moderne Anatomists: whereas nothing could have set a greater glosse upon the Art, or have bin more glorious and honourable, than together with their Dissections, to have enriched their discourse with a relation of the Essence, Regiment, and proprieties of the Soule, whose well-strung instrument the Body was; *Dr. Floud* being the first that in his peroration (when he was Prælector of Anatomy in the College of Physicians in *London* Anno 1620) exhibited such a kind of Method, together with an Explanation of his Reason, and an Example thereof; which Forme he did not magisterially propound unto them, but to declare that the Subject of an *Anatomicall præludium* ought to be the Internall and spirituall man, which is rather to be dissected with living words, than any knife how sharpe soever, and so consequently to be discovered and explained by a style of discourse. The field of which



subject as it is more ample and spacious than the rest ; So the Studious in Anatomy shall never find it barren, but most fruitfull ; So that every one herein may hit of much variety of invention. If then a Prologue onely of this nature is held so convenient by so great an Artist, how much more advantageous and delightful would a discourse interwoven throughout the Dissection ! Finding (therefore) that neither the great Parents of Physick, nor their Learned Off-spring had pathologized the Muscles, and thence bestowed significant names upon the most remarkable of them ; I resolved to attempt the Designe, so to take away the blemish which hath fallen upon the Art by the slovenly and careless Denomination of some of them, and the six-footed Barbarisms of those Greeke Conjuring names which are fit only for the bombastical Anatomy of *Paracelsus* ; wherein I was encouraged by observing that half a dozen of Muscles named according to our new intended modell, or the Species of their most significant motion ; and seeme to have been stumbled upon by the way of sport, or a Rhetoricall Chance-Medley of wit ; appeare so wonderfully pleasing to our moderne and most ingenious Anatomists, that they are still borrowing from one another those patheticall Apellations, or as *Riolanus* calls them, *Elegantissima nomina*, as if they were much affected with the felicity of that Pén from whence they first distilled, *quæ omne tulit punctum*, for Elegancy, Memory, Brevity, and Perspicuity. 'Tis true many have exercised their pens in discourses of the muscles : But an exact Description of the Discoursing Motions of the Muscles none of the Great Professors of Anatomy have so much as thought on ; whereas the facility, utility, and delightsomenesse of such motions might have invited many ; for, what is more easie than to discerne the parts manifested to Sense, and the fidelity of an Ocular assurance ? that are so subject to our touch, that in the semblance of those motions wrought in the parts by the endeavour of the Muscles, we may not only see, but as it were feele and touch the very inward motions of the Mind ; if you aske what delight will hence acree to the understanding ? What is so delightfull as to know by what kind of movings those varying motions and expressions of the Head and Face are performed ? What Muscle doth accomplish this or that speaking motion ? To observe the scheme or outward figure of each Affection in the Countenance ? That is the situation of each in its Motion, as it is drawn by the Muscles, and to read their significations couched in their names ? So that observing these accidents of the Head and Face, the Types and representations of the Affections which are accidents of the Mind, according to the nature of Correlatives, we may find out one by the other. And though it be but Negative ignorance not to be skilled in such matters, and so may be thought a needlesse Nicety or over-curious Inquisition to know every Muscle of our Head and Face : Yet certainly it cannot but be some disparagement to one that pretends to any ingenuous Education or Reading, to be as a meere Puppet or Mathematicall motion, and not to understand why, or after what manner, the Muscles of his Head move in obedience to the command of his Will ; and so to have no better a Head-piecc than that, which counterfeiting the naturall motions of Speech, uttered its mind to *Thomas Aquine*, and the learned Frier *Bacon*. And who I pray you

that is well versed in Philosophy, does affect to behold the cold effects of common Actions, without a Discourse of their Causes and intrinsic Agents—the Soule and the Muscles? Since that is familiar to Sense, and so by consequence to Beasts,—But this is subjected to the Intellect, to wit, the Internall Principle of man, wherefore we will think it a thing worthy to be corrected with the whip of Ignorance, if any rashly plunge himself into the Muscular Sea of corporal Anatomy, or of the outward man, without any mention of the Internall man, since the Soule only is the Opifex of all the movings of the Muscles, whose invisible Acts are made manifest by their operations in those parts into which they are inserted. Not that any perfection or exact knowledge of this nature can be acquired; since the wisdom of the Creator in the fearefull and wonderfull structure of the Head is not yet fully found out, although it has been sought after by illustrious men with much piety and Diligence: and therefore that which is most probable, and has the countenance of Authority, must passe for truth. To those also that shall hereafter Physically and Ethically handle the Doctrine of humane Affections, this may serve as a *Mercurius Ethicus*, to give intelligence to all *Athenian Pathologists*, of the motions of the Muscles which beare the greatest sway in matter of Affection: whereas heretofore Pathology hath beene confined, as it were, to *Aristotle's* Muscle, to wit that principle of inbred Heate, or ever movable substance of Spirit and blood, which seemes to frame the severall images of all the affections of the Mind; and has had little or no entercourse with the Muscles of the Affections; whereby she has been deprived of a great part of this ornament whereof shee is capable. But perchance the modernes have bin frighted with the difficulty of such Designe, as supposing such a *Muscular Philosophie* not fecible or reduceable into an Art: or else if it ever came into their Heades, they thought it a kind of impudence after *Galen* that glorious light of Anatomy, to endeavour any thing in this kind. Yet *Galen* in his Booke *De Motu Musculorum* seemes to have given any one a faire occasion of daring, where he writes, Whereas we have partly found out many things, and partly also intend diligently to make a thorow search after other things; and some other may find out what is wanting. With his leave therefore, I shall endeavour by a light Essay, to take notice of the figure and signatures of those Muscles that belong unto the Head, and are the Authors of the speaking motions thereof, and of the Superficial parts comprised in it, by the way, raising Allegoricall inferences from them, and adapting and imposing new names upon them according to their Physiognomical significations, which shall be as the Keyes of their important actions. Describing the rising and insertion, together with the fibres which modify the Determinate actions of each Muscle that I find, instrumentall, adjutant, or any way concurring to the expedition of any remarkable gesture of the Head or Face: So ordering the matter, that occasionally, most, if not all the mysteries of voluntary motion shall be brought in, at least in such a manner, as shall be more than sufficient to lay a firme foundation to our virgin Philosophie of Gesture, and to serve my turne for the present occasion. And because none that hitherto have treated of the moving of the Muscles, have driven after this Scope of their significations; I shall name the



authors by whose light I walke, and upon whose Bowle I clap the Bias of the Affections, neither my Margin, nor the nature of an Essay admitting any more criticall formalities of quotation. I am not ignorant that such daring attempts and undertakings are very obnoxious to envy, and apt to fall under the censure of Arrogancy and ostentation, imputations I have no reason to feare, since I arrogate, not to my selfe by the conduct of my owne light, to have found any new or great thing to add to the Doctrine of Muscular motion, to which (to speak the truth) I thinke there cannot much be added: neither am I so conceited of these animadversions, as to hope they should be admitted into the schoole of Anatomy, and straightwise be made Canonical; for, to fit a Novelty of this nature for such an admission, would require a whole College, or rather a nationall Synod of Anatomists to consult about it; my single Phantsie being not therefore *par negotio*, I have adventurd far with little strength and lesse encouragement to recommend the Designe to men of stronger Brains and publique Spirits. I think I may with modesty suppose, that I have sprung a new veine, and say that I was enforced to dig my way through, and out of much Oare and Drosse, to refine what was fit for my purpose before I could come to ransack this Secret and undiscover'd treasury of the Muscles; or to cast the old metall of their matter into a new mold, to make it more illustrious by conjoyning it with the inward motions of the minde, which set a representative shape and glosse upon the outward motions of those parts which are moved by the Muscles. If they are contented to allow me to have bin the first that by Art endeavoured to linke the Muscles and the Affections together in a new Parthomyogainia; or at least to have published the Banes between *Myologus* and *Pathology*, that any Physiologicall Handfaster that can marry them stronger together, might doe it if he pleas'd: I aske no more: as for the rest, *Veniam pro laude peto*. And if the *Scorbutick* wits of this Age, who preferre an idle Head before an active, should bee loath to afford me that, I can easily comfort my selfe with that of *Cremutius in Tacitus*, *Suum Cuique posteritas rependit, nec deerunt, si Damnatio, ingruit, qui mei meminerint.*"

The excellent and far-reaching philosophy of the preceding observations of Bulwer must certainly commend itself to our readers. It is perhaps not too much to say that, neither Lavater in his great work on *Physiognomy*, nor Bell in his *Anatomy of Expression*, manifested that lofty conception of the subject with which each dealt, that Bulwer did. With him Physiognomy and Expression, even when the latter was restricted to its connexion with the Fine Arts, were the natural offshoots of a wide-extending idea so fertile in its application and results, that the latter are still far from being exhausted. Doubtless, from the imperfect state of anatomy in Bulwer's time, he, in elaborating and applying his idea, fell almost as far short of success as Bacon did, when that great philosopher endeavoured to practise the method he so admirably taught. Yet, we think, that had an idea as pregnant and as philosophical as the one which guided Bulwer,



influenced Lavater and Bell, when, with pen and pencil, they sought to give definiteness to our knowledge of the outward manifestations of the mind, their works would have possessed a higher and perhaps more abiding interest than they now possess.

The last, most curious, and most generally known of Bulwer's works is, the *Artificial Changeling*, the title-page of which runs thus:—

“ANTHROPOMETAMORPHOSIS; Man Transformed: or the ARTIFICIALL CHANGLING, Historically presented in the mad and cruell Gallantry, foolish Bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy Finesse, and loathsome Loveliness of most NATIONS, fashioning and altering their Bodies from the mould intended by NATURE. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of NATURE. And an Appendix of the Pedigree of the ENGLISH GALLANT. By J. B., Sirnamed the Chirosopher.—*In nova fert animus, mutatas dicere formas.*—London, Printed for J. Hardesty, at the Black-spread-Eagle in Duck-Lane, 1650.”

This, the first edition of the work, is in duodecimo, and contains 263 pages of text, exclusive of prefatory matter and tables of contents, these not being paged. The book has a folding frontispiece exhibiting, on the one side, various heads illustrative of the text; on the other, a portrait of the author. It would not be advisable to attempt to describe Bulwer's physiognomy from this counterfeit presentment of him, and it is doubtful even whether the face which is represented, is that of a man of mid or in the decline of life.

Another edition of the *Anthropometamorphosis* was published in 1653. This is a small quarto work, and the title-page contains, after the words “intended by Nature,” the following addition:—“With figures of these Transfigurations. To which artificiall and affected Deformities are added all the Native and Nationall Monstrosities that have appeared to disfigure the Humane Fabrick.” The authorship and printer of this edition are thus stated:—“Scripsit J. B. Cognomento Chirosophus, M.D.—London, Printed by William Hunt, Anno Domini 1653.” The book contains 569 pages, in addition to the introductory matter and table of contents. The title-page is preceded by a most singular frontispiece, and the cuts dispersed throughout the book are very curious, and as roughly executed as curious. W. T. Turnbull, Esq., of the Record Office, the learned editor of the lately published Metrical History of Scotland, has in project a republication of the last edition of the *Anthropometamorphosis*, with fac-similes of the cuts. If, as we hope, this project should be carried out by our worthy friend, we can promise our readers (such of them at least as are bibliographically inclined) a rare treat.

The *Artificial Changling* is dedicated to Thos. Diconson, Esq., and in the dedicatory epistle Bulwer writes:—

“Friend, the Heroique Disease of writing hath (as you well know) long seized upon me, this being the Fifth Publique *Paroxisme* I have had thereof. It hath been ever the humour of my *Genius* to put me upon untrodden pathes, and to make up aggregate Bodies of very scarce and wide dispersed notions; which had been more easie for the Faculty of my weak Body, had I had a signality of spirit to summon Democriticall Atomes to conglobate into an intellectual Forme; or that *Mercury* had been so propitious a Lord of the Ascendant in my Nativity, as he was *Amphion's*, and bestowed some *Orpharion* upon me, with whose sound I might have attracted notions, and made them come dancing to the Construction of a Book. What I here present you with, is an Enditement framed against most nations under the Sun; whereby they are *arraigned* at the Tribunal of Nature, as guilty of High-treason, in Abasing, Counterfeiting, Defacing, and Clipping her Coine, instampt with her Image and Superscription on the Body of Man. . . . .

“I doubt not you will soone discerne the prepense malice of Satan in it; tempting mankind to a corporall Apostacy from himself, as if in an Apish despight of the glory of Man's Creation, that divine consultation, *Faciamus hominem*, Let us make man according to our Image; He would have his *Defaciamus hominem*, Let us deface man according to our likeness; insomuch as that of the *Psalmist*, *I am fearfully and wonderfully made*, might be ironically applied to man in this *abusive Transformation*.”

Bulwer explains that this portion of his “Corporall Philosophy,” is an “Historicall Tract of the Use and Abuse of Parts,” and is intended to teach the foolish perversity of man in running into error; and he would have the book to “serve as a Glasse for the perniciously-affected Gallants of our own time to looke in, and see the deformity of their Mindes and their Pedigree and Alliance; who practise such phantasticall emendations of nature; as dishonour her, and apparently show that they glory in their shame. And that men descending into themselves, may know themselves to be *men not beasts*, and learne to order the August Domicil of man reverently to the health of the Body and honour of the Soule.”

The subject of the “*Anthropometamorphosis* may have been suggested to Bulwer (as that of the *Chirologia* was), by a passage in the *Advancement of Learning*.

Bacon, in that work, teaches us that “the knowledge that concerneth man's body is divided as the good of man's body is divided.” Now, “the good of man's body is of four kinds, health, beauty, strength, and pleasure; so the knowledges are medicine, or art of cure: art of decoration which is called cosmeticque; art of activity, which is called athleticque; and art

voluptuary, which Tacitus truly calleth 'eruditus luxus.'" Further we are taught that *Cosmetique* "hath parts civil and parts effeminate: for cleanness of body was ever esteemed to proceed from a due reverence to God, to society, and to ourselves. As for artificial decoration, it is well worthy of the deficiencies which it hath; being neither fine enough to deceive, nor handsome to use nor wholesome to please."

This last sentence may possibly have prompted the "Artificial Changling." Bulwer, however, in dealing with his subject displays all the originality of a thoroughly active and thoughtful mind. The outrageous extravagancies of dress and personal decoration which had been in vogue previous to the fall of the monarchy, were favourite subjects of the moralists and satirists of Bulwer's day; and an admirable illustration of their method of dealing with the matter is to be readily found in the learned wrath which Burton lavishes upon *Artificial Allurements*, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*.\* But Bulwer endeavours to construct a comparative view of the methods of artificial decoration as well as of the artificially produced deformities of mankind generally, and so doing, maugre the imperfect materials at his command, he not only achieves the main,—the moral object which he aimed at, but, by his method and arrangement, he breaks the ground for a psychical comparison of different races of men.

Of course we, in our advanced wisdom, are provoked to much merriment by the wonderful recitals which are plenteously scattered throughout this book. For example, there is the familiar instance quoted by Dr. Nash in his notes upon Hudibras,† and familiar because so quoted. Bulwer, in the chapter on "Tailed Nations, Breech Fashions, and abusers of that part," relates, among other accounts of individuals possessed of a caudal appendage, a story told to him by "an honest young man of Captain Morris Company, in Lieutenant General Ireton's regiment, that at Cashell, in the County of Tipperary, in the province of Munster, in Carrick Patrick Church, seated on a hill or rock, stormed by Lord Inchiquine, and where there were near seven hundred put to the sword, and none saved but the Mayor's wife and his Son; there were found among the slaine of the Irish, when they were stripped, divers that had Tailes neare a quarter of a yard long; the Relator being very diffident of the truth of the story, after enquiry, was ensured of the certainty thereof by forty soldiers that testified upon their oaths that they were eye-witnesses, being present at the Action."

This belongs to the category of errors which, as Bacon tells us, can be corrected by time alone. We can laugh at such credulous mistakes now, and can understand how, even when first

\* Pt. III., sec. 2, mem. 3, sub-sec. 3.

† Pt. II. c. i. l. 742.



vended, they did not fail to come under the lash of shrewd men; but we cannot yet afford to lay too much stress upon the surpassing acuteness of our own days. There is always one or more of the descendants of Autolycus roaming about shouting forth some wondrous story "with five justices' hands at it, and witnesses more than his pack will hold;" always many children of Dorcas and the Clown ready to swallow with avidity the numerously attested tale. But when the children's part in this act of the drama is played by the Emperor and Empress of a great nation, as is reported of their Imperial Majesties of France in certain "spirit-rapping" exhibitions recently said to have been enacted before them, our laugh at John Bulwer's credulousness, as we affect to consider it, degenerates into a very melancholy quaver.

At the termination of the *Anthropometamorphosis*, Bulwer gives a list of the works which he had published (all of which we have now noted); also of the works which he had "accomplished," and which he might be induced "hereafter to communicate." That hereafter does not appear to have ever arrived, but it is proper, if we would obtain a right understanding of the man, to know the titles of the works which we have unfortunately lost. It may be well also to remark that the list of accomplished but not communicated works appended to the edition of the *Anthropometamorphosis* in 1653 contains two titles more than the list appended to the edition of 1644. The list of 1653 is as follows:—

"CHIRETHNICALOGIA: or, The Nationall Expressions of the Hand.

"CEPHALELOGIA: or The Naturall Language of the Head, being an Extract of the most noble and Practical Notions of Physiognomy.

"CEPHALENOMIA: or the Art of Cephalicall Rhetorick.

"VOX CORPORIS: or the Morall Anatomy of the Body.

"*The Academy of the Deafe and Dumbe*: Being the manner of Operation to bring those who are so borne, to heare the sound of Wordes with their Eyes, and thence to learne to speake with their Tongues.

"VULTISPEX CRITICUS: seu *Physiognomia Medici*.

"GLOSSIATRUS: Tractatus de removendis Loquelæ Impedimentis.

"OTIATRUS: Tractatus de removendis Auditionis Impedimentis."

This list, then, was alone needed (if the intimations given in the prefaces to his books had not sufficed) to show how completely Bulwer had apprehended, worked out, and applied to practical consequences of unusual importance, the play of the mind in gesture and movement. This list, also, completes our justification in claiming for Bulwer a notable position as a medical psychologist, and a loftier standing as a man of science than it has been customary to yield to him.

Bulwer deserves a very honourable place in the history of English, and, indeed, of European medicine. He first of all,

apparently, reasoned out on thoroughly scientific grounds, the practicability of instructing deaf-mutes. He did this, certainly, at a time when Bonet's success in educating deaf-mutes in Spain was becoming known in England, and when there were other workers in the field besides himself. Indeed, a sentence in the title-page of the *Chirologia*—to wit, that the Types or Chirograms were “a long-wished for illustration of this argument”—would lead to the supposition that the subject of the book was one which had excited some attention previous to the publication of Bulwer's investigations. To others, so far as we can now ascertain, belongs the honour of first showing experimentally, in this country, the practicability of teaching the deaf and dumb. But this in no wise detracts from the peculiar merit of Bulwer; and even now we cannot but admire the effective manner in which he paved the way for and facilitated the labours of contemporary and subsequent workers in the same field. Bulwer, however, saw that the culture of deaf-mutes was but one of several important practical applications of the psychical principle from which he started; and it is the clear and full apprehension of the vitality of this principle, so quaintly set forth in the prefaces to his works, which, we conceive, constitutes his highest and best claims as a scientific man and medical psychologist.

Bulwer's works, as we have already intimated, possess the additional and collateral interest of being a charming illustration of the earlier and direct effects of Bacon's writings and method, on thoughtful literary and scientific men in this country. Bulwer derived his inspiration from Bacon, and that he made a most excellent use of this inspiration in the then unsatisfactory state of biological science, will hardly be denied.

What Bulwer chiefly deserves to be remembered and honoured for has been so well recited in the *Pathomyotomia*, by his principal chorus, Thos. Diconson, Esq., *Med. Templ.*, that we shall permit this gentleman again to recount the merits of his friend in resounding verse. Nay, the verses which we are about to quote are worth reading as verses, if for their quaintness merely, and they are by no means a bad example, and might serve as a capital type of eulogistic poesy. Dedications of books are once more becoming the fashion, and who knows but that laudatory verses may again come into requisition?

“*To the daring ADVANCER of all SOMATICALL SCIENCE,  
his Selected Friend, on his PATHOMYOTOMIA.*”

“Thou Grand Adventurer, wits *Magellan*,  
To whom our Microcosme or Isle of Man,  
By thy all searching Pen's so thoroughly scand,  
There's now no part in us an unknown land;

How thriving is thy head in new Designes,  
To bring home, not the minerall, but the mind.  
This Pathologicall Anatomy,  
Deare Friend, hath wound our admiration high.  
A strange Essay, indeed, that dares to trace,  
All the rare Springs and Wards that move a face;  
To make Anatomy by muscles wind  
The swiftest motions of the winged Mind,  
Nature's high piece of Clockeworke this you call,  
Reason the Spring winds up, the Muscles all,  
Like wheels move this or that way, swift or sloe,  
As the Affections' weight doth make them go.  
All the Soules motion's seen, the Head and Face,  
Discovering all, as through a Cristall Case;  
Here the Affections keep an Open Marte,  
By Patent seal'd by thy Cephalick Art.  
The Itchnographie of the Art do's smile,  
A promis on us, of some stately pile,  
And puts us in good hope abroad to see  
That Masterpiece of Physiognomie,  
Thy Magisteriall Quintessence of Bookes,  
Or extract Scientificall of lookes.  
Then that whereby as a Face-Prophet shown,  
Thou know'st the Affections' are the Bodye's own,  
Whence subtilly thou'rt wont to ken and trace,  
The Criticall Disease-discovering Face,  
That though the humors bedded are within,  
Yet thou canst track their footsteps in the skin.  
Strange secrecy of Art and mysticall,  
To cast our Faces as an Urinall;  
Nay, by a stranger's Face well copyed out,  
For to pronounce by Art He hath the Goute.  
Such are thy common Auguries; we may  
Sure trust thy skill, that doth such beames display.  
The last Yeare stil'd you Deafe and Dumb man's friend,  
Now Thy Design more deeper doth descend.  
I see Thy knowledge and invention flowes  
As far in man as Sense and Motion goes.  
Then take the Chair, where maist Thou Doctor sit,  
Command our health's, as Thou hast done our wits.  
Lure down thy soaring Truths, solve every doubt,  
And by convincing practice make them out  
To Faith-bound Sceptiques, who count nothing good  
Till flat experience make it understood.  
Now to the Art-forsaken Deafe dispence  
Thy skill as Aurist to restore their sense.  
Wert thou once known Surdasters would come on  
To court Thee for Thy Autocousticon.  
Next as a Linguist teach the dumb to breake,  
Or pick the Padlock lets his Lips to speake.



Ransom each captiv'd tongue; weak speech improve,  
 And the impediments thereof remove.  
 Then as a Motist by this healing light,  
 Set all our Heads' depraved motions right.  
 And may success attend, while swelling Fame  
 Fills up thy Sailes with an All-healing name."

### ART. III.—THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUL:

PROVED BY A CONTEMPLATION OF MAN IN HIS VARIOUS PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT.

By J. L. C. SCHROEDER VAN DER KOLK.

(Translated from the Original, in the "*Album der Natuur*,"\* by WILLIAM DANIEL MOORE, M.B., M.R.I.A., Honorary Member of the Swedish Society of Physicians and of the Norwegian Medical Society.)

WHEN we look around us on the works of nature, and contemplate their infinite variety and richness, while all are brought in harmony and order to a system, nothing excites our amazement more than the universally diffused superfluity of life and motion in the organic kingdom, which, both in plants and animals on the whole maintains its standard in the midst of incessant change, of perishing and starting into existence, unless we discover the concealed Artificer, who directs and sustains it all.

But if we direct our attention to a single living being, and endeavour to discover the connexion between the operations of life and their causes, we find no less order and harmony, and are brought to the conviction that throughout the whole creation means and object coincide; that in it every part exists, and works not for itself alone, but also for the existence and life of the entire body; that all is arranged in inscrutable wisdom, that every plant and every animal is formed, that their internal actions and powers are regulated, that their endowments and properties co-operate in harmonic order, precisely as their being, mode of life, and necessities demand; that nothing is forgotten, nothing is useless or superfluous, but everything proclaims the Almighty Maker, whose perfection is reflected in his works as in a mirror.

But if we contemplate man himself, we discover, in addition to the operations of his body and of the nervous powers which govern his corporeal life, still other new and higher capacities and endowments, which we meet with nowhere else in the same mode in Nature around us. We here observe our *higher I*, our spirit endowed with reason and understanding, capable of tracing and investigating the wonders of Nature, of estimating cause and

effect, of raising us to the Supreme Cause, to the Creator himself, and of honouring him as the Infinite Wisdom and source of all.

Not only the nature and essence of this higher principle, but also the connexion which unites the soul so closely with the body, has at all times been a question which men have in vain endeavoured to solve. Pretty generally we represent our soul as a higher independent principle, of which our body is only the temporary abode and organ; but many, particularly in our day, regard the soul only as an emanation of the powers peculiar to the living body, and connected with matter, or as a manifestation of power and action produced by metamorphosis of tissue in the nerves and brain; according to Ludwig Fick, of Marburg, as an union of central nervous currents,\* but to which, according to him, as a product of bodily forces all independence must be denied, and which is thus completely *one* with the body, *one* with matter, in whose action it is stated to originate, and as frail and perishable as the acting forms of matter, to which it is indebted for its appearance.

That, as in the other works of creation, soul and body co-operate in harmonic connexion to a common object, cannot be doubted; that the influence of the body on the mental powers and on our higher being is exceedingly great, daily experience teaches, our own constitution, temperament, our more or less violent inclinations and passions prove, and the phenomena of insanity demonstrate to us with melancholy certainty.

But do in fact Nature and all these phenomena teach us, that soul and body are so completely one, and that our higher *I* is only the product and the expression of our highest bodily powers, sprung from the metamorphosis of tissue? Or does an attentive consideration rather show us that the soul is not so entirely the immediate product of the body, but that, on the contrary, the body is the organ of the soul, which as an independent being, whose nature we cannot here penetrate, dwells in the body, and only through its help can here below attain its full development?

Important questions certainly, with which our tenderest and dearest interests are so closely connected; questions which at all times have constituted the great stumbling-block to philosophers and sceptics.

The importance of the matter will surely plead my excuse to the readers of this Album, when I endeavour to ascertain, by opening the book of Nature itself, whether we cannot in it find some elucidation and solution of these weighty though obscure inquiries. With this object I shall, simply following the footsteps of Nature, briefly sketch the whole man in his successive stages of development: the opening of his higher mental powers

\* Müller's *Archiv*, 1851, Heft V., pp. 335, *et seq.*

in the child, their further formation in the youth, their full vigour in manhood, and lastly their maturity in the period of old age,—in order so to examine, whether Nature in fact teaches us that our higher *I*, our intellectual capacities and endowments, our reason and moral feeling are only effects of bodily forces, and therefore keep such equal pace with bodily actions in the several periods of life, that we may assume the perfect unity of soul and body.

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Immediately the newly-born child has entered the world, he is aroused from his hitherto undisturbed slumber, in which he could receive scarcely any stimuli from without, by new sensations never before experienced by him. His senses do not, however, yet possess perfect capability of correctly transmitting these sensations, and his as yet undeveloped mental powers are still unable properly to receive and distinguish them; they are only impressions and sensations, there are as yet no perceptions.

The first life of his soul consists only in the transient reception of impressions which he does not yet comprehend; he enters his first school to learn to take in and distinguish the sensations he receives, and thus by frequent repetition to acquire the power of recognising and understanding them; the impressions on his senses lead to perceptions; they are, as it were, the mental food the world offers him, the first material for his thought. Besides the new impression of light, which meets his eyes, he seems scarcely to experience any other perception than that of the to him strange feelings of hunger and thirst. Previously constantly fed, he is now quickly aroused from the beneficial sleep wherein he, as it were, continues his foetal life, by the first unpleasant feeling of hunger or thirst, extorting the involuntary cry; his own voice, which he now unlooses, is itself among his first perceptions. But for all this beneficent Nature has provided; the movements necessary to the act of suckling are not directed by the will or understanding, but are at first involuntary; so soon as anything touches his sensitive lips, this sucking movement spontaneously commences, and even children born without a brain, perfectly perform the act of sucking. So long as the child is still unable to govern his own body, this guidance is undertaken by a peculiar artificial arrangement of the system; all is cared for, nor is anything left to his inexperience and as yet undeveloped will and power of acting.

On the tender, warm bosom of his mother his first necessity is supplied, and he there receives the agreeable sensation of satisfaction and content; it is the first enjoyment of life which the new world offers him. The constant repetition of this want, with the succeeding enjoyment of satisfaction makes this sensation more



lasting and persistent; very soon when he is taken up, or perceives any strange sensation, he draws his little mouth aside anew to satisfy his want and find his enjoyment; for as yet he does not distinguish his mother's breast from any other novel stimulus or perception, and thus in his still obscure consciousness he makes the first advance towards a higher development; awakes the first trace of memory, which begins to give him a misty feeling of a previously tasted enjoyment; he already commences to live in the past.

His senses are, however, still imperfect, and only gradually does he become capable of further impressions; at first interrupted by the constant need of sleep, the stimuli of the senses are administered to him in small, frequently repeated doses, and thus he is preserved from over-stimulation.

At first he seems deaf, or at least hard of hearing; the cavity of the tympanum is still filled with fluid, which seems to disappear but slowly, and to make way for the impressing air; this existence of fluid in the cavity of the tympanum must make him deaf, as not unfrequently occurs also in after life. But I have often observed distinct evidence of hearing within a few weeks; although the child is at first not nearly so easily disturbed in his tranquil sleep by a great noise, as is subsequently the case.

Sight, our highest sense, gives him his first perceptions, and brings him into closer relation to the outer world. I have seen a child, even a few hours after birth, follow with his eyes the movements of a candle at some distance, in which respect he is immediately distinguished, according to Burdach, whose accurate observations I here chiefly follow, from young animals, who are stated not to do this.\* But the convexity of his eyes, and the lenses contained in them, seems still for a rather long time to limit his vision more to near objects, and the immobility of the globe of the eye and the membrane frequently spread over it, seem somewhat to obscure his vision; he rejoices in the light, but does not yet see, that is, he does not yet perceive.

He first follows the light, afterwards lighted objects and their movements, and soon these repeated impressions begin to excite a peculiar activity of the mind, which, as if hereby aroused from sleep, commences to manifest its peculiar action; light already makes an agreeable impression on him, and soon he appears impatient of being in the dark; by constant repetition he begins during the early months to attain to a certain recognition of objects; what is new seems to give him some pleasure, and the first involuntary smile around his tender mouth in the second or third month puts his watching mother in a transport at the rapid development of her darling. In the third month he begins distinctly to express pleasure or dissatisfaction. At the same time,

\* Burdach, *Die Physiologie als Erfahrungs-Wissenschaft* III Th. p. 185.

memory and the capability of combining impressions increase. Formerly when he felt hungry he let his voice be heard until, applied to the breast, he found satisfaction in the act of sucking; in the third month he generally becomes quiet when he is taken up to suck; he knows now, by repeated experience, that his wants will soon be supplied; a little later he discovers the effects of crying, and now cries designedly in order to obtain something. Thus a peculiar activity of the spirit begins to be developed, his memory becomes stronger and he makes his will known. In fact, a remarkable phenomenon; let us consider it for a few moments. It is said: Soul and body are one, or the soul is nothing else than brain or nerve-power; but does Nature indicate this to us, when we observe her without prejudice? We know no nerve or brain-part, which of itself acts alone and definitely in the same manner reflects a received impression. Here we see a new principle, an independently acting essence or power gradually developing itself as it were out of sleep, a principle which begins to manifest volition and consciousness, whereof we discover no trace in any single nerve-force,—a being which acts on brain and nerve-force, or receives and takes in impressions, which guards, acts, appropriates, and gives away again, but does not, as in a mirror, immediately reflect; on the contrary, it acts according to its own will; according to a peculiar independent power, and is no longer merely passively driven. I cannot in fact read in Nature this similarity and identity between soul and body and their mode of action, but a peculiar independent principle, which must be still further developed.

As in the first period the child's spirit is passive in the reception of impressions, without as yet manifesting any peculiar activity, so it does not yet act upon his body; the first movements are involuntary and undefined; he is still without the idea of touching anything, nor does he guide the movement of his arms. But at a very early period he can bring his little hands to his mouth; subsequently, in the third month, he catches at an object to endeavour to raise it to himself; proper touching and handling succeed much later, and demand a higher degree of mental activity, and special investigation. Hence the absurd opinion of some writers, who assert that the child receives the first impression of distance and size by the touch, and by feeling learns to see. On the contrary, he sees and distinguishes objects at various distances long before he seizes them with his hands and begins to examine them; he is not yet capable of the philosophical speculations and deductions which these writers in their fancy ascribe to him, imagining a child in whom a little philosopher should be hidden, already reasoning and drawing conclusions as to the properties of things.

At the end of the third month his development very rapidly increases, his attention becomes more acute, he already endeavours to imitate, and at this period I have even seen him accommodate his mouth to counterfeit a sound he heard; a rapid change of objects surprises him, and he crows with delight. But even now a new phenomenon is developed, the first swellings of passions appear, against which he will hereafter have to contend so much; he makes his displeasure and anger plainly known, he cries and plunges with his legs, and resists as much as he can, when he is being washed; by the different tones of his cry he already expresses what is passing within him. Correctly does Burdach observe, "No animal is after birth so impatient and passionate as man, because man alone is endowed with an independent spirit which endeavours to break through restraints and obstructions."

Simultaneously with these passions his mental affections and his feeling are developed; in the commencement he is passive and as yet incapable of joy; this sentiment must first be excited by repeated agreeable impressions; at first they are only impressions on the senses, such as those produced by brilliant objects, which procure him pleasure; soon the gentle human voice produces this effect; and in the fourth month he crows with delight when he is spoken to or sees a friendly face. The repetition of this renders the enjoyment of pleasure a necessity; he becomes sociable and does not wish to be alone; habit—so well called by Burdach a recollection of feeling—begins to exercise its power, and with it education commences. By daily habit he becomes attached first to his mother, with whom he finds rest and satisfaction, and subsequently also to the other members of the family. The desire for companionship thus excited is the first germ of returned love, and thus is developed the noblest of human affections, love; first towards his mother, afterwards towards his sisters and brothers, and farther, as the circle of his acquaintance extends, towards other individuals. This feeling is excited chiefly by hearing and thus by being spoken to; how much hearing acts on sentiment is shown by those born deaf and dumb, who are in general much less sociable and more capricious; they have much greater difficulty in restraining their passions than those have who are born blind; thus the sound of lamentation moves us much more than the sight of an unfortunate: sound acts more on the sentiment and speaks to the mind, sight acts more on the understanding.

As he advances, the child begins also more rapidly to distinguish what is strange and unusual from what is already known; he first stares at a stranger with wide-stretched eyes, then turns away his face, hides himself in his mother's bosom, and begins to



cry ; a new affection, fear, is manifested, and the child becomes uneasy and shy on the approach of an unknown person.

In like manner he begins to recognise what appears pleasant and remarkable ; he desires to grasp it, and in the desire to seize it the first love of property is developed ; he is still quite an egotist, the idea that anything can belong to another he acquires much later, and only by sacrifice and loss ; and if it promotes the acquisition of what he desires, a peculiar restraint over himself. No wonder that this is difficult to the child, as we see that in this respect so many men continue children all their life through.

If his desires are constantly satisfied, if he observes that his wishes are officiously complied with, and that he gets what he demands, he learns more and more the power of his will, and obtains by crying what he cannot directly take by force. If he is not always attended to, and if something is withheld from him, he experiences the law of necessity, is obliged to restrain his desires, subjects himself to order, and learns to obey. On the contrary, by too quickly complying with his wishes, he is rendered the victim of imperious desire ; by finally yielding to him, his capriciousness is nourished, and the power of governing himself, the highest power in man, is not acquired by him ; his higher development is retarded, he becomes capricious and obstinate ; he continues a child, and is completely spoiled for the whole of his subsequent life, if opposition and the force of circumstances do not at a later period bend his stubborn will.

With each succeeding month the child rapidly advances in the development of his mental powers ; his memory in particular becomes more acute ; he recognises with delight objects seen before, and soon recollection of things he no longer sees ensues ; he acquires the power of bringing them in his ideas before his mind, and of, as it were, delineating them in his thoughts, his imagination awakes, and even now manifests itself in his dreams.

If he has in the fifth and sixth months learned to seize objects, he commences to busy himself with them, his mind exhibits more special activity, he begins to play and to investigate. He already more and more makes his desires known by definite sounds, and in the eighth month distinctly endeavours to imitate sounds and words ; he for the first time tries to express not only his wishes, but also his ideas by the use of language, exhibiting a capacity for it designedly conferred on him by nature, and which at a later period of life appears to us nearly incomprehensible.

We must, however, here observe, that the child understands the meaning of many words ; and, for example, recognises his name and that of his parents before he can pronounce them. If any one hears a wholly unknown language spoken, this kind of

acquisition is not easy; we require an interpreter, a teacher, a grammar, and a dictionary; but the child learns to speak without this aid; he has neither dictionary nor interpreter, and although some names by constant repetition become recognisable to him, these are perpetually brought before him in varied senses. How much attention is required to understand the often figurative signification of adjectives—for example, the sweet child, a sweet lump of sugar; fine weather, a fine garment, a fine doll; how much observation to understand the verbs, which represent no visible thing, in the several conjugations and meanings in which they occur, and to distinguish them in a quite different order and connexion which he does not comprehend; how much to comprehend the meaning of colours and of numbers; and still examples are not wanting of children, educated by French nurses, learning two languages at once. Indeed, a friend of mine informed me that he knew a child born of Dutch parents, at Verviers, who at the age of four years made use, according to circumstances, of four different languages without confounding them, namely, of Dutch, French (the language of most of the respectable inhabitants there), Wallonic (the ordinary dialect of the lower classes), and German, the language of some families living at Verviers, with whom his parents were acquainted.

The child, in fact, in this respect, exhibits a surprising capacity of mind, which at a later period of life we do not possess, and which elevates him far above all animals, as the parrot learns indeed to imitate particular words, but does not understand their meaning. We can teach the child only the names of objects and persons; abstract ideas and special properties, which are not the object itself, are learned only through the peculiar operation of the child's mind, and without any deliberate method.

In this we see particularly the fitness of our body to nourish the mind, not only by conveying to us impressions on our senses, sounds, and words, but also by the power it gives us of reflecting our thoughts in sounds and words as speech and language. It is specially thus that the endowments of our mind are developed. Precisely through speech and the signification of words is the child's attention more forcibly directed to surrounding objects, and he becomes acquainted with their properties. Words and names are the marks for our memory, and the name recalls the thing itself. Numbers the child learns last, and with the greatest difficulty, just like many savage nations, who do not carry them beyond a low figure. But if we try, as Gerdy correctly remarks,\* to count the number, for example, of writers in our library without thinking of figures, by repeating the names alone, we do not reach half a score of books before we are in confusion. Thus it

\* *Annales Psychologiques*, Tome 1, p. 374.

is particularly by the faculty of speech that man acquires beyond animals the power of developing his already much higher organization and understanding; it is by the assistance and means of the body that the understanding is cultivated; but are therefore our mental powers and thoughts actions of matter and developments of bodily power, or are they the actions of a special independent faculty, a peculiar principle, to the development of which the body must be subservient? In other words is our mind as in animals for the body, or is the perishable body for the mind, and only its temporary servant, through whose aid the mind may be developed? The answer to these questions will, as I hope, just now appear plain to us.

Speech, that excellent possession of man, is, as Burdach correctly observes,\* not merely a result of the structure of his body and of the vocal apparatus. Many animals can imitate and articulate words without being therefore capable of speech, and the dumb invent for themselves, instead of speech, a language of gesticulation such as no animal possesses. It depends on man's power of generalizing phenomena in his ideas, and on the endeavour to reflect his ideas in a sensible form, so that by the mode in which such forms or signs are connected one with another, each thought may be expressed. Language is not given directly by nature, for each people has a different one; but is discovered by the proper action of the mind, only the impulse to it is innate; in fact the child would, if he heard no language in the society of others, create a special language for himself. This the deaf-mutes prove, and even those who are born blind and deaf and dumb learn to speak by feeling and attain a certain development, notwithstanding that their mind is shut out from by far the greater number of impressions on their senses. So little are the mind and spirit the result of impressions on the senses, so strongly do they on the contrary indicate the existence of a peculiar independent principle dwelling in the body, that I cannot refrain from quoting the following touching proof, communicated by Burdach, with very many others,† of blind deaf-mutes. Laura Bridgman in North America, became perfectly developed in acuteness of mental power and tender feeling, notwithstanding that she was blind and deaf and dumb, that her sense of smelling was wanting, and her taste so defective that she commonly mistook infusion of rhubarb for tea. She was admitted into the Blind Institution in Boston in 1837, in her eighth year; she soon felt happy there and was penetrated with thankfulness to her teachers, as in this institution she found more food for her mind than in her parents' house, at Hanover, in North America. After she had spent half a year in

\* *Blicke ins Leben*, II B., p. 189.

† *Ibid.* III B., p. 53.



the institution she received a visit from her mother, felt her hands and clothes without recognising her, and thereupon turned from her as from a stranger; for the many objects and impressions which since she left her parents' house had attracted her entire attention, had in her limited powers of sense weakened the recollection of her home. She was delighted to get a string of pearls she had formerly worn, and she gave Dr. Howe, the director of the institution, to understand, that this was a present from her former abode; nevertheless she repulsed her mother, who wished to caress her, and returned to her playmates. On receiving from her mother another object from home, she became very much excited, examined it accurately, and informed Dr. Howe that this lady must certainly have come from Hanover: she also allowed her to caress her, but then again left her with indifference. After some moments, when her mother who was hurt again approached her, she appeared to be struck by the thought that this could be no stranger; she felt her hands very eagerly, grew quite pale and again as red as fire; hope and doubt were contending within her. Her mother drew her towards her and kissed her; upon which she threw herself on her bosom with an expression of transport, and left her no more. Playmates and playthings had no longer any attraction for her. On subsequent separation from her mother, the girl, now nine years old, showed as much understanding and consideration as deep feeling; she accompanied her, when leaving, to the front of the house, where she clung closely to her; then felt round her to ascertain who was near her. Observing a much beloved teacher, she seized him with one hand; while with the other she held her mother spasmodically; let go the latter, turned round, and clung sobbing to the teacher.

Does this touching ebullition of feeling and love, this action of the understanding, to which so few sensual impressions had access, express nothing more than a simple material operation proceeding from metamorphosis of tissue? or does it not rather indicate a peculiar independent essence, which, notwithstanding its much more defective organs of sense than many animals possess, elevated itself above all obstacles and independently and freely developed itself?

It is not by constant repetition of sensual impressions that our organs become more acute, we perceive them scarcely more at the last, but only by the proper independent attention of the mind to these or those perceptions, whereby we learn to observe more particularly; a person born blind has much more acute feeling, but after recovering his sight he gradually loses the finer sense of touch, as his attention is now distracted from feeling to vision. It is therefore the proper independent action of the mind, and not that of the organ, which gives us the capacity of finer perception,

and must not the mind itself be an independent entity? The blind deaf-mute James Mitchell, in Scotland, came to know not only his house but even the country about it, went to walk alone, and returned home at the proper time, although he had only the sense of touch to guide him.\* Burdach adduces a number of striking examples of the development of such persons and the mode of teaching letters and their significations through feeling alone, and so of communicating a language by the touch, as a proof that man may be developed in the absence of his organs, and demonstrate the independence of his mind. Much of this I might quote, did not the extent of the subject oblige me to abridge my remarks.

Simultaneously with the development of the mind, the child's body now increases in stature and strength. He learns to guide his movements, to grasp, to stand and finally to walk and move without support. By these daily exercises the body is strengthened, and its increasing power is reflected on the vivacity and activity of the mind and promotes the development of each.

In judging of others the child, in his still trifling experience, contemplates every thing from his limited childish point of view with reference to himself. Thus I have often seen a child in his third and even in his fourth year when reproved shut his eyes, with the idea that he could not then be seen; or with closed eyes catch at a forbidden dish, thinking that as he did not see, others could not observe his little epicurism.

But the nursery has already detained me too long, that important theatre, where man commences his education, and where so many seeds are sown and bud, which shall subsequently bring forth roses or thorns.

In his further development vivacity and mobility are the peculiar features of the child; he acts quickly in everything, both in his movements, thoughts, and ideas. Many impressions are also easily lost; to take root and to have a permanent effect admonitions must be frequently repeated.

The constantly renewed and always more perfect perception of objects which he acquires on all sides, his need of occupation, the capacity for impressions, in consequence of which every thing arrests him, make him inquisitive, and at length greedy of knowledge, his learning-time commences, and with it a peculiar activity of mind, which is directed less by accidental external circumstances and impressions than by his own will and inclination.

Thus he grows and becomes, from a child, a boy, and at length a youth; in no animal has Nature extended youth and learning-time to such a length as in man, for he alone must learn everything, and prepare himself for higher education. In this the difference of the sexes is soon manifested, in the wilder sports of

\* Burdach, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

the boy, who longs to exercise his bodily powers and independence, and with respect to his mind penetrates more deeply into the matters which come before him ; while the more gentle girl, good and beautiful, outstrips him in general development, in tact and sense of truth. But on this subject time forbids me to dwell. It may suffice to indicate how large a part the body takes in the entire development of the mind and of the disposition. Even in the child and boy the disposition, indeed the whole character, exhibits itself, and becomes more strongly developed in the youth. The difference of frame gives to each individual the tendency and hue which subsequently pass into the temperament peculiar to each, so that in the same family each child manifests his own nature and disposition. Childless people, without experience, may argue very wisely on this subject, and often think that the newly born child is a white, unwritten-on sheet of paper, on which the parents may as they please inscribe what seems best to them. Experience shows that the paper is already fully written on by Nature, and we may think ourselves fortunate, if we can improve the sense, and place here a comma, there a semicolon, and above all, if we can introduce a full stop in the right place. The soul may indeed originally be one and the same ; but the eye and the body are the spectacles through which each one observes with his own colours under different degrees of magnifying power and accuracy all around him ; or the body is a peculiarly tuned musical instrument which more or less acutely conveys the impressions of the outer world with these or those particular notes, influencing the tone of the disposition. It is the body through whose aid the mind is not alone formed, but also, according to the constitution of each, receives a peculiar modification, which again changes with the period of life. But the body and education are not the sole sources of influence ; even in the terribly neglected Caspar Hauser a very good disposition was subsequently developed. A child may be very much spoiled by bad education, but Nature has not left this altogether to the caprice of the parents. The child is not a piece of clay, out of which the parents can at will form a man or a wild beast. "The most noble principle," says Burdach, "the imagination, the elevation of the soul, the glow of moral feeling and love, are not learnt, but promoted."

This influence of the body we see also strongly marked in the youth, where the body more and more approaches to its full formation, where the muscular system has been developed, and the blood is driven forcibly through the vessels, and where also the mind unites vivacity with power, courage, and enterprise. With modification of the former fugitive nature of impressions, self-consciousness and reflection awake in him. He wishes to



form himself by his own power, his learning as a child passes into study, inquisitiveness into love of knowledge, and empiricism into science. He strives after wisdom and self-formation, and while he wishes to act independently abroad, his parent's house becomes too narrow for him.

But quickly in the already sedate youth the current of the blood excites him in his fermenting vivacity and passion, and he loses the control over his affections; they overpower his mind, he is dragged along and now returns in his passion to the condition of the child, which cannot guide itself. At the same time the bodily operations are exalted, the current of the blood is more rapid, the metamorphosis of tissue is more active; but does he now in consequence become wiser? Is his judgment at that moment more correct—his moral feeling exalted? Is he not like an insane person, in whom, with still stronger corporeal impressions, the mind is wholly carried away by the storm of the feelings, but whose subsequent recovery shows that it was not thereby altered, and that it lost nothing, but has preserved its peculiar powers and capacities? Does it not prove in a peculiar manner the action of the body, and the desires springing from it on the mind, that among the insane many think themselves higher, and imagine that they are princes, kings, or emperors, and that they can control millions? Others believe themselves bad, criminal, or forsaken of God. But I have never seen an insane person who thought himself more virtuous, braver, or more philanthropic than another.

But if the brave youth has through severe hemorrhage or illness lost his strength, his courage and gaiety and his enterprise have disappeared, but his understanding is not lost—his moral feeling is not extinguished. Does not nature thus distinctly show that the soul is a peculiar independent essence, although connected with the body, not wholly bound up with it nor perishing with it?

In the powerful constitution of the youth, however, new sensations bud, living, strong impressions, and the storms of passions and inclinations besiege his mind. It is the most important, but at the same time the most dangerous period of life; it is the strife for dominion between body and soul; it is the conflict on which it depends what he shall be, whether he shall overcome himself and his desires, and by his own power learn to stand firm as a man, or shall yield to his impressions, desires, and inclinations, and by giving way to his passions return to the minor condition of the child, and perish as a drunkard, voluptuary, or covetous criminal. Fortunately in this emergency a gentle genius comes to his side, who can guide him through all the tortuosities of life, and who, though he may for a time turn a deaf ear to its voice, never

entirely forsakes him. This is the voice of conscience, peculiar to man alone; it is the feeling of duty, right, virtue, and piety, which in this contest offers him the palm of victory. This is not an acquired knowledge; even without being instructed in it by man, a deaf mute knows, and even a blind deaf mute by his innate feeling, what is good and what is evil, what is right and what is wrong.\*

Formerly as a child a complete egotist, the desire of acting buds in the awakened feeling of the vigorous youth; but not exclusively for his own honour and glory, he desires also to live for others; his heart must learn to beat strongly for all that is great, and good, and beautiful. What is transitory and fugitive no longer satisfies him; he has not enough in himself, love kindles in his mind, and his fancy holds up to his eyes in her mirror an imaginary world, but the reality is still strange to him. Burdach says of him,† “The unity of life and the contentment of childhood have departed from the youth, and he feels with sorrow that ripening individuality does not bring him the happiness which, as a boy, he had expected; he is overcome by an undefined desire, an imperfect feeling, and dissatisfied he turns his glance from the present to the future, from the real to the imaginary.” Thus he lives in part in the future, which his lively fancy clothes in the brightest colours; it is his season of poetry.

And thus he at length emerges from his realm of dreams and imagination into the rude reality of the world. This, however, frequently does not take place without many blows and disappointed expectations, but while he thence learns the vanity and exaggeration of many of his ideas, the hard reality of experience and truth often forms him into a man.

Schiller strikingly describes the youth in his bold expectations and courage, in his *Die Ideale*:—

Wie sprang, von kühnem Muth beflügelt  
Beglückt in seines Traumes Wahn,  
Von keiner Sorge noch gezügelt,  
Der Jüngling in des Lebens Bahn!  
Bis an des Aethers bleichste Sterne  
Erhob ihn der Entwürfe Flug;  
Nichts war so hoch und nichts so ferne,  
Wohin ihr Flügel ihn nicht trug.

But not less strikingly his disappointment—

Es dehnte mit allmächt'gem Streben  
Die enge Brust ein kreisend All,  
Herauszutreten in das Leben,  
In That und Wort, in Bild und Schall.

\* Burdach, *Blicke ins Leben*, p. 46.

† *Phys.* l. c. page 291.

Wie gross war diese Welt gestaltet,  
 So lang die Knospe sie noch barg;  
 Wie wenig, ach! hat sich entfaltet.  
 Dies wenige, wie klein and karg!

In this sometimes hard conflict, his system, becoming with his time of life more and more sedate, comes to his aid; his strength he has still retained, and it is even increased; his mental powers are not blunted, but his blood no longer circulates so rapidly and foamingly through its vessels; his less impetuous constitution renders him more proof against shocks, and no longer sweeps him along so irresistibly in passion. His less stimulated brain, the organ of his mind, makes him adapted for more composed and calm reflection; his imagination, already purified by experience, no longer soars so high; he listens more to the voice of reason, considers more clearly, and having by experience learned to distinguish between what is real and what is only apparent, he becomes more attentive to the connexion between cause and effect, and calculates more deliberately and with more precision the results of his acts; he is better able to govern himself, his understanding and reason obtain preponderance over his organism, he becomes more independent of himself, and learns to stand as a man amidst the storms of life.

If he thus appears in this conflict, on this great crossway of life, like another Hercules, as a successful conqueror, he will stand as a man in the equilibrium of his full powers; formed by education, by his matured understanding, reason, and awakened moral and religious feeling, and instructed by experience in the reality of life, he has acquired the power of mastering himself and has thus become ripe for social freedom; he is human, he is a man, for maturity as a man necessarily includes the power of governing himself.

His former fancies and dreams have not indeed been fully realized, but in his station as an active and useful citizen of the State, as a loving spouse and father, his aspirations are fulfilled; and in his efforts for the public good and for his household, he finds his peace and enjoyment. Previously, rather an egotist and living for himself, he lives now for others, and finds his happiness in theirs; and this pure enjoyment procures him much more genuine and higher happiness and satisfaction than the undefined stirrings and wishes of youth with all their rosy colours could afford. Forcibly and truly does Tiedge express this—

Durchschaut das ganze Lustgebiet:  
 Kein Paradies für Engel!  
 Was diese Erd' einmal erzieht,  
 Hat auch der Erde Mängel.



Nur *eine* Freud' ist unbefleckt;  
 Und diese Seelenweide,  
 Die schon nach Himmels Wonne schmeckt,  
 Heisst Freud' an fremder Freude.

This is with man the period of action; and though all cares may trouble him, they are stimuli which lead him, by perseverance, to overcome the troubles of life. By abundant intercourse with men he learns, often as he may stumble therein, to judge each more from his own point of view; it is to him the reality of life, he distinguishes the true from the apparent.

But we must again ask, does nature in this change of bodily and spiritual condition in mature age, teach us that soul and body are one? Does she show that the soul is an emanation of the corporeal powers because the more composed system co-operates harmoniously, whereby the mind in its more calm and sedate reflexion and action is now less tossed about and acquires the mastery over the affections of the body?

Certainly not! But as everything in nature works for an end, and is adapted to its object, so the more composed constitution gives to the maturer period of life the calmness and the power to guide the reins of the understanding. Napoleon's pulse was usually only forty beats in the minute, or little more than half that of an ordinary man, and this circumstance certainly contributed very much to the maintenance of his calmness and composure in the most important moments of his stormy life; but who will, on account of his slow circulation, deny to Napoleon clearness of mind and powerful, rapid action of the soul?

The brain of an adult man is not to be distinguished, either by the knife of the anatomist or by the most careful microscopic examination, from that of a youth or even of a boy, and yet what a difference in the mind! If this proves that mind is cerebral force, why, I ask again, is the perfect understanding of mature age not present with the more lively metamorphosis of tissue and action in the brain of a boy? Does not nature, on the contrary, show us in all this, that our mind is an independent separate principle, a special power which is indeed developed through the medium of the body, and strives after perfection, but is not therefore one with the body?

But I should fear to be tedious, did I dwell longer on this point. Besides, I think what has been said is sufficient for our present object. I shall now pass to the last division of my subject—namely, the consideration of the period of old age.

In general, we do old age an injustice when we represent it under the image of a decrepit, dull, deaf, and cold individual. It is true old age has its faults, many of which are, however, the evil fruits of early life; but we need not, therefore, borrow the

image of an old man from ill-health, any more than we need represent youth by a consumptive stripling, because that disease belongs more peculiarly to youth; we speak of a sound old man, and ask, what changes in the constitution give the tone to his mind and disposition? Burdach says correctly:—"Life is in its essence from the commencement to the end an harmonious expression of forces, of which the one is therefore a counterpoise to the other, and a natural normal disease is a nonentity. Thus, as old age is not in itself marasmus or wasting, so neither is it dulness of intellect nor dementia."

On the contrary, what some represent as a defect of old age, is a wise and harmonious arrangement. The principal character of the old man is, that he is more turned in upon himself, is less affected by the outer world, and acts less outwardly. I shall endeavour to point out the intention and beauty of this arrangement.

The changes which have taken place in his body contribute much, indeed everything, to distinguish the aged in his actions from the strong man. The old man no longer possesses either the vivacity of youth or the strength of the man; he is no longer so deeply affected by what daily passes around him, and his intercourse with the outer world has become less active; he is more turned in upon himself; but all this is a natural result of the changes which have taken place in his body. His senses are duller, his muscles have become weaker, consequently the impressions he receives from the same are blunted, and his external force and action are diminished; he no longer participates in the lively bustle of youth which wearies him, and to which he is now unequal; the inclination to repose and rest is the natural effect of his present condition, and this increases in him.

But as his circulation is retarded, and his heart beats less powerfully and actively, while his nerves are blunted and respond more slowly and less vehemently to impressions, he becomes also less excited by passions; his desires are, as Cicero so excellently describes in his *Cato*, more moderate, he is less eager and less passionate, and with this diminished vivacity of his constitution and fancy, calm deliberate reason and correct judgment, matured by long experience, have acquired the preponderance. He has learned the true value of things in this changing life, and is no longer carried away by fickle false enjoyment. In consequence of the diminished impressions from without and the lessened acuteness of his senses, present and daily occurrences receive less of his attention and he becomes more forgetful; his memory for the passing course of events becomes weaker.

But it is very remarkable that the recollection of his earlier days, of his youth, of what he has done and acted as a man, re-



mains before his mind with unextinguishable clearness. It has become the property of his soul, he lives in the memory of the past; Nature allows him to retain the fruits of his experience, that he may be enabled to judge correctly of the value of things. Hence he rarely undertakes what is new, of which he knows not whether he shall attain the end, but having reached the autumn of his life, he gathers, like an husbandman, the fruits of his labour.

But with the collapse of his body, with the retardation of his circulation and the diminution of his strength or blunting of his nerves, his understanding is not necessarily impaired. On the contrary, a clearer mind is often concealed beneath the silver hairs, and wisdom and correct judgment have at all times been attributed to old age. "We should be very much deceived," observes Professor Pruys van der Hoeven,\* very forcibly, "did we imagine that behind wrinkles and beneath hoary locks the cold and frost of winter reign; in the inner man the fire glows which once flamed forth externally." His higher *I* does not succumb because its dwelling has becomes stiff and fragile, but just as his eye is farsighted and less capable of observing in detail adjoining small objects, he reviews more clearly, like a Humboldt in his *Kosmos*, the great, the universal, and the distant, and often hands over to his posterity or his friends and relatives, at the command of truth, right, morality, and piety, the matured fruits of his life and experience. Thus by his counsel he is still useful to others, although less active in society; and although by constitution less excitable, he has not therefore become insensible to the welfare or sufferings of others. A short time ago I heard the venerable Maurits Cornelis van Hall, aged eighty-four, recite an excellent poem in touching accents at the sight of the benefits conferred on so many unhappy individuals in the institution for the insane at Meerenberg.-

By experience acquainted with the transitory and changing nature of most things, the old man holds more firmly to that which he has found to be permanent and lasting; hence the feelings of truth, duty, virtue, and piety, occupy the foreground, especially among the aged. "Nowhere," says Rush very strikingly,† "do we find an instance of moral qualities or religious feeling by which a man was distinguished, being weakened in old age." This, however, is generally admitted: if we excuse faults and unsteadiness, although we disapprove of them, in youth, censure and dispraise them in the man; in the aged they excite abhorrence and contempt. The old man, although he still participates in the suitable cheerfulness of his friends, has at the same time become

\* *Anthropologisch onderzoek*, 1851, page 196.

† Burdach, *Phys. Th.* III., page 426.



more serious, and turned in upon himself; his children, now adult and independent, have for the most part left their parents' house; the young people, in the greater activity of their dealings and pursuits, spontaneously separate from the aged, and follow their own inclinations; the old man's former companions and friends have mostly gone before him, and the later generation, having grown up with other impressions and views, no longer sympathizes with him. Thus he becomes more left to himself, and lives, in his unweakened memory of earlier days, rather in the past and in the future. As man he has fulfilled his duties towards society and his family; he has lived for others; having approached the end of his career, he lives more for himself, and his spirit, in reflecting on the past, reaches forward towards his future fatherland. And thus by his constitution and circumstances—yea, even by nature herself, he is led to collect from his former life, for his own final development, the lessons of experience, of wisdom, and their fruits; the unimpaired memory of his early days holds up his own life before his eyes as in a mirror; and by the prospect he is led at his approaching end to self-examination. He takes account with his life.

What he in a well-employed life formerly endeavoured laboriously and earnestly to attain to, has in fact become his, his passions are subdued, the heat of the conflict is over, and the peace of the conqueror is his reward. Reflecting on his former life he becomes spontaneously filled with gratitude towards the Author of all good, who has thus far crowned him with so many benefits; the thought of his approaching end exalts his religious feeling; and in the conviction that the inner voice, which never wholly forsook him, is that of truth, he looks forward with calmness and tranquillity to the future, which he awaits with confidence. An example of this we find even among the heathen in Socrates, who calmly looking to the future receives the fatal cup.

From this point of view true old age is not the imperfect end, but the crown of humanity, in which it has ascended to true liberty, to the mastery over and direction of itself, and where only reason and understanding, moral feeling and piety hold the reins of government, while its vigour is softened by philanthropy; for love, the fairest flower of humanity, does not grow old with age.

Thus we see in this picture of our life, how the body is the vehicle and means of the development of our higher principle, and works harmoniously in the different periods, helping us and putting us in a state to attain to our appointed lot; the body grows old, but in the higher development of our mind we observe no retrogression.

After this rapid sketch of the development of the human mind,

let us reflect for a moment on what has been said, and repeat once more the question, Does this picture teach us that soul and body are so completely one, that the soul is nothing but the unstable product of a material power, possessed of no independence? I wonder, in fact, at the power of those who can with such a conviction connect a belief in a future state. I do not possess this power; if all my reasons are snatched away from me, my belief no longer finds support. But does nature teach us this? By no means. If—I here repeat the antithesis—understanding and our moral feeling are nothing else than physical vital power and products of the metamorphosis of tissue, and not any proper independent subsistence, why are they so slight, indeed scarcely existent in the child, where everything in the body is full of life and action, and the metamorphosis of tissue is strongest; how is it possible that in the old man understanding, judgment, moral and religious feeling should have attained so high a pitch and become so highly developed, where the metamorphosis of tissue and all action and forces of the body exhibit so much less activity? Why in increased action of the body or brain, in passion and rage, is the action of the soul impeded and carried away? Why is it not rather as a product of exalted bodily actions itself increased? Why, if the soul possesses no substantial existence, does that which it has once made its own become its permanent property, which changes not with the altering play of its powers, nor diminishes in old age? Is it, in fact, not a singular contradiction, that we consider man to be independent and honour him as such, who offers resistance to and can suppress the passions and desires springing as impressions from his body, while we still deny independence to the high principle which places him in a condition to do this, endows him with the powers necessary to do it and raises him above these impressions? Is then, in fact, the soul nothing but the product of a material force, or, as Ludwig Fick\* and others too, declare, nothing but the product of nervous currents? Then the effect works against the cause whence it arose, and even controls its power, which is to me inconceivable. Then the soul can be nothing else than a more or less excited vital force, and all moral responsibility is lost. Then it is a deception to suppose that nature has implanted in us an internal voice of conscience, proper to all men and nations; but not belonging to the animal creation. If we look at the old man—the innate sentiment of piety, which man could not learn from animals, occurs in him, purified from passions and impulses and developed to its fairest bloom, and with this innate feeling is connected a consciousness of continued existence in another world, which is implanted in all men. Would nature sport so cruelly with us, by implanting

\* Müller's *Archiv.*, 1851, Heft V., page 385.



a lie in us? Is this the language of the Creator, which we read in his works? Can it be nervous force alone which exalts the human mind so high as to enable it not merely to determine the distance and movements of the heavenly bodies many hundred thousand millions of miles away, but even to weigh their masses and calculate their size?

But, it will be said, the natural philosopher admits only matter and material forces, which for him are one with matter, the immaterial in his opinion does not exist; all action proceeds from a material power united to matter. But who gives him a right to this position? Is there no action, unless combined with our coarse earthly matter, and does Nature herself exhibit herein no difference, no transition? Ask, then, the philosopher what matter the ether of light is, which he himself is constrained to assume, and the vibrations of which in a minute traverse many millions of miles? Fine as he may think this, it must, if it possesses the properties of our earthly matter, offer a certain amount of resistance to the upper layers of our atmosphere, which flies with our globe with more than the rapidity of a cannon ball through this ether, and impetuous currents of air and all devastating hurricanes must be the inevitable result; but this light-ether belongs not to our earth; it is a substance of the universe. Or, can we by the laws of ponderable matter, explain the fact, that a violent agitation of the magnet observed here takes place at the same moment in Asia and Siberia, in Europe and North America, and is at the same time accomplished at the South Pole in an opposite direction? Or is it in accordance with the phenomena of heavy matter, that the electric telegraph conveys our messages in a fraction of a second over a great portion of the globe?

It is, in my opinion, in a great measure the unfortunate distinction of material and immaterial which leads to so much confusion on this subject. Should we not pursue a safer course by distinguishing in Nature what is perceptible to our senses from that which is withdrawn from them? Who gives us the right to decide that the limits of Nature do not surpass the boundaries of our senses, and that no substances exist in her treasures which we cannot perceive, measure, nor weigh? I will then rather consider our mind to be a substance beyond the reach of our senses, and withdrawn from the laws of terrestrial matter, than give up a belief which is inscribed in us by Nature herself. And if it is a position generally admitted by philosophers, that no matter, no substance, not even the smallest atom, disappears from creation, it follows that this exalted substance itself must be immortal.

But do we, in conclusion, find such properties in our soul? Not to speak of animal magnetism, of which all the phenomena cannot be denied, I shall venture to refer merely to two examples which



occurred to myself, of two patients under my care at different times, one of whom assured me in the morning with great agitation, that he had by some inexplicable perception learned the death of his father, the other of her husband; neither knew anything of the illness of the party concerned, and three days later I received from a distant province the account of the death of the father, and in the other case, on the following day, from an adjoining town, of that of the husband, each event having occurred at the very moment of the perception. Although with respect to such statements, I must most earnestly warn my readers against credulity and even superstition,—for which reason I have always made it a rule, having had many such circumstances communicated to me by credible persons, not indeed to deny them, but to depend only on what I had myself clearly observed—it appears to me more difficult to attribute these, and several similar cases which have come under my knowledge, to mere accident, than to believe that, under some extraordinary circumstances, our spirit may enter into connection with hidden powers in Nature, thus manifesting a capacity above time and space, which is certainly not planted in our soul for this earthly abode.

Herder correctly observes :\* “Some examples of recollection, of the power of imagination, and even of prescience, have revealed wonders of the concealed treasures which slumber in the human soul, but cannot develope themselves there; and to Him, who placed so many powers in the body, and planted the soul above them, assigned them a working-place and fixed the nerves as the paths whereby the soul may work on these powers, the means shall not be wanting, in the great system of nature, of again eliciting those which he has so wonderfully and distinctly placed for higher development in this organic dwelling.”

#### ART. IV.—NOTES ON THE ASYLUMS OF ITALY, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

By Dr. J. T. ARLIDGE, M.B., A.B., Lond., M.R.C.P., &c.

(Continued from p. 566, vol. xii.)

##### GRENOBLE,

THE capital of the department of the Isère, is situated on the banks of the river Isère, in a large and beautiful valley, overhung by bold, high, and rocky hills, and possessing great charms for the traveller in search of the beauties of natural scenery. In the course of the same valley, and some four or five miles from the town of Grenoble, is the small hamlet of St. Robert, in which the asylum is situated. The asylum buildings are not more than two

\**Philosophie der Geschichte*, 1 Th., pages 193 and 163.

or three hundred yards from the public road, and at no great distance from them, on their opposite side; is the Lyons and Grenoble railway. The institution serves for the department of the Isère, and for that of the Hautes Alpes.

In the summer of 1855, the 260 patients then present were crowded in an irregularly built house, formerly a small Benedictine convent, and in some indifferent out-buildings. The house was four storeys high, but the uppermost storey, as is common in French houses, especially in provincial towns, was used only as a store-room. The separation between the two sexes was most imperfect; the sitting-rooms bare and wretched, with nothing but concrete floors, worn into holes. The bare white-washed walls, the earthen floors, the benches fastened round the walls, and the heavy fixed wooden table in the centre, together with the poor patients huddled together from want of space, almost indiscriminately or without classification, many of them ragged and disorderly in dress, and many shoeless,—made a *tout ensemble* of wretchedness fortunately not often paralleled.

Happily the misery of the day-rooms did not extend to the sleeping apartments up-stairs, which were clean and in order. The bedding was also sufficiently good, consisting of a paillasse, a flock bed, with sheets and coverlets. At least, such was the provision for the clean and quiet inmates; but the wet lay upon straw with a sheet beneath them; whilst the very refractory were condemned to the seclusion of cells, and littered in loose straw contained in a trough bedstead, overlaid by a coverlet. These cells were constructed in a small, detached building, and were certainly unfit for human habitation, their ventilation being very bad, and their walls and floors of stone. A row of four such stable-like cells was furnished for each sex, and as the two rows were only separated by a narrow court and by a low wall, the cries and noises of their poor inmates reached from one division to the other, and could not fail to promote the insane fury which the isolation in cells was resorted to with the view to suppress.

Such is a rough sketch of one of the smallest and poorest departmental asylums in France, as found in operation in 1855. Since that period, fortunately for the afflicted creatures who inhabited it, for the sake of humanity, and for the credit of the French Government, this wretched establishment has made room for one which is an ornament to the department, and admirably suited for its benevolent objects. This happy exchange has been mainly due to the untiring exertions of the director and chief physician, Dr. Evrat, in face of the determined opposition of local authorities, and of great difficulties in securing the co-operation of the central government. To M. Evrat is also due the excellent plan of the new asylum, constructed for 300 patients,



which differs from that of every other in France, and presents in many respects an improvement. It is difficult to convey an accurate conception of the ground-plan of the buildings without a diagram; for, like almost all French asylums, it consists of several distinct sections or disjointed wings. But it may be described generally as a group of two-storeyed dwellings, distributed around a large square court. This court, however, is cut into two by a wide avenue extended through it, which constitutes the line of division between the section of the asylum devoted to male on the one side and to female patients on the other. In the centre of the large square court or garden are the general offices, the kitchen, dispensary stores, and the residence of the physician, and some workshops.

In advance of one end of the central avenue is the entrance gate, with rooms on either side for the chaplain and internes, and for the gate-porter, gardener, and other subordinate officers. At the opposite extremity of the same avenue is the chapel. The portion of the square on each side and at each extremity of the central avenue, is occupied by two contiguous united sections, forming a sort of double house, and having a common staircase between them. These two sections are occupied on one side the square, severally by the infirmary and by the apartments of the pensioners or private patients, and on the other by quiet industrious and by feeble demented patients.

The other two sides of the square are formed by three buildings in a line, in the rear of the central one of which, in each division, male and female respectively, is a row of six cells, and in front of it a bath-house. The middle section is appropriated to idiots, noisy and dirty patients; whilst that on one side of it is occupied by convalescent and melancholic patients, and that on the other by refractory inmates. The cells forming the detached section in the rear are used for seclusion and for violent patients, not however as constant abodes. Each cell has a small court of its own, as at the asylum at Auxerre.

On the female side the uniformity of construction is partially destroyed by the retention of portions of the old asylum. The whole edifice is built of stone and in good taste. Each section is composed of a day-room and a dining-room on the ground floor, and of a couple of dormitories on the floor above, and has behind it an airing court or garden, nearly forty feet in length by thirty in width, surrounded on its exposed sides by a sunk fence. The several sections are connected together, and with the bath-house, by a covered corridor. The officers' residence, in the middle of the central court, has three storeys; and the central of the three buildings on two sides of the square has likewise a third storey, intended for the occupation of attendants. The windows



in every section are alike, and unprotected by bars or wire-work. They are formed after the fashion of French casements, in each of which are four square compartments, divided by diagonal frames intersecting at the centre.

The warming of each section is effected by a stove (furnace) placed in the basement, the heat from which enters the rooms above through several square apertures along the walls, close to the floor; whilst to serve the purpose of ventilation, other similar apertures conduct the impure air into the shaft of the furnace, which draws it off and discharges it above the roof.

Except in the case of the pensioners, and the varying but always small number of occupants of cells, all the rest of the population is disposed of by night in dormitories, each of which contains twelve beds for patients, and one for an attendant.

Such is an outline of the general disposition and arrangements of the parts of the new asylum. One evident advantage accruing from the plan is that each section faces outwards; or, in other words, its fore front looks towards the surrounding country, whilst its back front faces the large inner square court. This is certainly an improvement upon the system common in France, wherein the several sections of the two divisions are disposed in parallel lines, on either side the block of building occupied by the chief officials and the general offices, so that one section faces another on one or both sides, and is separated only by a comparatively narrow airing court. Moreover, in the asylum at Grenoble, windows have been introduced on two sides of the rooms instead of one, as is more general, whereby a greater degree of cheerfulness and more effective ventilation are secured.

Respecting the management of the asylum, a few words will suffice. About eight acres of cultivable ground surround the asylum, and give employment to a considerable number of patients. A portion is laid out as a flower garden, and the rest is set apart for the growth of wheat, vegetables, &c. Cows are kept to furnish the milk required in the establishment. There is a water-mill on the premises, which grinds the corn, and bread is made in the asylum; whilst by the exercise of the patients at their several trades, all the other requirements of the community and of the building are supplied. Among exceptional appliances possessed by this asylum, a swimming bath, constructed in the garden, for the men, may be mentioned. It is fed by a stream which runs into the Isère.

The patients partake of three meals a day; potage twice a day, and a meat dinner with vegetables. Forks and spoons are allowed, but not knives. Restraint is rarely used.

In 1855 there were 260 inmates. The rapidity of their multiplication, and the short-sightedness of most non-professional

men, particularly in years gone by, is exhibited in the history of this asylum at Grenoble. The Minister of the Interior, relying on the medical reports supplied to him, wrote the Prefect of the department in 1843, to the effect that, although there then were but 80 patients in the institution, accommodation for 200 would be required after the lapse of some few years. To this statement M. le Préfet demurred, and decreed the accommodation to be provided at 100; but to the confusion of all his calculations, 208 inmates were present in the asylum so soon after as 1851.

The impediments raised by such individuals as the 'Préfet' referred to, together with the prevailing prejudices and the deficiency of information respecting the wants of the insane, and their treatment elsewhere, existing in this remote department of France (distinguished for the ignorance and superstition of its inhabitants), led to the postponement of the plan for building a new asylum, and to the production of that sad state of affairs in 1855, sketched at the commencement of this paper. The management of the asylum had then come to a dead-lock. 260 patients were crammed into a building having proper space for only 80, and unfit, as we have seen, in every essential particular, for the residence and treatment of insane people. Looking to these facts and to the circumstance that the requisite funds for the proper clothing of the patients and for the internal economy of the institution were withheld, it would be unfair to visit M. Evrat with condemnation for the sad condition of affairs found at that date. Indeed, no one who then saw him could fail to sympathize with him in the arduous struggle he had so many years sustained single-handed, to attain what he was then on the point of seeing realized—the construction of an asylum adapted as a place and an instrument of treatment.

Before closing this notice of the Grenoble Asylum, we may add, as a memorandum of its statistics, that of the 260 inmates there were 8 epileptic women and seven men; 4 paralytic women and 21 men. In the new asylum epileptics are excluded.

To the reader interested in asylum construction, we may recommend the excellent paper by M. Evrat, in the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques* for 1853, p. 177, wherein will be found the leading principles which should guide in the erection and organization of asylums tersely, but very correctly laid down.

#### STEPHAUSFELD.

The Asylum of Stephausfeld, one of the best-known and most lauded institutions for the insane in France, is situated in a very small hamlet nearly two miles from the Brumath station on the Paris and Strasburg Railway, and some eight miles from Strasburg. The surrounding country, for a long



distance, is flat, and forms part of the wide alluvial valley of the Rhine; it is highly cultivated, intersected by numerous small streams, which, from defective drainage, produce much swampy ground, and its concomitant, intermittent fever. The immediate site of the asylum is, however, drier, and stated to be healthy, although published Reports show that its inhabitants have suffered severely in some years from ague. However, the statement made to me that ague, though endemic in the vicinity, did not visit the inhabitants of the asylum, may be assumed as true of the ordinary state of things; for the irruption of that malady among the inmates in 1846, and its sad prevalence from 1854 to 1856, are distinctly traceable first to the disturbance, in 1846, of the ground in its immediate vicinity, and to the consequent interference with the drainage, caused by the construction of the railway embankment, then to the formation of the canal between the Marne and Rhine, and subsequently to the infiltration of the waters of the canal, between the autumn of 1854 and June, 1855, through the sandy soil, into all the basement portions of the building. Indeed, the history of the prevalence of intermittent fever in the Stephansfeld Asylum, as recorded in the Report of that institution for 1855, affords an excellent illustration of the causes affecting the generation of marsh-miasma. It would be a digression from the purpose of these notes to give more detail on these matters, yet the regret may be expressed that the site of this asylum is not more healthy and more removed from the possible operation of causes which have so readily and largely affected its salubrity.

The Stephansfeld Asylum receives patients of both sexes suffering from every form of mental disorder. It is especially intended for the insane of the departments of the Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin, but it is also resorted to by patients from other departments and other countries. Thus, of the 849 persons treated during the year 1857, 465 belonged to the department of the Lower Rhine; 321 to that of the Upper Rhine; 41 were from other departments, or from abroad; 12 had been transferred from prisons, and 10 were soldiers.

The site of the present structure was in the first place occupied by a Commandery of the Order of St. John, but of this ancient foundation nothing remains except the two picturesque towers of the church. Subsequently, a gentleman's château was erected, which, after having served for a time as a foundling hospital, was converted to its present use in 1835. Since that period the original building has undergone successive enlargements, and an extensive, irregularly distributed structure is the result.

A description of the asylum in writing, without plans, would be well-nigh useless were it desirable, which it is not; for considering it merely an adapted building, altered and added to from time



to time, without reference to an original plan, its construction cannot be referred to as a model for institutions of a similar character. Still it must be admitted that the *tout ensemble* of this asylum on approaching it from the road is cheerful, and devoid of the appearances of a place of restraint. The elevation of the old château, which is appropriated to the residence of the highest class of pensioners, is pleasing. From each extremity of it a one-storied building is extended forwards so as to enclose the large front garden on two sides; in this building are the residences of the chief officers and some of the general offices. One or more of the courts in the rear are too small and too enclosed and shaded by the surrounding buildings, and therefore ill-ventilated, liable to dampness, and dull.

The upper classes of pensioners have each, according to the rate of payment, a bedroom, or this together with a well-furnished sitting-room, and for their joint use there are besides, a drawing-room (*salle de réunion*), a dining-room, a billiard-room, and a reading-room. The casements of the rooms on the first floor open out upon a wide balcony overlooking the pleasant and well-kept front garden. This balcony is protected only by a light iron rail about four feet high, and though the patients are allowed free access to it no accident had ever occurred. A room containing some half-dozen beds is set apart for each sex of pensioners as an infirmary. The portion of the front pleasure-garden for each sex is laid out in walks, one of which is trellised over, and in each division is a sort of large summer-house (*pavillon*) wherein the patients receive the visits of their friends.

The other inmates of the asylum are disposed in different sections or divisions, according to their mental state and general condition, that is, according as they are tranquil or rather troublesome, or refractory, or epileptic and dirty, or require nursing in the infirmary. The construction of the several divisions is such that all the day-rooms are placed on the ground-floor, and the dormitories on the one and two stories above. Likewise the sitting-rooms occupy the entire width of each block of building, and have windows and an external corridor on either side. In the division for tranquil patients there are a dining-room, a sitting-room, and a school-room and library; but in the other sections a dining-room and a sitting-room, or one day-room only is found. The walls of some of the sitting-rooms are decorated with landscapes for the purpose of arousing the attention and of amusing the occupants. The windows are undefended by bars or wire, and many of the doors have their upper half glazed. The refractory and epileptic sleep on the ground-floor in small single rooms; sometimes their beds are placed upon the floor to avoid accidents from violence or from falling out of bed. There

is also a row of seven cells for each sex, with a day-room at one extremity intended principally as places for seclusion for the most refractory patients. These cells look too much like cages for wild beasts; they have a door back and front, according to a venerable French plan for entering upon a patient unawares at one door while his attention is engaged at the other, and through the vertical wooden bars of the window, and of the upper half of one door, the excited occupant is gazed upon much as an imprisoned wild beast is in its den. Another peculiar provision is met with in these cells, viz., an inspection aperture in the ceiling, through which a person in a loft above may see what is going on below, avoid encountering the patient, and at the same time escape observation. Dr. Webster, we perceive, has spoken of these cells and their inspection openings with approbation when he wrote his account of them in 1852. He would, however, probably materially modify his opinion at the present time, when experience, guided by humane considerations and by a better conception of the phenomena of insanity, has led in a great measure to the disuse of seclusion in this country, just as previous experience resulted in the abolition of mechanical restraint. Not but that seclusion is at times salutary; it is only the very frequent recourse to it which is objectionable, such as prevailed for a time when the disuse of mechanical coercion was progressing in the country, and some half-way step between restraint and the liberty of the present day was felt to be necessary. Moreover, in the management of the insane, all expedients to surprise, to take the patient at a disadvantage, to peep at him unperceived—such as are the double door and the hole in the ceiling, in the cells under remark—proceed on an erroneous principle, by treating him as an exceptional being, the subject of suspicion and of fear, and will find no approval in the eyes of those who best understand the treatment of lunatics.

Restraint by means of the camisole is employed at Stephansfeld for destructive and violent patients; and, at night only, for those given to self-abuse. At times, also, patients are fastened in chairs to prevent their moving about or falling forward, by means of straps.

The bedsteads are mostly of wood: those of the pensioners of mahogany. The mattresses are stuffed with horse-hair, and in the case of dirty patients are made in three portions, so that the central one, which by its position is chiefly or alone soiled, may readily be removed and replaced by another without disturbance of the whole mattress.

There is a bath-house for each sex, divided within into several compartments, in each of which is a copper bath furnished with a weavy wooden lid, so made as to be extended at will either over



the whole or only one-half of the top of the bath. In front of a bench placed along the wall of the space or corridor of the bath-room are placed at short distances some three or four copper foot-baths, which are filled with hot water through a pipe opening at their bottom.

Their utility is, however, rather apparent than real, and we believe these foot-baths are little used; for it appears to an ordinary observer to be making a great matter of a little affair to make such a provision of foot-baths in a bath-room, and to bring patients to them from other parts of the building, when it is considered how portable foot-baths are, and how much more desirable it is when they are wanted to carry them to the patient than him to them.

Prolonged baths are employed in acute cases of mania, and also in melancholia, usually with the addition of a small thread of water falling on the head of the patient during his immersion in the bath. It is under such circumstances especially that the lids are fixed on the top of the baths, in order to prevent the patients leaving them. The head is defended by a bathing-cap when subjected to the stream of cold water, or occasionally a sponge is placed upon it. The douche is used not medically, but as a means of repression, particularly when food is obstinately refused.

All the courts are planted with trees and flowers; they are enclosed by walls, owing to the proximity of public paths and roads. In one court, on each side of the asylum, an artificial mound is raised so as to overlook the walls and to afford a view of the surrounding country. A large tract of arable land belongs to the asylum, of which some eight or ten acres are cultivated as a garden, partly as a flower, and partly as a kitchen-garden. A curious and beautiful sun-dial—a remnant of the property of the Knights Templars—stands in the garden, and is interesting as a work of art.

On the male side, separated only by a wall from the airing-courts, are some farm-buildings; a barn and granary, stables, a cow-house and piggery. This last must by its proximity to the asylum be a nuisance, particularly in hot weather, and it is proposed to remove it farther away.

The government of the institution is entrusted to the Prefect of the Department of the Bas-Rhin, in which it is situated, and to a commission of gentlemen appointed by him. The general management is delegated to the director, who is not required to be a medical man, whilst the medical organization and treatment are entrusted to a resident physician. The former officer, however, ranks first, and besides his superior position, his immediate relation and communication with the governing commission and the prefect give him a preponderating power in all that relates to



the management of the institution. This division of an authority which can only be satisfactorily held in the hands of a single person, must be fraught with many evils and be prejudicial to the welfare of the establishment. The physician is assisted by two "internes" and an apothecary. On the male side all the attendants are hired servants, with a chief attendant at their head; on the female side, the duties of the house are performed by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, under the direction of a resident superior. The "lingerie," or linen store, the laundry, and the kitchen, and the infirmaries, are also under the management of the "sœurs," assisted by patients, and a few of the fraternity assist at meal-time on the male side.

The religious interests of the inmates are committed to three chaplains, one of whom is minister for the Roman Catholics, another for the Protestants, and the third for the Jews. The same spirit of religious toleration has provided separate chapels for the Roman Catholics and Protestants; the former much the larger, and fitted and decorated as other churches of that sect; the latter a large plain room, with nothing of an ecclesiastical character about it except a pulpit or desk. The chaplains are allowed free access to the wards, but their ministrations to particular patients are under the guidance of the physician.

The very laudable endeavour to instruct the poor inmates of the asylum is assiduously carried out. On the male side there is a specially hired instructor and a separate school-room, furnished with tables, writing and drawing materials, slates, and books, and having its walls hung with maps, diagrams, and tables. On the female side one of the "sisters" superintends the teaching. Mutual instruction is encouraged; drawing, reading, and singing in classes carried out as far as possible, whilst information and amusement are afforded by lectures and concerts. The reports made of the systematic efforts to educate and improve the mental powers of the patients are very encouraging, and make particular mention of the occasional speedy benefit effected on the minds of some of the insane by the sight of what is going on around them, and of the questions addressed to them.

Three meals are allowed daily. For the poor the first meal or breakfast is composed of soup containing bread; the dinner of bread, soup, legumes, and on most days meat; the supper either of soup, as in the morning, or of bread with cheese and salad or legumes. Those patients engaged with work have a lunch between breakfast and dinner, and are allowed a little wine. Snuff and tobacco are also granted to those habituated to their use. The pensioners have meat twice a day, a greater variety in food, and about half a pint of wine. The highest class of pensioners pays no more than £60 per annum, and for this each indi-

vidual is entitled to an excellent bed-room and sitting-room, and the services of a special attendant.

The moral treatment of the insane is well understood at Stephansfeld, and for the most part efficiently carried out. There are doubtless blemishes in its management; the neatness and cleanliness of the rooms and patients are susceptible of improvement, and the dealing with the refractory as rather objects of fear to be put out of the way, or coerced and punished for the effects of their delirium, is a proceeding based on a faulty appreciation of their real condition. However, we have no wish to assume the office of censors in regard to the establishment under notice, in which so much that is excellent may be discovered in its management, and where we may hope that the same enlightened and humane principles which have prospered so far may still further develope and yield still more beneficial results.

The value of employment, particularly in the open air, is very fully appreciated. The large tract of ground belonging to the asylum affords scope for it, and in order to stimulate still more the readiness of the patients to employ themselves, the former physician, M. Roederer, instituted a system of rewards, whereby every labourer acquired a material interest in his work. The labourers were divided into five classes, according to the amount and excellence of the work executed; the work was valued monthly, and its value divided, allowing one-half to the worker in extra articles of diet and in money, and transferring the other to the institution, which devoted it chiefly to a fund for relieving patients on and after their discharge. Field and garden work is most promoted among the male inmates, and few are occupied with in-door trades; indeed no special workshops are yet erected.

No particular days are fixed for the visits of friends. Letters are allowed after an examination of their contents. The patients are permitted to walk out in the neighbourhood; the pensioners daily or nearly so; the pauper inmates on Sundays and Feast-days. The great fête days are also more especially selected for their *réunions*, and concerts, and for indulgencé in various games. Dramatic performances have been occasionally held, but dancing is not practised.

The extended Notes by Dr. Webster on this asylum, in the Fifth Volume of this journal, have, to avoid repetition, induced me to curtail my remarks on its structure and management, as I would wish this present paper to have rather the character of a supplement to his able account, particularly to the statistical facts collected by him, and respecting which we have much more recent information.

The rapid accumulation of patients in the lunatic asylums of this country, which has caused so much alarm as a seeming evi-



dence of the great prevalence and increase of insanity in the population, has its parallel in the history of the asylums of France, as the statistics of Stephansfeld afford a striking instance. From the date of the opening of this establishment, on November 1st, 1835, to December 1st, 1855, a period of twenty years, 2440 patients were admitted, besides 353 re-admitted, forming a total of 2793 admissions. Of the 2440, 1267 were males and 1175 females, showing an excess of 92, or of nearly one-twelfth the former above the latter.

The following table illustrates the progressive increase of admissions. The sudden rise in the number in 1841, is due to the transmission in that year of seventy-five insane persons from the Maréville Asylum, the greater number of whom belonged to the Department of the Moselle :

Admissions.—Total, 2793.

Original popula- tion in 1835, 96.	1836	49	1841	191	1846	135	1851	150
	1837	77	1842	98	1847	135	1852	205
	1838	82	1843	91	1848	155	1853	203
	1839	87	1844	104	1849	123	1854	231
	1840	90	1845	120	1850	155	1855	222
		385		604		703		1011

On comparing the sum of admissions in each of the four quinquennial periods, and taking that of the first period as a standard, it will be seen that the total of the second period is more than half as much again ; of the third, nearly double, and that of the fourth, not far from treble of it. On the other hand, the discharges, including deaths, have not at all followed the same progressive ratio as this table proves :—

	Admissions.	Discharges.	Remaining.
1836 to 1840	385	253	132
1841 „ 1845	604	497	107
1845 „ 1850	703	618	85
1850 „ 1855	1011	829	182

Total accumulation . . . 506

This sum, added to the original population in 1853, gives 596, the number of inmates existing on 31st December, 1855.

The ratio of recoveries to admissions in each quinquennial period cited was :—for the first, 24 per cent. ;—for the second, 28 per cent. ;—for the third, 25 per cent. ; and for the fourth, 24 per cent. This unfavourable result—the decreasing rate of recoveries—is attributed to the transmission of so many incurables, who constituted in 1850, 35 per cent. of the entire number admitted, and in 1855, nearly 60 per cent. To obviate the crowding of the



asylum, therefore, with incurable cases, the prefect of the department proposed in 1856 to restrict the admission of insane persons into the institution to two classes:—1, dangerous lunatics; 2, those in whom there were reasonable prospects of cure. This scheme may serve very well the object of limiting the extension of the Stephansfeld Asylum as a refuge for incurables, yet the success attending its operation must be accounted a positive evil, by depriving a very large proportion of the mentally afflicted of the necessary care of an asylum, and so adding to that very considerable number of lunatics, at least equally as numerous as those who at present find a refuge within the walls, quite unprovided for, and as official evidence proves, most injuriously and sadly placed for their interests and happiness. Therefore it is much to be wished that the prefect had propounded a third proposition—viz., to institute an additional asylum for chronic cases; for the two he has advanced will not lead to any diminution in the number of the insane population of his department, nor will their exclusion from an asylum prove an economical proceeding. On the contrary, they are both fallacious, if interpreted absolutely; for the determination betwixt dangerous and non-dangerous lunatics is practically not feasible, and the decision of the question of curability is very far from infallible.

The importance of early treatment is illustrated by the following results of statistics carefully kept for twelve years. Of patients deemed curable submitted to treatment in the first month of their disease, 66 per cent. recover; after the lapse of three months this proportion falls to 48 per cent., after six months to 40 per cent., after a year to 12 per cent., and beyond that period the falling off is still more decided. Relapses after recovery occur in the ratio of 28 per cent. The proportion of recoveries according to sex, is represented by the annexed figures:—of 1453 males treated, 309 recovered, or 21 per cent.; and of 1340 females, 376 recovered, or 29 per cent.; a difference between the two sexes explicable by the much greater frequency of paralysis and of the results of intemperance among males. The same causes likewise operate in causing an increased rate of mortality among male lunatics, which, during twenty years at Stephansfeld, has reached the high figure of 38 per cent., and in the case of the female inmates 31 per cent. Thus it appears that the mortality at Stephansfeld has equalled one-third of the whole population under treatment during the twenty years to which the statistics refer. The number of deaths relative to the population has varied materially in different years; on two occasions it reached 1 in 6, and on others it fell to 1 in 16. From 1836 to 1840, the rate of mortality was 1 in 8·9, or four times greater than in the neighbouring town of Brumath. Between 1841 and 1845 it decreased to 1 in 11;

from 1846 to 1850 it stood at 1 in 10·7; and from 1851 to 1855 it was only 1 in 11. In 1847 the rate of mortality was very high, viz., 1 in 6; intermittent fever prevailed largely, and numerous cases of serious intestinal disorders, of dysentery, and of scurvy occurred.

In 1854, again, ague was very rife, owing to the earthworks for a new branch railway near the asylum, and cholera attacked sixty inmates, mostly on the female side, and carried off eleven women and five men. Lastly, although railway operations were completed, intermittent fever—with which 508 patients had been attacked in 1854—seized on 810 in 1855. This result was traced to the infiltration of the waters of the neighbouring canal into the basement of the building and to the consequent humidity of the asylum and neighbourhood. In May, 134 cases occurred, in June, 148, and in July, 128, after which the disease progressively declined.

Some German physicians have asserted that an attack of ague is curative of insanity in some instances. But this dictum is opposed to the large experience the Stephansfeld Asylum offered. In some rare cases, indeed, delirium abated during an intense febrile paroxysm, just as it is known to do under a variety of circumstances where a serious bodily affection is present; but as the disorder disappeared, delirium resumed its sway; moreover, most of the patients subjected to the influence of the marsh miasma had their vital powers reduced by it, and in such the mental affection acquired more or less speedily the stamp of incurability, and became transformed into dementia.

I am able to add the statistics of the admissions, discharges, and deaths, in 1856 and 1857:—

Remaining on	Males.	Females.	Total.	Admissions in	Males.	Females.	Total.
Jan. 1st, 1856	288	308	596	1856	103	113	216
Jan. 1st, 1857	291	324	615	1857	121	113	234

Discharges in	Cured.	Relieved.	Unimproved.	Total.
1856	38	65	22	125
1857	60	51	10	121

The deaths in 1856 amounted to 72; in 1857 to 93; being at the rate of 9 per cent. in the former, and of 11 per cent. in the latter year. In the spring of 1855, 27 general paralytics were under treatment; at the end of the year there were only 13; during 1856, 5 were admitted; and in the course of 1857, 27 were present, of whom 22 were men, and only 5 women. The

epileptic insane in 1855 numbered 58—viz., 40 males and 18 females; during 1856, 53 were under treatment; and during 1857, 55, of whom 37 were males, and 18 females.

In the department of the "Bas-Rhin" the proportion of the insane to the population is calculated at 1 in 1320; whilst in that of the "Haut-Rhin" it is still lower, being only 1 in 1465. These figures are only approximative, for in some districts of each department no returns are made, and the departmental asylum is not resorted to for their lunatic inhabitants.

Numerous excellent comments on the etiology and pathology of insanity might be gathered from the painstaking reports of the Stephansfeld Asylum, drawn up by the physician, Dr. Dagonet, a gentleman particularly known for his earnest endeavours to cull facts from the large experience he enjoys in that institution. To those, therefore, of our readers who are interested in the annual record of the results of treatment which such an institution as Stephansfeld exhibits, we would commend the reports of Dr. Dagonet to their best attention. On our part, we are indebted to them for much of the foregoing statistical matters. Statisticians would likewise find in a little *brochure* published by him in 1855, entitled *Etude Statistique sur l'Aliénation Mentale dans le Département du Bas-Rhin*, an excellent investigation into the prevalence and etiology of insanity in the several arrondissements and cantons of that department, which might be advantageously adopted as a model for any similar inquiries instituted in this country.

Before taking leave of the statistics of Stephansfeld Asylum, one table merits the attention of every student of social science, as exhibiting not only the great proclivity of unmarried people to insanity, but also the extent to which celibacy must prevail in France. The table of the civil state of 849 inmates shows that the—

	Total.	Men.	Women.
Unmarried amounted to .	599	300	299
Married . . . .	186	94	92
Widowed . . . .	64	18	46
	849	412	437

The unmarried therefore constituted seven-tenths of the whole number in question; "a fortunate circumstance," rejoins M. Dagonet, "inasmuch as it is an obstacle to an augmentation of insanity by hereditary transmission."

M. Richard, who held the post of director of Stephansfeld since its occupation as an asylum, was replaced in 1859 by M. Brie de



Bere, who is a physician, and was transferred from his post at the asylum of Dijon. We hail this change at Stephansfeld from knowing that gentleman's earnest zeal and sound principles in the treatment of the insane, and we trust that M. Dagonet will find in him additional aid and support in every endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the asylum and its inmates.

There is yet one matter more connected with Stephansfeld which must not be passed unnoticed. It is the existence of a Benevolent Fund for the benefit of discharged patients, much on the same plan as that in operation at the Middlesex asylums, or as that recently originated by the Commissioners in Lunacy. It dates its foundation in the year 1842, and was the fruit especially of M. Richard's exertions, seconded by those of Dr. Roederer, the physician at that date. Since 1852, it has more directly received the encouragement and support of the departmental authorities, who have by a formal circular recommended its object to the mayors and other magistrates of the several towns and villages under their jurisdiction. In its scope it is more extensive than the similar English associations alluded to; it does not restrict its operation solely to a momentary relief of a discharged patient by the donation of a small sum in money, but it aims at establishing such an organization throughout the districts served by the Stephansfeld Asylum, that, when the patient is returned to his home and friends, he shall still be under the fostering care of benevolent persons, acting in co-operation with the officers of the Relief Fund and of the asylum.

The nature of this organization will be best illustrated by the published rules of the association:—

Art. I. The Benevolent Fund for the insane poor discharged cured from the asylum of Stephansfeld has for its general purpose the removal of the unhappy prejudice which prevails that insanity is an incurable disease, and for its particular objects:—

1. To protect and direct the poor of both sexes when discharged cured or relieved on their re-entrance into society.

2. To aid them according to their need by temporary relief in money or other things until they have regained confidence and found employment.

3. To secure on their behalf, in the localities they inhabit, the intellectual and moral support of enlightened and charitable persons so as to fortify them as far as possible against circumstances which might expose them to a relapse or to despondency.

Art. II. The members of the association are divided into three classes:—

1. Patrons or patronesses, who, besides an annual contribution to the fund of at least five francs each, undertake a personal

supervision over the discharged patients, and distribute to their wants the aid awarded by the fund.

2. Subscribing associates, who, without taking personally any part in carrying out the details of the association, are willing to make a regular contribution to its resources.

3. Corresponding associates, who, without pledging themselves to make contributions to the fund, consent to directly protect and assist the discharged patients at their abodes.

Art. III. The management of the fund to be centralized at Stephansfeld, in the hands of a committee composed of the members of the asylum board of commissioners, of the director of the asylum, of the physician, the chaplains of the different religious persuasions, of the treasurer, and of the steward.

Art. IV. The president and vice-presidents of the asylum commission to hold the same offices in the association; the director and chief physician to be the secretaries; the treasurer to have the same office, and the steward to have charge, as storekeeper, of the effects belonging to the charity.

Art. V. The resources of the association are derived from: 1. Grants made by the superior authorities of the departments. 2. Subscriptions of the patrons and subscribing associates. 3. Voluntary donations. 4. The proceeds of lotteries, meetings, &c. 5. The proceeds derived from the sale of objects made by the patients or presented by other persons, for assistance upon their discharge.

Art. VI. The Treasurer to keep a ledger of all receipts and payments; not to retain in hand more than two, or at most three hundred francs; any excess to be deposited in the Strasburg Savings Bank so soon as it comes into his hands.

Art. VII. The director of the asylum may, in case of necessity, authorize the withdrawal from the savings bank of sums needed for the operation of the charity, provided that he informs the administrative committee of the circumstance at its next meeting.

Art. VIII. The deposit of the funds of the association in Government Securities, and the sale of such securities, not to be made except by the assent of the committee.

Art. IX. The expenses of the fund, and the grants in aid made to discharged patients, to be paid by the treasurer on a written order, signed conjointly by the director and the physician of the asylum, who are required to render an account of their proceedings to the administrative committee.

Art. X. The storekeeper to undertake to procure and to keep in stock goods of any description intended for discharged patients; to distribute such articles upon receiving a written



authority signed by the director and physician of the asylum, and to keep a special account of the receipt and delivery of these articles.

Art. XI. The director of the asylum to present annually a summary of the proceedings of the past year, and a balance-sheet of receipts and expenditure. The physician at the same time to present a report on the results obtained by the charity in all that relates to the physical and moral health of the discharged patients.

Art. XII. The present regulations to be submitted for approval to the "Prefet du Bas-Rhin,"—in whom, we may add, the Benevolent Fund finds an energetic supporter, and who rejoices in the very un-Gallican, but yet very English name of West.

The circular addressed by the committee of the Benevolent Fund to the prefects, admirably points out the scope and utility of the charity. It remarks that, to guard against relapses so far as possible, it is not enough to present patients with a small gratuity on their discharge from the asylum, but that provision need be made to facilitate their obtaining employment, to surround them with a generous protection, and to secure for them the advice and aid of the industrial classes they are thrown among. It further points out that the districts to which the patients belong are directly interested in providing against their relapse; and yet that such poor persons are often abandoned to their own resources, without moral or medical supervision and succour, and are sent back to the asylum in a state of relapse, and without any information relative to the circumstances in which they have been placed during their absence.

Hence the committee recommend that the mayors and "district physicians" should watch over the interests of the discharged insane of their localities, and make reports from time to time to the asylum authorities of their physical and mental condition.

These recommendations of the committee have been ably seconded by the benevolent prefect of the Lower Rhine, M. West, who gave them the weight of his high official position by a circular addressed to all the mayors, district physicians, and ministers of religion in his populous department, wherein he lays down the following detailed plan for carrying them out by the co-operation of those civil and religious functionaries:—

The committee of the fund to address a circular, containing two schedules, to the mayor of the district to which the discharged patient belongs. The first schedule to contain—1, observations by the physician of the asylum on the nature and course of the mental affection for which the patient has been treated, and on the precautions necessary to be observed to avoid a relapse; 2, certain questions addressed to the district (cantonal) physician, and



requiring replies from his own observation ; 3, a place for the mayor of the commune to append information relative both in regard to the conduct and resources of the patient since his return home, and to the description of the extent and sort of aid which the Benevolent Fund should render him. This report should be filled up and sent in by the several mayors to the prefecture six weeks after the discharge of the patient. The second schedule to be similar, but not returnable until the expiration of six months.

The questions contained in the schedules refer to the conduct, moral and religious, of the patient, to the difficulties surrounding him, to the work he engages in and the manner in which it is performed, to the remuneration he obtains and to its sufficiency with or without a grant from the Benevolent Fund. Those more particularly addressed to the cantonal physicians inquire as to the persistence of the patient's recovery, to his relations with his family, to his occupation and habits, to any irregularities noticeable in his intellectual or moral perceptions, to any alteration or eccentricity of manner, and to his bodily health.

Although in this country we do not possess a social system like that of France, whereby every community and every individual is rendered part and parcel of the State machine, and can be subjected to oversight and control ; although, therefore, we cannot transfer the organization of the benevolent institution under notice as an entirety among our own, yet we may derive some valuable suggestions from it calculated to improve and extend the operations of those useful funds connected with some English asylums for the relief of discharged patients. Voluntary association and co-operation take the place of State nurture and Government management in this free country where such charitable objects as the one in question are concerned, and I feel persuaded that it is only requisite to rouse the public mind to the necessity of taking some steps to uphold and protect the poor persons discharged from our lunatic asylums in their early struggles on readmission into the world, to secure an effective association and a sufficient fund. I would particularly call the attention of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the organization of the Stephansfeld Fund, since I find from their last report (13th) that they have started a fund for the relief of the same class of persons, and presume it is their intention to appeal to the public for co-operation and support. However, I am as yet in ignorance of the rules framed by the commissioners for its administration, and, indeed, whether they have as yet proceeded to frame any ; still, in either case, the regulations of a similar charity will at least be interesting, if possibly not suggestive of improvements.

## ART V.—DR. LAYCOCK ON MIND AND BRAIN.

DR. LAYCOCK has very happily supplied a great need in English medical and psychological literature. In the work noted below\* he has discussed the theoretical and practical questions of psychology and biology with a breadth and acuteness rarely equalled. But the matter of most immediate interest in connexion with this book is, that it is designed—"first, as a class-book, to introduce the student of medical psychology to a comprehensive inquiry into the relations of consciousness to organization; secondly, to afford to the general student of mental science, in its practical applications, whatever these may be, a solid foundation for a course of self-culture, in an exposition of the relations of organization to consciousness."—(p. vii.)

Simply as a class-book Dr. Laycock's work would fill up a very ugly hiatus in the psychological, and particularly in the medico-psychological literature of this country. But the book possesses, for us, even a much higher interest than this. For we would fain hope that it will contribute in no small degree to bringing about the establishment of specific tuition in medical psychology in our schools of medicine generally, as it most assuredly removes one formidable obstacle to that tuition, to wit, the often much-felt want of a trustworthy text-book for the student. We hope also that this work will not be without effect in inducing our anatomical and biological lecturers to place their teachings on a much higher footing than is customary. For Dr. Laycock's admirable exposition of the true practical value of a thoroughly philosophical biology must commend itself to all who are interested in biological science. Indeed, apart from its interest as a class-book for students, the work is of high scientific interest as containing the evolution of a philosophical system of rare attractiveness. It might, perhaps, be said by some, that much of the material of which the book is composed is too concentrated, too close and firm of texture to suit well the unsophisticated mental stomachs of babes and sucklings in psychology and biology. But there is this great consolation, that any, even the most petulant babe *may*, if it will, take the nutriment, and that those babes who are reared upon it may look forward to a very healthy and vigorous manhood.

Dr. Laycock's work will be more justly dealt with by description than by criticism, and for this reason:—The subjects he

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deals with are open to considerable difference of opinion, and it is not so much our agreement with or difference from this or that opinion which he expresses which should guide us in our approval or condemnation of the book, but our decision should be founded upon the mode in which we conceive the chief object of the work is attained, to wit, as a class-book for the medical and general student. Two considerations, we apprehend, should principally govern us in deciding upon this point: (1) the *sound-mindedness* (to use a phrase of Dr. Whewell's) of the doctrines taught in the book, and (2) their probable effect upon the ulterior study of the subjects to which they refer. Now a general description of the scope and argument of the work will, perhaps, best show in what degree Dr. Laycock's teachings possess sound-mindedness,—the first requisite we have named; also, in what degree they are calculated to foster psychological and biological studies,—the second requisite.

Dr. Laycock prefaces his work by stating, that after long research into the relations of body and mind, he had been led to the conclusion that the resources of mental philosophy and cerebral physiology bearing upon the inquiry were vitiated by a fundamental error in method. "Our investigations concerning mind and brain neither attempted," he writes, "nor indeed pretended to attempt, a demonstration of the relations between the laws of functional activity of the organ of consciousness and the laws of consciousness itself. Each department of knowledge was expressly held apart from the other; and their subject-matters of inquiry were considered to be fundamentally distinct." He then proceeds:—

"It is easily seen why this divisive method of inquiry is not applicable to practical ends, either in mental or vital science. Since we have no other sources of knowledge than those which our consciousness affords, and since all our states of consciousness are necessarily coincident with the operations of our vital forces, it follows, that a knowledge of the laws of consciousness, in relation with the laws of the vital forces, must constitute the foundation of all science whatever; or, in other words, that metaphysic, to be complete as a unity, must bring within its range the laws of life and organization.

"The union of philosophy proper with physiology (or, more correctly, with biology) is, however, more especially necessary, if we would establish an applied science of mind; for that must be applied to mind active in all the business of human life, whether in the healthy states of which the metaphysician takes exclusive cognizance, or in those morbid states which more especially engage the attention of the physician. In both classes of mental activities the phenomena of life and consciousness are inseparable; so that, without a scientific correlation of the two classes of laws, an applied science of mind is not possible."—(p. v.)



In accordance with these views Dr. Laycock attempts an introductory exposition of the correlations of physiology and philosophy in the work before us, seeking to adapt it as a class-book for the student of medical psychology and for the general student of mental science (as we have already stated). The scientific physician, the advanced metaphysician, and the philosophical phrenologist are pretty well agreed that the construction of such a work is among the scientific demands of the age. Moreover, the perplexing social questions constantly arising in reference to insanity, teach us the absolute necessity of possessing a more practically available science of mind than we yet possess, if we would legislate beneficially on these questions. Again, in "a mental philosophy which takes due cognizance of the laws of life," will be found the best antidote to those pseudo-scientific abominations, mesmerism, electro-biology, and the like, which haunt the highways and bye-ways of biological and psychological studies, seducing many innocents to destruction. Further, by a scientific correlation such as that indicated, we can alone hope satisfactorily to solve the oft-disputed questions which so often bewilder the student in natural history, the zoologist, and ethnologist, that is to say, the difference between instinct and reason; the limits of animal and vegetable life; the origin of living things and of man upon the earth; the differences of race, form, and mental qualities among men. Nay, the correlations of the laws of organization and consciousness must be the next great step towards the foundation of a science of social organization.

So widely would bear a successful application of our author's opinions, and in endeavouring to effect this, he has "sketched a method, and carried it out into the formation of a body of doctrines, in such a way that the reader, if an earnest student, may have a guide through the multitudinous phenomena he has to examine and compare, in his scientific progress from the known to the unknown."—(p. xi.)

In the first part of his work Dr. Laycock sets forth the necessary connexion between physiology and mental philosophy, and states his method of inquiry; in the second part he gives a summary of the results of experience, and of the general doctrines reached by speculation and the divisive method; in the third part, which commences the scientific portion of the work, he discusses the causes of life and consciousness. He writes:—

"Of late years science has developed the unity of the physical forces, and reduced them to a general law of transference of force; the correlations of the physical and vital forces in this respect have also been worked out. And no one has shown how forces are transferred so as to attain the ends which are observed to be attained by the operation of the

vital forces; nor has any one attempted to throw a scientific bridge across the impassable gulf which has hitherto appeared to separate the phenomena of life and organization and of thought. Now the author has aimed to overcome this difficulty by a new and very simple method, and one perfectly available, as he believes, for all purposes of inquiry. Looking at the two classes of phenomena, and examining what they have in common, this principle is deduced—viz., 'That whereas mind designs, life is designed. Design, therefore, is common to both; but in the one there is a conscious energy of design; in the other an unconscious. And this further law of correlation is universally manifest—viz., That the results of the vital forces, operative according to a law of design, coincide with the various states of consciousness known as desires, feelings, and the like. Hence a general law of design, with its derivative laws, correlates both the laws of life and of consciousness.' (p. xii.)

In the third part, also, Dr. Laycock develops the principles of teleology, or mental dynamics, from this law of design; "and Ideas are considered as causes not only of life and thought, but of all the phenomena of creation." This portion of the work Dr. Laycock anticipates will probably attract more critical attention than others. He desires, therefore, that it should be understood that—

"— the views therein developed are intended to be wholly scientific. Mind is simply considered as an ordering force in creation, to be examined according to the usual method of scientific research; that is to say, as it is manifested in the sequences and co-existences of phenomena. There is no discussion as to the nature of soul, mind, or spirit, such as is found in psychological works generally; and thus the phenomena are examined wholly apart from those philosophical and theological speculations which are altogether foreign to science. In introducing, therefore, so much of these speculations as is to be found in this part, the author had solely in view the restriction of the inquiry within its proper limits." (p. xiii.)

Dr. Laycock having thus established a system of general principles, proceeds to apply them in succession to the general laws of biology, the development of a scientific cerebral psychology, and to the first principles of a mental physiology and organology, always keeping in view the solution of practical questions, or the suggestion of new methods of inquiry. Finally, Dr. Laycock writes, that :—

"The entire scope of the work is to carry up the doctrine of final causes in a connected form, to its highest uses; and to show that Mind is the final cause, as an ordering force, of all the physical forces, and of all their derivative manifestations in the phenomena of creation. Under the guidance of this principle, that union of the two great departments of human knowledge, hitherto so sedulously kept apart,



is attained. Thus, the work it is hoped may serve to advance both ; for on the one hand the phenomena of life and organization are brought into the domain of philosophy ; on the other, the phenomena of thought are brought into the domain of physiology. The unifying principle, that mind is dominant over matter and its forces, enables us to compare and generalize phenomena hitherto considered wholly discordant, so as to harmonize them, and thereby to break through that eternal maze of contradictions, as to reason and instinct, consciousness and unconsciousness, will and intelligence, within which all philosophical inquiry has been so long involved. By adding physiology to philosophy, we place philosophy at the head of the inductive sciences, and at the same time bring all the sciences of life and organization into philosophical relation and unity. The basis of this unity is teleology, applied deductively and inductively to all the phenomena which science investigates." (p. xv.)

Such is in brief the argument and scope of Dr. Laycock's work as gathered from the preface. We turn now to the body of the book.

In the Preliminary Dissertation on Method, which forms the first portion of the work, our author discusses first the necessary connexion of a physiology of the brain with a practical science of mind. If we would know, he argues, the laws and modes of existence of man as a rational being, it is needful we should know "not only how the encephalon is constructed mechanically, and how it acts dynamically, but under what conditions it is constructed, and according to what laws it is operative." In other words,—

"... The laws of development and organization of the encephalon, as the necessary instrument and seat of man's energies and feelings, must be determined, if we would rightly understand its mechanism and modes of activity, under varying states of the consciousness, in various races, nations, societies, individuals. The vital processes and the correlative mental states of each moment are linked to a series of similar changes, of which they are logically the necessary results, extending far back into time. This long series of activities—vital and mental—continuing through a succession of individual men, from generation to generation, corresponds, in cerebral physiology and psychology, to that long succession of forms of organisms which, commencing in the abysses of time, are the subject matter of palæontology ; so that just as the last individual of a species is but the latent expression or manifestation of a long series of cycles of changes in the species, so the last thoughts, and feelings, and actions of an individual man are but the result of a series of changes dating far back in his own individual history, or having their roots in the modes of mental and vital activity of his ancestry." (p. ii.)

Now, it is not to be denied that throughout these cycles of vital changes an "immanent, inherent energy" is ever operative—an energy which—



" . . . Is not a more physical or material agent, and which can only be conceived as an actively adapting force manifested in the phenomena of life ; consequently, its laws and modes of operation can only be determined by determining the laws of development and organization, and of mechanical structure and dynamical action of the living structures by which it is manifested. If it be inoperative, it is unknowable. Hence, mind and its laws can only be known through the phenomena of life and its laws. And since the phenomena of human consciousness are biologically a special form of manifestation of vital processes, which have their seat and origin in the encephalon, the laws of thought, and will, and feeling, can only be fully determined for practical uses in correlation with the laws of action of the nervous system, of which the encephalon is the chiefest portion and the highest development. It follows, therefore, from these considerations, that the brain and nervous system are the proper subject matter of a true science of mind—without a knowledge of which there can be no such science whatever, in the proper sense of the term. It equally results, that its study as an applied science can only be followed according to the method pursued in the study and application of the other applied sciences." (p. 3.)

Hence, then, the study of the correlations of the laws of action of the brain and nervous system with those of thought and volition must hold the chief place in our researches for the establishment of a sound science of mind. Apart from such study, we must altogether avoid attempting to frame a science of mind by simple meditation on our own states of consciousness, or by the exercise of logical art. "No one," Kant has observed, "by means of logic alone can venture to predicate anything of or decide concerning objects, unless he has obtained, independently of logic, well-grounded information about them." And we must not run into the error, which has been committed by many modern inquirers, of neglecting or treating as of secondary importance either logic or metaphysics. Both are of great importance in facilitating and fostering close and accurate observation of phenomena, and Dr. Laycock well remarks that "the most successful inquirers have usually been good metaphysicians."

The attainment of the knowledge which our author instructs us we should strive for, if we would construct a true science of mind, is beset by sundry difficulties. These difficulties, however, do not belong so much to the knowledge itself as to the faulty methods which have been employed to reach it. To guard the student from these erroneous methods and to establish a better method are the chief objects of Dr. Laycock's Preliminary Dissertation.

Now, while a true method of research is necessary to and would facilitate the acquisition of a sound science of mind, and while it may be assumed that the study of mental science "is not only the most attractive of all scientific pursuits, but also that the

science itself is easy of acquirement, and much more within the reach of the general public than those which require elaborate apparatus for their successful prosecution,"—each student having in the phenomena of his own consciousness both the means and the matter of observation, his own brain being an instrument which, if rightly used, exceeds all other instrumental aids to research whatever (p. 6),—still it must not be imagined that either the successful study or the practical application of mental science is possible, without the mind has been previously disciplined in habits of observation. Dr. Laycock adds to his introductory observations the following just caution:—

"Although I am anxious to popularize the science of mind, and therefore seek to break down the barriers which have hitherto excluded the great majority of educated men from its pursuit, I only mean it to be popular in the sense of being non-professional, and not popular in the sense of its being a thing easy of acquirement. The student owes scientific labour and serious thought to it as a sacred duty; for without these mental science will degenerate into a superficial, frivolous pretence of knowledge. The true psychologist, therefore, must be ready himself, and demand of others, to submit to discipline; must toil to acquire the necessary preliminary knowledge which may be considered only instrumental, as the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system, and the sciences of life and organization, so far as regards general principles; must acquire a precision in the use of terms as nearly of mathematical exactness as the ambiguities and imperfections of language will allow, together with that skill in the use of his intellectual powers which a logical training supplies; and finally, he must practise his observing powers in his daily intercourse with man, and not with man alone, but all the living things his fellow-creatures about him, with a special reference to the great object of his studies. Now, if this list of requirements may appear in imagination so great as to dishearten the inexperienced student, or the man who has been accustomed to limit his investigations to the phenomena of his own consciousness, I would just remark, that the reality is by no means so overwhelming as the imagination. On the contrary, I think that a practical science of human nature may be successfully studied in equal time and with equal ease as most of the higher departments of other sciences, as for example the higher mathematics, physical astronomy, chemistry, engineering physics, and the like, provided always that the same method and the same perseverance be used in acquiring the practical science of human nature as in acquiring them." (pp. 10, 11.)

Dr. Laycock next proceeds to discuss the ends to be attained by a science of mind founded on a philosophical physiology of the brain. A practical science of mind, he holds, "must be capable of a threefold application to practical ends: namely, first, to advance the happiness of man in his individual and domestic relations; secondly, to secure the welfare of society; thirdly, to



advance that knowledge which secures the development of the race, and establishes man's dominion over nature. These form an ascending series of objects necessarily in relation to each other, and I will endeavour to illustrate each series. One and all, however, can only be aimed at through a mental science based on a philosophical physiology of the brain."—(p. 15.) Dr. Laycock then briefly shows the applications of mental science to mental hygiene, medical art, medical science, professional pursuits, sociological psychology, the psychology of public hygiene, and of climatology and ethnology. He also points out the dependence of social progress on mental science, the psychological relations of agriculture, the connexion of national mental vigour with healthy physical conditions, the relationship of the fine arts to a vigorous national life and sound morals, and terminates an admirable outline of these important subjects with a sketch of the relations of mental science to a complete philosophy, finally remarking :—

"These, then, are the great objects of a full and complete mental science, in relation with a philosophical physiology. It is co-extensive in its scope with created things. It investigates the action of the physical forces, that it may determine their relations to the forces of life and organization; it investigates the vital forces, that it may develop the relations of life and organization to mind; and it investigates the phenomena of mind in their relations to physical and vital forces as operative in the brain, that it may deduce general principles applicable alike to the material welfare and the highest moral, intellectual, and spiritual interests of man. It is necessarily co-extensive with that knowledge in which all men take interest, and is synonymous with that philosophy which Kant defined as the science of the relation of all cognition to the ultimate and essential aims of human reason (*teleologia rationis humanæ*)."—(p. 32).

Assuredly this is a wide-reaching scope; but Dr. Laycock fully justifies this summary and deprives it of all aspect of exaggeration in the subsequent portions of his work. He conceives most nobly of his subject, and his execution befits well the nobility of his conception.

Our author next examines those obstacles to the development of a practical science of mind which arise out of the adoption of erroneous principles and imperfect methods; and pursuing the subject still further, he discusses the restrictions on the progress of mental science, from the prejudices of mankind and the dogmas of speculative metaphysics and theology. This subdivision of the work will prove of great value to the student and general reader; and the latter portion is distinguished by a catholicism, which, together with the practical tendencies of the work already set forth, at once sets at rest the *sound-mindedness* of Dr. Lay-



cock's doctrines. Treating of the prejudices arising from the apparent antagonism of Mental Science to Revealed Truth, he writes :—

“We cannot but think that Bacon, and other philosophers of his day, were not too enthusiastic when, contemplating the grandeur of modern science, they earnestly expressed their belief that these are the days referred to by one of the Jewish prophets as those in which ‘many shall run to and fro, and knowledge be abundantly increased; and the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.’ Science itself, in its highest and fullest development, is religion; for although there may be now and then an ‘undevout astronomer,’ yet the deepest thinkers are agreed, and have always held, that a knowledge of creation and its laws can only lead to the knowledge and love of God.” (p. 84.)

The objects of a practical science of mind having been examined and the obstacles to the attainment of such a science ascertained, the next point is to determine what are the principles and methods which would enable us most readily to avoid these obstacles, and to develop best the science sought for. Having first shown that all the fundamental principles of a practical philosophy must be deduced from the experience of mankind, corrected by enlightened observation and inquiry, Dr. Laycock passes on to examine the method of determining the first principles of a science of mind by observation and induction, and finally concludes that the teleological method is the most natural and universally applicable method. He joins issue with Dr. Whewell, one of its ablest advocates, in restricting the application of this method “as a fundamental and regulative idea to our speculations concerning organized creatures only,” and doubts whether the authority of Bacon, as opposed to the teleological method, has been rightly quoted. Our author points out also the imperfections which have too often vitiated the applications of the method, and shows that the principle of *final* unity is that alone which guides us teleologically. Using the teleological method rightly, we are to seek to “discover the Divine counsels, so far as that is possible, by observing the ends attained, and classifying them; or in other words, determine the results of uniform successions, co-existences, and the like. We should thus be enabled, while we were determining these results, to determine the laws of mind, considered as an ordering force in creation. From this point of view, teleology would be something more than a questionable doctrine of ‘final causes,’ inasmuch as dealing with Mind as an ordering force, it would be strictly the science of *Mental Dynamics*.” The objects aimed at are not, however, to be attained solely by the extension of the teleological method. This indeed

will fail us, unless it be so developed that the principles educed by it are demonstrably conformable with both the inductions of science and the experience of mankind. "In other words, those principles must be subjected to the double proof required to establish all general principles whatever." (p. 113.)

Dr. Laycock having thus determined upon a method of research, advances next to its practical development. And, first, he institutes an inquiry into the general and scientific experience of mankind as to their states of consciousness (Empirical Psychology); next, he examines into the fundamental laws of existence (Ontology); and, thirdly, he discusses the first principles of Mind as an ordering force to ends (Teleology, or Mental Dynamics). The tendency and scope of these three great divisions of his work are thus summed up by Dr. Laycock:—

"In the first we examine Consciousness in relation to vital phenomena; in the second, Existence in relation to vital and physical phenomena; in the third, we develope the great correlations of Mind with the physical and vital forces considered in relation to design in creation, viewed as a systematic unity, or the doctrine of Ends. This will bring the highest manifestation of mind—as a creative and regulative power—into synthesis with creation, and consecutively into synthesis with the human mind. Here, the method will show that the ideas of the Divine Mind, as revealed in the phenomena of creation, are none other than the fundamental ideas and *à priori* conceptions of the human mind as revealed in consciousness; that the ends aimed at and attained by the Creator are the objects of the instinctive desires of the creature; and that, consequently, the phenomena of nature constitute a reflex of the human mind. Or, to use the words of M. Agassiz, 'the whole may be considered as a school in which man is taught to know himself and his relations to his fellow-beings, as well as to the First Cause of all that exists.' In this way we shall have completed the task which we proposed at the outset—namely, to develope a method of philosophical inquiry which should combine the three great departments of human knowledge into unity, and attain to a knowledge of human nature, not empirically only, but deductively, through principles derived from the entire range of all science." (p. 114.)

We shall not attempt to follow step by step the development of our author's method as thus stated, but simply cull a few illustrations which may suffice to mark some of the more important stages of the development. And, first, as to the relation of consciousness to vital phenomena. "Since Descartes limited psychology to the domain of consciousness," writes Sir William Hamilton, "the term *mind* has been rigidly employed for the self-knowing principle alone. Mind, therefore, is to be understood as the subject of the various internal phenomena of which we are conscious, or that subject of which consciousness is the

general phenomena.”\* Now, if we seek to ascertain the relations of mind with matter, or rather with the forces of matter, with which we can legitimately institute a comparison, we are led to the conclusion that “mind is that which has the power of beginning motion; matter has not the power: mind is that which feels and thinks; matter does not feel or think: mind adapts events to designed ends; matter is adapted to ends: mind is conscious, matter is unconscious; or, finally, since all these are included under consciousness, mind is consciousness.” Upon this conclusion of the nature of mind in comparison with matter several important, and perhaps the most currently-received, systems of modern philosophy are based,—the forces of matter and mind being held wholly apart. But is this disjunction consistent with experience, or necessary to a successful investigation of mind? To determine these points renders requisite an inquiry into the relations of consciousness to Existence or Being. “If Beings manifest all the phenomena we attribute to mind, although not conscious, then mind must be the cause of being, and therefore of something more than consciousness.” (p. 124.)

Now, if we attempt to draw a line *anywhere* between vital and psychical forces, we shall most assuredly be foiled. Mr. J. D. Morell, adopting the doctrine of experience current in Germany, that continuous consciousness is not necessary to being, the soul being *prior* to consciousness, has admirably said that,—

“Even in the early unconscious developments of *life*, there is an intelligible purpose manifested which denotes the presence of a rational principle, although that principle only manifests itself as yet in teleological forms and processes. *Instinct* again plainly betokens mind, only in a lower sphere. . . . Neither is it possible, if we go one step further, to separate the phenomena of *sensation* from those of the physical and vital forces. The conscious and the unconscious sides of the process are so blended together, that it is only by a mental fiction that we distinguish them, and assign a cause to the one different from that which produces the other.”

And if we go upwards to the higher intellectual regions, even to the will, still these are only reached—

“By a succession of steps, all involving both thought and feeling, between no two of which we can draw any line of demarcation, so as to say where the vital and automatic processes *end*, and where those of the soul, *par excellence*, begin. The whole, in fact, are so interwoven in producing the result, that they point as of necessity to a primitive unity as the real starting-point of them all.”†

Dr. Laycock concludes, therefore, that—

\* *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. i. p. 129.

† *Elements of Psychology*, part i., p. 76.



"It is thus clearly deducible from experience that consciousness cannot be separated as to causation from existence or being. Existence is certainly implied in consciousness, but is not dependent upon consciousness. Life and mind are correlative in consciousness, and dependent, therefore, upon correlative forces : Knowing and Being have the same cause." (p. 130.)

Passing over Dr. Laycock's interesting summary of the general doctrines of consciousness, we reach the ontological division of his book, and we cannot resist the temptation to quote the following characteristic paragraphs from the chapter on "Unconscious Existence:"—

"We cannot conceive how mind could *act* independently of matter, although we can conceive it to *exist* independently of matter. But the conceivable in thought, and the conceivable in fact or act, are wholly different things. Thus the geometrician defines a point to be that which has neither parts nor dimensions. Can we, however, by any effort, realize a point—that is, an actual thing without parts or dimensions? The nearest conception of some would certainly be the idea they had formed of soul. Then as to causation, which is involved in our conception of mind, we can conceive a cause in the abstract, but can we realize it without at the same time conceiving the thing caused—the effect? This is a matter of experience. I must say that I cannot. How can we comprehend Mind as a cause of motion until we know that motion results from its operation? or how can we comprehend it as manifested, before any manifestations of mind appear? All abstract truths end thus in the inconceivable—just as all conceivable time ends in infinite time, all space in infinite space, and the like.

"Now, we *can* conceive mind to be existent and *latent*,—that is, if manifested in a past time, as not manifested *now*, or if manifested now, as not to be manifested at a future time. In this way we arrive at the conception of the latent existence of the soul after death—that is, as not manifested *for a time* until the man lives again; or, in other words, until the mind is manifested in another body. And this process is the more easy, because we already apply it to the comprehension of those powers or forces of matter, that, like mind, are known only by their effects. We thus speak of *latent* heat; that is, heat not manifested by changes in matter, or in our own bodies. The so-called electric and magnetic fluids may in like manner be latent; that is to say, only manifested when matter undergoes a change cognizable by us. It is, indeed, on these relations of the "Imponderables" to matter, that the doctrine of a correlation of forces is founded. As we shall speedily see, what we call light, heat, magnetism, electricity, chemical affinity, &c., are the manifestations of one and the same primary force acting differently under varying conditions, but which are only possible in and through matter.

"Applying these illustrations to mind in its relations to matter, we clearly see that the generalization which distinguishes between

mind and matter, is as well-founded as that which distinguishes between matter and the forces of matter; but it is equally true that we can no more realize mind as acting apart from matter, than we can realize the force of gravity or of chemical affinity as acting apart from matter. And this is one of the great empirical laws derived from human experience. The term *individual* indicates the one indivisible being constituted of both matter and mind. No man of common sense believes that his mind really acts in the ordinary concerns of life, *does* anything in the world apart from his body. So also as to the laws of society. In the entire decalogue, nothing else is referred to but the man. No human laws give human rights to the dead; they are no longer men, but 'souls' only, and cease therefore to be members of human society. It is quite remarkable, indeed, how often the common sense and experience of men triumph over man's most cherished and deep-rooted superstitions. Of the great majority in the United Kingdom who believe materialistically in ghosts, how few act up to their belief!"

Further, Dr. Laycock rightly observes that the true source of all the discussions as to whether consciousness is continuous or not, is in the fundamental doctrine which holds mind apart from life.

"When we reverse the doctrine, and include life under mind, as the common cause of both conscious and unconscious existence, we view consciousness and unconsciousness in the same light as they are placed by the experience of mankind—namely, as modes of existence which are determined by the varying phenomena of vital action. Such being the general law, the proper inquiry is, what vital phenomena correspond to conscious states of existence, what to unconscious. These are the phenomena of conscious and unconscious cerebral action." (p. 173.)

Dr. Laycock now examines the question of latent consciousness, following closely the views of Sir Wm. Hamilton, and next he enters upon the examination of instinctive experience. Looking upon the term instinct in its widest application, "as manifesting a blind, unconscious adaptation to ends," he would class under the term instinctive the actions appropriate to nutrition or alimentation, and of respiration or aeration of the tissues. "Hence instinct, in this more general sense, is a property of vegetable organisms as well as of man. It is, therefore, the supposed cause of all those acts which are performed either without any mode of consciousness absolutely—that is, unconsciously: without any knowledge on the part of the individual, of the ends to be attained by the acts, or without any volition." Thus Dr. Reid: "He [a new-born child] is led by nature to do those actions [of sucking, swallowing, &c.] without knowing for what end, or what he is about. This we call *instinct*." Now we can hardly find

more suitable expressions, as Sir Wm. Hamilton has said, "to indicate those incomprehensible spontaneities of which the primary facts of our consciousness are the manifestations, than *rational* or *intellectual instincts*;" and it will scarcely be doubted that, as Dr. Laycock remarks, "the same energy which acts as instinct, and is esteemed a *quoddam divinum* in lower organisms, is identical with the energy acting as instinct, and termed soul in man."—(p. 192.) If we push our analysis still further we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the difference between the mental nature of men and animals is one of degree only, not of kind,—thus we arrive at a position from which we can generalize thought and instinct under one term, with this common to both,—“that each is the manifestation of a law of necessary adaptation to ends.”—

“The man ceases to be rational when he aims not at an adaptation to ends. Instinct, we have seen, is that adaptation itself. In trying to realize from the side of instinct a more general conception of *soul*, or *mind*, we find that it contains three elements. 1. There is the *law* of necessary adaptation to ends. 2. There is the pure reason or thought, the '*quoddam divinum*,' by which the ends are conceived, and the machinery and methods for attaining them designed. 3. There is the force or energy which is manifested in and by the law of necessary adaptation to ends, and which is active or operative in accordance with the conceptions of the pure Thought, so that the machinery necessary to attain the end is constructed out of matter, and worked appropriately when so constructed. Now, these three elements enter into the intellectual as well as the instinctive nature of man. A fourth needs to be added, *i.e.*, consciousness, as the common characteristic of all. Consciousness of adaptation to ends, or Thought; consciousness of the successive events necessary to secure adaptation, or Knowledge; consciousness of the exercise of the power or energy used in the actual adaptation, or Will; and, finally, the *feeling* associated with the processes—the Desire to attain an end, and to adapt to the attainment; the Desire to attain the knowledge necessary to secure the adaptation; the Desire to exercise the power necessary; and, finally, the Pleasure or Pain consequent upon the attempt at adaptation with the success or failure.” (p. 195.)

We may now infer the differences between man and animals; but between the highest and lowest capabilities of knowledge, both in man and animals, so unbroken is the series that we can nowhere strictly draw a line of demarcation and say, Here instinct ends, here reason begins.

Dr. Laycock's reasoning upon instinctive existence culminates in the following generalization:—

“It follows, then, from all these considerations, that all those general phenomena of mind which we have already investigated are—



instinctive in their character ; or, in other words, are due to the same cause or causes, and occur according to the same laws, as the mental phenomena of lower animals. Now, these phenomena are vital ; consequently, the mental phenomena of man are vital.

“By successive generalizations of the facts and propositions of experience, we thus arrive at the ultimate generalization attainable, and the phenomena of life are brought under the same efficient cause—a spiritual Energy—as the phenomena of mind. Nowhere can we draw a line of demarcation between these phenomena as to causation, so that the soul, considered as an Energy, acts equally in nutrition, development, and instinct, in all states of consciousness, and in all intellectual operations whatever. These phenomena are but varying manifestations in time and space, through matter, of the same spiritual thing. *Soul* operates in all. So that, by the operation in matter of the ‘immaterial *Ego*,’ according to the necessary law of adaptation, vital force and nervous force, instinct or blind adaptation, and reason or conscious adaptation, are variously developed into activity, as modes of action of the same force, according to that law of adaptation itself ; and thus the vital and the mental forces and functions are but manifestations of the same pure thought in action. This generalization is exhaustive, being co-extensive with all the phenomena of creation, and is the only generalization which can comprehend both the phenomena of Life and Mind.” (p. 197.)

We shall not dwell upon Dr. Laycock’s observations on speculative ontology, which follow next in order. One remark, however, we may make before entering into the third sub-division of his work, to wit, that all systems of speculative phenomena have had running throughout them the great fundamental truth, that “Mind is the final cause of order in creation.” (p. 212.)

Having in the ontological sections of the work discussed the question of existence in relation to vital and physical phenomena, Dr. Laycock proceeds to apply the principle of teleological unity which he has arrived at, and which Kant has designated the highest of the principles of unity, to an examination of the “innermost secrets of nature” lying hid in the relations of mind to the phenomena of life and thought, and to the development of the laws of mind as the cause of all phenomena. This constitutes the third sub-division of his work, “Mental Dynamics, or Teleology.”

And, first, he treats of the general doctrine of the correlation of causes, and passing briefly under survey the general phenomena of force and life, he concludes that, “mind is the universal, necessary, unchanging, causal element in all our cognitions of ourselves and of the universe ; matter, as represented by the physical and vital forces, being the contingent, variable, ever-changing, causal element. Mind is the *First Cause* ; the one absolute thing, from which all other causes and things are derivative.” (p.

226.) The next step in the development of the method is to determine "the correlations of life and consciousness, through the correlations of mind with the physical and vital forces, as displayed in the unity of created things." In pursuance of this object Dr. Laycock passes under review, first, the doctrines of the correlations of the physical forces, and next those of the correlations of the physical and vital forces. He remarks that—

"In the modern doctrine of the correlation of the physical forces, the unifying idea is that they are all convertible into motion, and that they are simply manifestations of the different relations to each other in which atoms are placed. But there has been no teleological development of the doctrine in its application to Life and Thought. Force has been simply personified according to the ancient and vulgar plan," (p. 251.)

In illustration of this view Dr. Laycock quotes the opinions expressed in the well-known paper by Dr. Carpenter, "On the Mutual Relations of the Vital and Physical Forces."\*

Dr. Laycock then proceeds to examine the correlations of the physical, vital, and mental forces, and having shown, "as a logical necessity, that a law of design comprised all those fixed unvarying successions of events which we attribute to the physical forces," also that a similar law comprises all the manifestations of organic forces, he concludes that "design is as much a part of the phenomena of creation as force, law, or uniformity. Each correlates the other."

"Further, if the vital forces be derivative of the physical forces, which we may now accept, temporarily at least, as a truth in science, it necessarily follows that the law of design which characterizes them must be derived from the physical forces: and if it be admitted that there be but one universal and absolute, then it is logically necessary that Mind, as manifested by a law of design, is that universal and absolute. Again, in no other way can we conceive mind as being absolutely universal—that is, both in the relative universal and in the particular—than by the doctrine that it is the universal of the physical forces of creation in our cognition of force, of which vital forces are the variable, contingent, and derivative. Again, a mental force must have a correlative law; now that correlative law in creation is a universal law of design." (p. 264.)

Our author next enters upon an investigation of ideas as causes, governing his method of procedure by the propositions that, "inasmuch as no state of consciousness whatever happens without correlative vital processes, so it follows that no vital processes, whatever they be, or however they be named, happen independently of their correlative ideas and intuitions of mind in

\* *Philosophical Transactions*. 1850.



the abstract."—(p. 271.) Discussing first the general doctrines of Ideas as causes, Dr. Laycock then examines the modes of Derivative Evolution of Ideas so regarded, and the classification of these Ideas. Further, he investigates intuitive and necessary truths considered as motives to action, and, finally, terminates this portion of his subject by examining Mind regarded as the First Cause. This, one of the most interesting and suggestive arguments of Dr. Laycock's work cannot well be dealt with, so as to do justice to the author, in a brief analysis.

The first great division of Dr. Laycock's work ends with the doctrines of the Correlation of Causes. In the second division he applies the teleological doctrine to the phenomena of Life and Organization—to Biology. He discusses successively the fundamental conditions of existence considered teleologically; the laws of permanence with incessant change in organisms; the fundamental principles of morphology, or the laws of existence in relation to space; the law of evolutionary development of archetypal forms; and the fundamental laws of vital action,—under this latter head examining (1) fundamental ideas as vital energies, and (2) the physiological correlations of the fundamental ideas.

Having completed the application of his method to biology, Dr. Laycock then proceeds to develop the principles of a scientific psychology.\* And, first, he examines the question of the substratum of conscient mind, and the method of determining its laws in relation to consciousness. Starting from the fundamental proposition that mind as the first cause is inseparably associated with the primary forces of matter, and that it acts in and by those forces alone, he argues that the results of those forces in action are its exponents, and their phenomena are its signs or language, the expression of its thoughts. This which is true of the general laws of nature, is true also of the laws of life and organization; and, consequently, the phenomena of life and organization are to be regarded as true and manifest exponents of the laws of thought. We have seen that the vital forces, of which the so-called "nerve-force" is the type, and the physical forces are correlated; and since we can reduce the laws of the physical forces to numerical expressions, we ought to be able to reduce the laws of their derivative forces—those of life and organization—to numerical expressions—

"Now, this we are actually able to do in some degree as to those known as the laws of nutrition and development of organisms. We may, however, advance even a step further, and extend the method to the laws of life and organization in correlation with the laws of thought. For since all the successional states of our consciousness correspond to successional vital states, and since these occur according

\* The subsequent references are to Vol. II. of Dr. Laycock's work.



to the law of the vital forces, it is clear that the signs which express the successional states of the one may be made to express or correlate the successional states of the other.

"It is very necessary, however, to bear in mind, in considering this question, that it is not changes in the mere matter of the brain in the concrete (as many are apt to think) which constitute the vital processes that are correlative with mental states; on the contrary, such changes taking place put a stop to the phenomena of thought, and often, indeed, of life. The changes we have to consider are dynamic, or teleorganic,\* and are operated by those same vital forces by which the brain itself is built up, so that it shall, as a whole, be in express adaptation to the end that these successional states of consciousness should take place. In other words, the incessant vital changes which correlate thought do not differ in their nature from those which correlate growth, nutrition, and development.

"It is further to be carefully noted, that, as the vital forces correlate the physical forces, their laws of action will correlate the laws of action of the physical forces. Now if, in examining into these, the physicist has to distinguish between them and that substratum (whether atomic or not) in which they are hypothetically conceived to act, it is much more imperative on the physiologist and metaphysician to distinguish the forces with which he has to deal, from the substratum in which they also must hypothetically be conceived to act. These forces are put into action by what are really physical forces; for all the impressions made by mere matter or organisms are in fact vital changes induced by the physical force of matter: while all the impressions derived from living things, whether visual or auditorial, are equally made through the medium of those physical forces, and not otherwise. Every impression on the senses can be thus resolved finally into an impression of contact or touch; so that Touch is the fundamental sense, and all the organs of the senses are but very delicate instruments of touch. Such is the general law deduced from observation and experiment; such is the only law at which we can arrive *à priori*;† for since the vital forces are correlative with the physical, they can only be modified by those which correlate them." (pp. 8—10.)

The doctrine of psychical substrata was formally enunciated by Dr. Laycock fifteen years ago.‡ To those substrata, "the teleorganic changes of which hypothetically correspond to notional states of consciousness," he applied the term *ideagenic* substrata; to those "the teleorganic changes of which correspond hypothetically to motor phenomena," the term *kinetic* substrata.

After briefly indicating the bearing of the doctrine upon psychological inquiry, Dr. Laycock then enters upon the subject of

\* A term first used by Mr. G. H. Lewes, to signify truly vital substances.

† Compare especially on this point, Sir William Hamilton, *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. ii. p. 152, *sqq.*; and Mr. H. Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, part iii. chap. viii.; also Aristotle, *De Animâ*.

‡ See Dr. Laycock's paper *On the Reflex Function of the Brain*, in the volume of this Journal for 1845. For further development of the doctrine mentioned in the text, see also the vol. for 1855, p. 540.

the fundamental correlations of life and consciousness. One illustration from this portion of his work, in reference to feeling as a cause of adapted movements, must suffice.

“Now, there is a large number of purely vital movements of external relation as well as of internal, which manifestly show that a principle of adaptation to external things is in operation. In plants, that principle is identified by many with Life; in lower animals, with Instinct. But while, as to the former, it is not inferred that they indicate conscience or feeling in the organism, as to the latter it is confessed that they do,—and this on the ground that such movements in man and the higher vertebrates are associated with feeling. And since an act of energy accompanies these movements when pleasure or pain is felt, so that a desirable end is aimed at, it is concluded that the feeling is the cause of the adapted movements. But it is clear that this teleological theory ought to be equally applicable to the growth and movements of plants. Some of these, such as the “sensitive” plant, display motions of their parts strikingly similar to those of the lowest animal organisms. If, then, feeling be the assumed cause of the movements in the latter, why is it not the admitted cause of them in the former? To answer that they are plants, is simply to beg the question.

“But the theory of Plant-consciousness cannot, in fact, be either proved or disproved: yet whether it be granted or denied, the difficulties of the question are not thereby cleared up. It is quite certain that the simple embryo-cells of both plants and animals (zoospores and zoids) both move and act in adaptation to their external conditions, and that their organs are developed in relation to each other, so that they constitute a whole. But then, in various instances, as they are developed into what may be termed a higher phase, they lose their animal-like locomotive freedom, and become either plants or plant-like animals; so that if the embryo-cells have feeling, the full-grown organism is apparently unconscious. This is so wholly opposed to the order of events in the higher organisms, that if we admit these lower forms to be conscious, the conclusion is obvious, that their consciousness wholly differs from that of man.” (pp. 23-24.)

Next in order of discussion come the correlations of the desires and feelings with the laws of vital action, immediately followed by an investigation of the general laws of evolution and manifestation of the mental faculties as active powers. This is followed by an inquiry into the fundamental correlations of the laws of growth and development and the laws of thought, in which the teleological method is applied with the happiest results to the laying of a firm foundation of a science of mental organology. In the first section of this subdivision of the work it is well reasoned that “without the mental causes operating as biotic ideas, there can be no development of a proper *substratum*; without the correlative *substratum* there can be no manifestation of mental



powers, and no cognitions, whether primary or derivative" (p. 62); in the second section it is shown that "the laws of vital affinity must constitute the foundation of a true physiological psychology, just as the laws of chemical affinity constitute the foundation of a chemical science" (p. 66); in the third, the organismic evolution of new instincts and faculties in the species is inquired into; and in the fourth and last, the organismic degradation of instincts and faculties.

The faculties, feelings, and beliefs, as experience, are now systematically considered, and then the fundamental intuitions are treated as scientific ideas, or causal ideas of the sciences; and a general exposition of the unity of the laws of life and thought completes the portion of the work devoted to scientific psychology.

Dr. Laycock then endeavours to set forth the principles of a mental physiology developed according to the method which has already guided him to so many excellent results. This portion of his subject commences with an exposition of a doctrine that the functions of the encephalon are the seat of the unifying processes of life and thought. He writes:—

"Now, the first and most fundamental function of the encephalon is its unifying function. 1. It is the structure whereby the man is self-conscious—that is, mentally one. 2. But it is also the organ whereby he acts as one in relation to the external world; and, 3. It is equally the organ whereby all the processes of vegetative life are so influenced that the modes of vital activity reflect and coincide with the modes of mental activity. It is by this organ that the features, gait, tone of voice—*i. e.*, the *physiognomy*—proclaim the man's mental tendencies; it is equally by this that the vital and mental tendencies of the parent are impressed, as it were, upon the sperm-cell and germ-cell, and through these upon the primordial cell, out of which, in virtue of those tendencies, a new individual is evolved, bearing a specific and even individual resemblance to his parents, both as to form, function of organs, and mental character. Hence the encephalon is in relation, as a centre of union, with all corporeal processes whatever." . . . (pp. 143-144.)

"If this view of the encephalic functions be correct, it is obvious that it is much more than the common centre of conscious activity, and that consequently those physiologists who have limited their inquiries to its relations to consciousness alone, or to the relations of its parts to a common centre or seat of consciousness—*i. e.*, a *sensorium commune*—have taken too limited a view of its function. For probably there is not any tissue of the body, nor the functions of any of its parts, which are not influenced directly or indirectly by this unifying energy of the encephalon. It follows, therefore, that in this structure we have the final evolution in organization of the fundamental teleiotic idea of unity, and that it is in truth a differentiation of the properties of all tissues whatever." (p. 145.)



Following this doctrine we have an historical review of researches into the law of cerebral differentiation with unity of function; and this, in turn, is succeeded by the principles and outline of a physiological classification of correlated mental and vital phenomena.—

“It is only the teleiotic idea, which, being permanent, absolute, and universal, is sufficient for an arrangement which shall include both plant and animal organisms, and generalize the innumerable facts and observations upon which the ever-increasing naturalists’ species and varieties are based.” (p. 182.)

Dr Laycock rightly remarks that this doctrine, although not formulated, lies virtually at the bottom of Mr. Darwin’s views upon the origin of species by means of natural selection.

The fundamental correlations of the instincts and appetites with vital motion occupy the next stage in the regular development of Dr. Laycock’s scheme of mental physiology. After recapitulating the general laws of transference of vital force, he proceeds to show, by the application of the teleological method, the correlations of growth and visible motion, in development and reproduction, in the processes of aëration and alimentation, and in the conservative processes and instincts of external relation.

Dr. Laycock next questions the doctrine that the nervous system is the sole apparatus by which the functions of organs are co-ordinated, and the vital processes unified, and he examines the influence of the nutrient fluids and the blood as unifying and co-ordinating agents. He shows that the nutrient fluids of plants and animals which have not a nervous system, exercise a most important co-ordinating function. He points out how, in the higher animals, the circulatory system advances *pari passu* in its differentiation with the evolution of the blood-corpuscle, and of a more complex nervous system. He traces the teleiotic idea which is developed in the entire blood-distributing apparatus, and the functions of the capillary walls, and argues that it is the fundamental idea of the blood-corpuscle itself, so that the contractile function of the cell-wall, and the motor powers of the capillaries may be looked upon as derivatives of “that law of vital affinity between the living tissue and its contents, which is the general law of vital motion.” Further, when nerves accompany vessels, he holds that their function is to be regarded as “only a higher evolution of the same general law, and is necessary to secure more effectually the unity of function and relation to all the multiform elements of the organism, that have to co-operate in action to the ends of its existence.”—(p. 25.) It would follow, therefore, from this doctrine, that although the functions of an organism “may be duly performed without any nervous system,

yet, when the nutrient fluid is more highly differentiated into what we call blood, then all the processes which primarily depend upon it, such as secretion, excretion, growth (or multiplication of cells), and the vegetative processes generally, are harmonized or co-ordinated by the nerves, through their influence on the motor powers of the blood-distributing capillaries.”—(p. 226.) Pursuing this notion, Dr. Laycock, in a subsequent paragraph, writes :—

“It cannot be doubted, therefore, that while there is an intimate relation on the one hand between the blood-vessels and the blood, and on the other hand between the blood-vessels and the nerves, there is an important correlation of function between the blood and the nerve. The blood is, in truth, a body of floating cells coming into continual contact with the histological elements of the nerves and nerve-centres, in common with those of all other tissues, as it circulates through them. Now, considered from this point of view, the blood is, in fact, situate externally to the nerve-cells, just as the nutrient flood is in contact with the surface of the endoderm in the polype; and as they are the tissues in which the highest specialization of that law of adaptation which is manifested generally in the polype, it is obvious that their function in relation to the blood will be characterized by the highest adaptation to the ends of the organism. Hence the nervous system may be looked upon as an immense co-ordinating apparatus, the function of which, in relation to the blood, is to maintain the integrity and fitness of the nutrient fluid, to distribute it fitly to all the manifold differentiations of organs, and to subserve to the proper deposit from it of all those elements which are required to be deposited in differentiated structures, whether in the course of nutrition, growth, repair, or excretion.”

Dr. Laycock now commences an investigation of the correlation of the sympathies and antipathies with the primordial instincts, and, having completed this, passes on to an examination of the correlations of the communistic instincts with the fundamental laws of differentiation and integration in morphology and development. The treatment of this latter subject may be judged of by the terminal paragraph devoted to it.

“The entire class of facts detailed in this chapter points conclusively to the general principle, that the consciousness in the entire series of animals, from the Invertebrata downwards, probably differs in kind from that of man and the vertebrates generally. Nevertheless we can conclude from them that the great laws and needs of human society do not arise capriciously, but that they have their correlatives in the deepest and most primary manifestations of the laws of life and organization. The highest evolution of what I have termed the Primordial Instincts is seen in the communistic instincts of the two classes of animals which are at the head of their respective archetypal

branches; viz., the social insects, the most highly developed of the Invertebrata; and the social man, the most highly developed of the Vertebrata; in both, the family instincts constitute the solid foundation of society. Hence it is that in proportion as they are active in a nation, in the same proportion its social organization is vigorous and complete."

The physiology of the corporeal feelings and desires, of the appetites, and of the corporeal loathings and aversions, is next discussed, and an examination of the relations of the vital powers to mental character and manifestations completes the section of the work devoted to mental physiology.

Throughout the whole of the sections on scientific psychology and mental physiology, practical applications and suggestions (of which we have barely given an occasional hint in the course of our brief outline) abound, and the interest of the work never flags.

The last portion of Dr. Laycock's treatise is devoted to the principles of Mental Organology. The general functions of the nervous system are, first, most felicitously treated, and the fundamental ideas which are evolved in the functions are traced. The nervous system is regarded not only as an apparatus "whereby the causal changes subserving to adopted motion and to consciousness shall take place," but also as "an apparatus whereby the changes which occur everywhere in the body are unified."

"The forces resulting from the nervous system are looked upon as in the nature of a dynamical stimulus and vital changes, in virtue of which the forces requisite thereto are evolved; just as a transference of force from matter, in the shape of an external affinitive impression is a dynamical stimulus. Hence the so-called *vis nervosa*, transmitted from the ganglionic centres, is an affinitive stimulus to fitting changes in the tissues—i. e., the adapted production and transference of force, but not necessarily the force itself by which these changes are effected. It is therefore analogous to the forces of heat, light, chemical affinity, and the like, which when received directly from appropriate things, as affinitive impressions, by the living tissues themselves, excite various changes therein. The difference, therefore, is, that where there is a nervous system, these affinitive impressions, coming through appropriate organs of reception, act first upon its co-ordinating mechanism, and through it upon the tissues. Now the fundamental co-ordinating apparatus is probably the nerve-cell." (p. 331.)

The general homologies and anatomy of the nervous system are next considered, and then Dr. Laycock enters upon an examination of its dynamic and structural elements. The evolution of the nervous system in development and function is also considered, after which the functions of the sympathetic and intervertebral, and the organology of the cerebro-spinal systems are investigated.



It would be impossible to convey in a brief form a just notion of the final portion of Dr. Laycock's work. His examination of the functions, evolutions, organology of the nervous system, whether it be regarded simply as a summary of our knowledge on these subjects, or on account of its suggestiveness, is in the highest degree interesting. He throws much light upon the reciprocal relations of the different divisions of the nervous system and upon the functions of several of its most important centres, particularly of the spinal cord and medulla oblongata. He places, indeed, the whole of our knowledge of the nervous system in a clearer light and upon a firmer foundation, and his conclusions and suggestions are admirably adapted to facilitate, and to give an additional impetus to, further research.

We have now completed our description of this important work, but any description would fail to impart an adequate notion of the excellent philosophy which characterizes it, and of the rare ability with which the method of research the author has adopted is carried out and sustained over a vast field of observation. How happily the work supplies the need we referred to at the commencement of this article must, however, we think, be apparent to our readers from what we have already said; and no additional observations can be required to show that the book also possesses, in an eminent degree, that sound-mindedness and capability of fostering psychological and biological research, which we have set down as the criterions by which we should judge of it as a class-book for students. We must add, in conclusion, that Dr. Laycock's treatise is one which is alike of importance to the philosophical physician, the physiologist, and the psychologist, and its publication, we trust, will mark an epoch in the psychological literature of this country.

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#### ART. VI.—THE STATE OF LUNACY IN SCOTLAND.

THE Second Annual Report of the Scotch Commissioners in Lunacy, now before the public, contains much of interest, as well general as special.

The Commissioners state that, notwithstanding the difficulties which have impeded the effective carrying out of the provisions of the lunacy statute, the treatment of the insane in Scotland "has already undergone a manifest improvement." The difficulties referred to chiefly arose from imperfections in the phraseology and drawing-up of the statute, as we pretty fully set forth in our analysis of the First Annual Report

of the Commissioners.\* We then remarked, that "never was an Act more ingeniously worded for rendering nugatory the presumed intentions of its framers; never was a Board created to carry out the intentions of an Act, more impressed with the spirit, yet more perplexed with the letter of the law, than the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland." It is consoling, therefore, to find that the Commissioners, notwithstanding the obstacles which have beset them in the performance of their onerous and delicate duties, are able to report a material improvement in the condition of the insane under their observation.

The Commissioners express the fear that there is a steady and serious increase of lunacy in Scotland. On the 1st of January, 1858, the pauper lunatics amounted to 4737; on the 1st of January, 1859, to 4890. "We have no means," the Commissioners state, "of obtaining reliable returns of the numbers of the private insane, with the exception of those placed in asylums, but there is good reason to fear that they are increasing in a similar ratio."—(p. ii.) We shall recur presently to this question of the increase of insanity.

The number of insane under care in Scotland, on the 1st of January, 1859, was 7878—3829 being males, and 4049 females. The distribution of these patients, the manner in which they are supported, and their increase or decrease in number, since the previous returns, in public and private asylums, workhouses, and as single patients, were as follows:—

*Public and District Asylums.*—Number of patients, 2496; males, 1271, females, 1225; increase, 116: supported by private funds, 809, by parish rates, 1687.

*Private Asylums.*—Number of patients, 821; males, 351, females, 470; increase, 76: supported by private funds, 200, by parish rates, 621.

*Poor-houses.*—Number of patients, 797; males, 328, females, 469; decrease, 42. All the patients except two, were maintained by their parishes.

"The decrease in the number of patients in poor-houses is due to the withdrawal from the roll of pauper lunatics of a considerable number of demented and imbecile persons placed in the ordinary wards of these establishments; but who, though formerly reported as fatuous to the Board of Supervision, are now certified by the parochial surgeon as not coming within the provisions of the Lunacy Act." (p. ii.)

*Single Patients.*—The number of pauper lunatics placed as single patients amounted to 1877—838 being males, and 1039 females. "Of these, 688 men and 794 women were living with

\* See vol. xii. of this Journal, p. 429.

relatives; 133 men and 197 women were placed with strangers; and 17 men and 48 women were living alone." (p. 5.)

Only 27 private single patients—12 men and 15 women—were reported to the Commissioners in obedience to the requirements of the Act. The Board were, however, through the reports of the Visiting Commissioners, cognizant of the existence of 1887 single patients—1041 men and 846 women; but the majority of these patients were living under the care of relations, and, consequently, did not fall under the provisions of the Act. Large as is the number of private single patients known to the Commissioners, they think that it falls considerably short of the number actually existing.

From these figures, then, it would appear that of the 7878 known lunatics in Scotland, 2898 are supported by private funds and 4980 by parochial rates. Further, it would seem that a preference is given by the friends of private patients to public asylums, 809 patients of this class being placed in these institutions and only 200 in licensed houses. This, the Commissioners think, "affords a strong argument in favour of providing accommodation of a superior kind in connexion with the district asylums." (p. iii.)

It is reported, however, in addition, that—

"A very large proportion of the non-parochial patients who are in private houses belong to families so little removed above pauperism, that many of them are detained at home entirely from the inability of friends to pay for their maintenance in asylums. This is a fact of very grave import, and should be constantly borne in mind in all arrangements for providing a national system of asylum accommodation." (p. iii.)

The Commissioners now recur to the question of the increase of insanity, and remark:—

"The experience of all countries has shown, that the numbers of the insane increase so rapidly, that the accommodation provided, however sufficient it may at first have appeared, has in a short time been found inadequate. In France, for instance, the numbers of the insane in public and private asylums amounted, on 1st January, 1835, to 10,539; whereas, on 1st January, 1854, they had increased to 24,524. In England and Wales, the number of pauper lunatics amounted, in August, 1843, to 16,764; of whom 3525 were in county asylums, 2298 in licensed houses, and 4063 in workhouses. On 1st January, 1859, the number of pauper lunatics had increased to 30,318; of whom 14,481 were placed in county or borough asylums, 2076 in registered hospitals and licensed houses, and 7963 in workhouses. It thus appears that in sixteen years the number of pauper lunatics in England and Wales had nearly doubled, and that in 1859 nearly as many were in public and private asylums as were on the roll in 1843. In Scotland we find similar results. According to the returns of the Board of Supervision, the number of insane poor *relieved* during the



year ended 14th May, 1847, amounted to 2945, and to 5564 for the year ended 14th May, 1858; thus showing an increase of 2619 in eleven years. These numbers refer to the pauper lunatics *relieved* during the year; but supposing that the moderate deduction of ten per cent. be made to determine the numbers on any stated day, we shall have 2650 as the actual number of insane poor in Scotland on 14th May, 1847. Reference to the preceding table will show, that on 1st January, 1859, there were 2308 pauper lunatics in public and private asylums, and 795 in the lunatic wards of poor-houses. That is, there were in lunatic establishments, in 1859, no less than 3103 pauper patients, or 453 more than the total number of the insane poor in 1847. From the investigations undertaken with the view of determining the amount of accommodation that should be provided in district asylums, we arrived at the conclusion that provision would be required for 4353 pauper lunatics; and, on mature consideration, we are not inclined to consider this estimate as excessive. On the contrary, were we to draw our conclusions from past experience, we should have only too great reason to fear that it would soon prove insufficient. The estimate, it may be well to point out, is founded on the supposition that all pauper lunatics are to be accommodated in district asylums, or asylums recognised as efficient substitutes, and presupposes the extinction of all licensed houses and lunatic wards of poor-houses. On this supposition, additional accommodation would be required for 2666 patients, as this number, with the 1687 in public asylums on 1st January, 1859, makes up the estimate of 4353. But, during 1859, additional accommodation for about 400 patients has been provided by the opening of the new asylum of Montrose, and the enlargement of the Southern Counties Asylum at Dumfries; so that the further accommodation now absolutely required, supposing the old asylum at Montrose to remain in permanent operation, is only for 2266 patients. Of these 2266, however, 1416 are already in licensed houses and lunatic wards of poor-houses, so that the actual deficiency of any kind of accommodation is only for 850." (pp. iii., iv.)

Subsequent remarks of the Commissioners show that they are aware that the foregoing figures cannot be looked upon as indicating positively an *absolute* increase in the number of insane in Scotland. The increase spoken of actually refers, on the one hand, to the augmentation of *pauperism* from insanity, on the other, to the increased number of *known* lunatics. There does not seem to be in Scotland, any more than in England, trustworthy data from which a correct notion of the status of lunacy among the population at large may be gathered; and the rate of increase of provision for the insane in both countries has never been sufficient to exhaust the substratum of chronic cases of insanity for which provision is required. The Scotch statistics of lunacy confirm the opinion, that we have oftentimes expressed, of the great importance of adopting some means of determining the actual amount of lunacy in the country at large, and of

the chief causes which foster it among the impoverished classes, if we would effectively deal with the great public questions of the care of lunatics and prevention of lunacy.

The Commissioners reiterate their objections to the residence of pauper lunatics in licensed houses and poorhouses, and they revert to the imperfect and perplexing definition of lunacy in the Statute—a subject fully discussed by them in their first report, and which we examined at length in the analysis of that report already referred to. The question, however, is one which cannot be kept too prominently before the public, and we do not hesitate to quote the following additional remarks:—

“Many persons who are totally unfit, from mental aberration or mental deficiency, to take care of themselves, and who, in a court of law, would not be held responsible for their actions, are not regarded by some medical men as coming within its meaning. According to these practitioners, insanity must be of a dangerous character to come within the statutory definition; but it is often extremely difficult to determine what patients should be considered as so affected; for the question of danger is a relative one, and must be determined as much by the circumstances in which the lunatic is placed, as by his peculiar mental condition. Accordingly, many patients who, when in asylums, are very properly regarded as not dangerous, from being under effective surveillance and control, become dangerous as soon as they are discharged, and are allowed to follow the bent of their diseased imaginations. It is in regard to this class of the insane that much trouble is frequently experienced by the superintendents of asylums; for it is often no easy matter to convince the relatives of such patients that the improvement observable in their condition is due, not so much to any essential change in the character of their malady, as to the continuous discipline to which they are subjected in the asylum. When, therefore, a medical practitioner grants a certificate that an insane person is ‘not a lunatic in the meaning of the Act,’ it is obvious that he thereby incurs a double responsibility, as he must be held to give an opinion, first, in regard to the mental state of the patient, and secondly, as to the appropriate nature of the circumstances in which he is placed. It is, at the same time, evident, that a certificate to the effect that any one is ‘not a lunatic in the meaning of the Act,’ does not necessarily imply that the person is of sane mind. Indeed, it is frequently expressly understood that the certificate is not intended to convey this meaning, but is granted merely as an expression of opinion that the patient is not likely to commit an act dangerous to himself or others.” (p. v.)

The unfortunate operation of the definition, acted upon in the fashion just recounted, has been already illustrated in one respect, in the paragraph containing the summary of the number of lunatics in poor-houses.

The distribution of pauper lunatics in different districts is



illustrated by a series of elaborate tables, the data contained in which show that easy access to asylums greatly influences the distribution of the cases. The Commissioners would set it down as an axiom that "the number of patients sent to asylums diminishes in a ratio corresponding to the distance, and that the number of those which remain at home increases in a similar degree."—(p. ix.) Thus in the Forfarshire, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Renfrewshire districts, which are those most fully provided with accommodation, 83 per cent. of the pauper lunatics are placed in asylums or the lunatic wards of poor-houses; but in the destitute districts of Inverness and Argyle, only 34 per cent. of the pauper lunatics are so disposed of. A further examination of the figures in the tables clearly shows that these differences in the number of pauper lunatics placed under care in the different districts, depends entirely upon the facilities afforded, by easy communication, to placing patients in asylums, and the Commissioners conclude that "small asylums in convenient situations will more satisfactorily meet the wants of the country than large central establishments, which must necessarily be remote from considerable portions of the extensive districts which they are designed to accommodate." (p. x.)

Another question examined in the first report, the difficulty of determining the proportion of patients who should be placed in asylums, and of those who should be left at home, is again touched upon by the Commissioners. They hold that a much larger proportion of lunatics may be properly left at home in rural than urban districts. They remark:—

"This result chiefly depends on the greater difficulty of affording insane persons exercise and recreation, and in otherwise providing for their proper care and treatment, in the town than in the country; and herein lies the reason why, in reality, urban parishes have comparatively so few pauper lunatics placed as single patients. The city of Glasgow parish, for example, has only 23 out of 293 pauper lunatics so disposed of; the Barony Parish, 22 out of 151; Edinburgh City Parish, 8 out of 196; and St. Cuthbert's Parish, 22 out of 171. And if we extend our inquiries to England, we find that of the 4661 pauper lunatics chargeable to the parishes of the metropolis on the 1st January, 1859, only 129 were left in charge of relatives, or were boarded with strangers." (pp. x., xi.)

The Commissioners then add:—

"In all probability, a much larger proportion of the insane poor of these urban parishes would, under different circumstances, have been left at home; and if this be the case, it follows, that in populous districts many patients are placed in asylums, not so much from a regard to their comfort or welfare, as to the convenience of those who have to provide for their maintenance. These patients demand no special



curative treatment, but simply such medical and general care as is required by their decayed mental and physical condition. On the other hand, however, there can be no doubt that in rural districts many patients are left at home in pitiable wretchedness, whose condition is capable of great improvement by removal. There is thus a considerable number of lunatics, comprehending, in the first place, those who in cities are sent to asylums, but who, if in rural districts, might with propriety have been left at home; and, in the second place, those in rural districts who are beyond the hope of cure, but whose neglected and miserable condition demands that they should be placed under care, for whom we are of opinion that some kind of modified asylum accommodation should be provided. We strongly object to lunatic wards in poorhouses being used for this purpose, chiefly on the ground that the primary object of poorhouses is to afford a test for poverty, and to provide for the poor in the most economical manner. The fundamental principle on which these establishments are conducted is thus antagonistic to that which ought to regulate the treatment of lunatics, and which, briefly stated, is the provision of every comfort which can reasonably be demanded to lighten the burden of perhaps the greatest calamity which can afflict humanity." (p. xi.)

The progress of the District Lunacy Boards, in providing accommodation for the insane poor, it would appear, is not altogether satisfactory. The Commissioners record the proceedings of the different boards within the period over which the report extends.

The expenditure for pauper lunatics is next discussed, and sundry items of highly interesting information are to be found under this head. It is reported that the highest average rate of maintenance occurs in the county of Nairn, where it amounts to 22*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*, while the lowest is found in Shetland, the sum being there only 10*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* No useful comparison between the condition of patients in different counties can, however, be founded upon a mere statement of the money expenditure. The total expenditure by parochial boards on account of pauper lunatics, for the year 1858, was upwards of 81,000*l.* The average expenditure for each lunatic was 16*l.* 5*s.* 4½*d.*, being at the rate of 27*l.* 19*s.* 1½*d.* for each 1000 of the population, according to the census of 1851. The average cost of maintenance for each pauper-patient in asylums was 21*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.*; in poorhouses, 13*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; and in private houses, 7*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*

But the rough averages last quoted are not, it would seem, to be received as presenting an accurate idea of the comparative cost of lunatics in asylums and poor-houses. This is the first attempt that has been made to estimate the cost of pauper lunacy in Scotland; but the parochial accounts not having been kept with a view of distinguishing between the expenditure for sane and insane persons, the results presented by the Commissioners

are not to be looked upon as free from doubt. Taking, however, the returns of expenditure as they stand, some curious and unexpected results are obtained from them, having a most important bearing upon the debated question of the economy of transferring lunatics from poor-houses to asylums. The Commissioners institute the following comparative examination of expenditure for pauper lunatics in several parishes:—

“There are certain parishes, for example, which send all their lunatics to asylums, with the exception of those exempted as single patients. There are others which place them preferentially in the lunatic wards of poorhouses; and others, again, which divide them between asylums and poorhouses,—sending to the former the recent and unmanageable cases, and placing in the latter the chronic and more tractable. To the first class belong the parishes of Dumfries, Dundee, Elgin, Liff and Benzie, and Montrose. To the second, the parishes of the Abbey and Burgh, Paisley, and those of the Barony, Falkirk, and Greenock; and to the third, the parishes of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Old Machar, St. Cuthbert's, and South Leith. In this list, we have comprehended only those parishes which are similarly placed as to the facility of obtaining accommodation, whatever its nature may be; and have purposely excluded such parishes as Inverness and Perth, where distance or other circumstances would have introduced disturbing elements. Inverness, for instance, is altogether dependent for asylum accommodation on remote establishments; and Perth, with a public asylum close at hand, sends 30 patients to distant licensed houses. It is therefore obvious that they are placed in exceptional positions.” (p. xxvii.)

Now the general average cost per head of the pauper lunatics of the first class of parishes amounts to 15*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* (maximum average, 22*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*, minimum, 11*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*); of the second class of parishes, 19*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* (maximum average, 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, minimum, 18*l.* 0*s.* 8½*d.*); of the third class of parishes, 17*l.* 1*s.* 5¾*d.* (maximum average, 18*l.* 16*s.* 3¼*d.*, minimum, 15*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*).

The Commissioners remark that,—

“These results are extremely important as indicating that asylum treatment is really more economical than poorhouse treatment. They show that parishes which take the entire charge of their pauper lunatics, and treat those requiring segregation entirely in the lunatic wards of poorhouses, maintain the whole at an average rate of 19*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* per head; that those parishes which place only the more manageable of their patients requiring segregation in poorhouses, and send the rest to asylums, maintain the whole at an average rate of 17*l.* 1*s.* 5¾*d.*; and lastly, that those parishes which trust entirely to asylums for the care and treatment of such of their lunatics as require to be placed in establishments, maintain the whole at an average rate of 15*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*

"It is occasionally difficult to account for the differences in the returns made by parishes which, to all appearance, are in precisely similar circumstances. Thus, we are quite unable to adduce any satisfactory reason for the great difference which exists between the cost of the pauper lunatics of the parish of Dundee and that of Liff and Benvie. These parishes are contiguous, and equally conveniently situated in regard to the Dundee Asylum, to which both have right of admission for their pauper lunatics at privileged rates; yet there is a difference of not less than 6*l.* in the average cost of their pauper lunatics, that for Liff and Benvie being 22*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*—a sum which is 2*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* above the rate of maintenance charged by the asylum. Accordingly, in making the foregoing comparisons, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we regard the results as by no means free from doubt. In the first place, as already stated, the parochial accounts are generally so kept that no distinction is made in the expenditure for sane and insane paupers. In a great measure, then, the returns sent us must be founded on probable estimates; which may be near the truth, but, on the other hand, may be very inaccurate. In the second place, the rate of maintenance, in the case of some poorhouses, comprises a charge for rent, which is an item not included in asylum rates, or only to a partial extent in the shape of interest on debt. Nevertheless, after making due allowance for all possible sources of error, it appears tolerably certain that not only does no economical advantage accrue to a parish by converting part of its poorhouse into lunatic wards, but that the practice entails a positive loss, which becomes the greater, the more exclusively such wards are had recourse to. And it should likewise be borne in mind, that this result is not compensated by any gain to the patients. On the contrary, they are deprived of many comforts and sources of occupation and amusement which they enjoy in asylums." (p. xxviii.)

Much misconception existing as to the probable future expenditure for pauper lunatics, the Commissioners examine the question, and come to the conclusion that the cost, after the establishment of district asylums, will probably not exceed the present amount.

The Commissioners have adopted a system of statistics which they hope will ultimately give correcter results than those usually obtained, of the influence of treatment upon, and the increase of lunacy.\* The method they have put into operation is—

"To determine the number of patients admitted each year into all

\* The Commissioners correct an error in the report of the Irish Lunacy Inspectors for 1859, which it is requisite to note, as we quoted the error in our review of that report. The Irish Inspectors "contrasted the absolute cures in Irish asylums, estimated at 48·71 per cent. on the admissions, with those in the Scotch asylums, estimated at 36·99 per cent. The estimate, however, as regards the latter establishments, is correct only for 1858, in which year the transfers of incurable patients were very numerous, and of course reduced in a corresponding degree the proportion of recoveries in the asylums receiving them." (p. xxxii.)



asylums, distinguishing between recent and chronic cases, that is, between cases which for the first time were admitted into asylums, and those which had previously been under treatment in such establishments. For a few years the admissions of cases regarded as recent will necessarily include a certain number of patients who had been in asylums before the Statute under which we act came into operation, and of whose previous history we have no record. But in the course of time, this source of fallacy will gradually become less, and we shall then be able to draw a tolerably accurate line between recent and chronic cases. . . . We propose keeping the results of each year apart, so as to be able to determine the number of patients who became insane in each year, and the relative proportions of those who were cured, were discharged unrecovered, or who died in that or in any following year. We shall thus be enabled to follow the history of all the patients who became insane in any given year, or rather, who were then, for the first time, admitted into any asylum in Scotland, through all subsequent changes, until they are finally disposed of by recovery, removal, or death." (p. xxxiii.)

The following tables contain the results thus obtained for 1858 and 1859 :—

PROGRESSIVE HISTORY OF PATIENTS admitted for the first time into Asylums in 1858.

RESULTS OF 1858.		Number of Patients admitted and re-admitted during year.	Number of Patients discharged recovered during year.	Number of Patients discharged not recovered during year.	Died during year.	Patients remaining at close of year.
New Patients admitted in 1858	1308					
Of these there were re-admitted during the course of the same year . . . . .	30					
	<hr/>	1338	338	68	108	824
RESULTS OF 1859.						
Remainder at 1st January, 1859, of the 1308 new Patients admitted during 1858 . . . . .	824					
Patients re-admitted during 1859 of the original 1308 cases of 1858	74					
	<hr/>	898	194	28	77	599

\* The numbers under the heads of Re-admissions and Discharges refer to the number of individual patients re-admitted and discharged, and do not show how often the same patient may have been admitted and discharged. For instance, of the thirty patients re-admitted in 1858, some of them have been discharged and re-admitted twice, or even thrice; but in the columns of re-admissions and discharges, all discharges and re-admissions of the same patient count only once. This method

PROGRESSIVE HISTORY OF PATIENTS admitted for the first time into Asylums in 1859.

RESULTS OF 1859.		Number of Patients admitted and re-admitted during year.	Number of Patients discharged recovered during year.	Number of Patients discharged not recovered during year.	Died during year.	Patients remaining at close of year.
New Patients admitted into Asylums in 1859 . . . . .	1226					
Of these there were re-admitted during the course of the same year . . . . .	29	1255	302	76	105	772

TABLE showing the changes which occurred in the numbers and condition of PAUPER LUNATICS registered as SINGLE PATIENTS during the year 1858 :—

Number of Single Pauper Lunatics on 1st January, 1858.	New cases registered during year.		Total on Register during year.	Removed from Register during year by						Total Removals from Register.
	Intimated by Inspectors.	Removed from Asylums.		Removal to Asylums.	Death.	Recovery.	Removal from Poor-roll.	Removal from Roll of Lunatics.	Cause of removal not intimated.*	
1784	390	40	2214	112	104	46	25	1	49	337

Although, as we have already stated, the condition of the insane in Scotland has undergone a manifest improvement since the formation of the Lunacy Board, the Commissioners state that that condition is still far from satisfactory; and after giving certain details illustrative of the extent of their visitations in the kingdom and the degree of improvement effected by them, they offer several suggestions of great interest respecting the future provision for lunatics. We shall quote these suggestions in full, the subject they deal with being perhaps the most difficult of the many difficult questions which beset lunacy legislation and management.

has been adopted to make the numbers remaining at the end of the year tally with the numbers withdrawn. Had each discharge or re-admission been counted as a separate case, it is obvious that the numbers at the end of the year would have stood in no relation to the original numbers, and that great confusion would have ensued.

\* There is no statutory requirement for inspectors to give intimation of removal from Roll; and in many cases, accordingly, we learn the fact only by the omission of the names in the next annual return. It is probable that death is the chief cause of the removals under this head.

“ While thus adverting to the benefits accruing from visitation, we do not conceal from ourselves the difficulty, we may almost say the impossibility, of exercising sufficient surveillance over patients who are scattered over the whole country. That all cases of insanity should be placed in asylums is a proposition which we cannot entertain; the welfare of the patients would not thereby be promoted, while the expense to the country would undoubtedly be greatly increased. But neither are we disposed to consider it a judicious arrangement that so-called harmless or fatuous patients should be congregated together in the lunatic wards of poorhouses. All great aggregations of permanently diseased minds are evils which should as much as possible be avoided, as their tendency is undoubtedly to lower and degrade each constituent member of the mass. Viewed in a certain light, then, asylums may be regarded as necessary evils; but in no view, save in the doubtful one of economy, can the establishment of lunatic wards in poorhouses, in which only chronic or fatuous patients shall be received, be regarded as otherwise than injudicious. These poorhouse wards are simply convenient receptacles for patients affected with chronic insanity or imbecility, in which their physical wants are more or less adequately supplied, but in which little or nothing is attempted, by means calculated to exercise the limited faculties which yet remain to them, to break the weary monotony of prolonged confinement. Many lunatics and imbeciles, though with perverted intelligence or deficient mental powers, have still warm affections, and are capable of deriving enjoyment from social intercourse. Others, again, though wayward and capricious, are much more likely to be manageable in small communities, than where, in large numbers, they are confided to the care of attendants, frequently of an inferior class, who have neither the will nor the capacity to make allowance for their peculiarities.

“ We have already alluded to the statutory enactment, that not more than one lunatic shall be placed in any house which is not licensed. As the licence fee amounts to 15*l.* 10*s.* per annum, this provision is an effectual obstacle against the introduction of a more home-like system of accommodation than that at present in use. We are very anxious, therefore, to see some change effected in this respect; and we are of opinion that, were the restriction alluded to removed, an efficient system of domestic accommodation would gradually be developed for such of the insane as were not proper patients for asylums. On this account we should gladly see it enacted, that any number of patients not exceeding four might be received into a private house, without the necessity for a licence, provided the board made previous inquiry into the nature of each case, and granted their sanction according to special forms for the admission of each individual patient. Under some such provision we feel satisfied a system of cottage accommodation would gradually spring up, which would not only furnish more fitting accommodation for chronic patients than the lunatic wards of poorhouses, but would also be calculated to prove a valuable adjunct to asylums. The practical advantages of such a system would be, first, increased comfort to the patients; secondly, greater economy to the parishes; and thirdly, diminished labour of visitation to the Commissioners.



Were we to decide on the first point simply by the wishes of the patients themselves, or by those of their relatives, we could have no hesitation in at once accepting it as proved; but, apart from these considerations, we are satisfied from observation, that cottage accommodation, if placed under efficient supervision, would be found to possess many advantages over poorhouses. These advantages are chiefly the greater amount of liberty accorded to the patients; their more domestic treatment; and their more thoroughly recognised individuality. In regard to the point of economy, we have only to recall the fact, that in poorhouses the annual average cost is 13*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* for each pauper lunatic; and that for four patients the amount would thus be 54*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Now, our returns show that the annual average cost per head of pauper lunatics placed singly is only 7*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*, or 30*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* for four. This sum, however, we consider as quite inadequate for the entire maintenance of a patient, and in reality it must generally be regarded only as a subsidy given by the parish to assist in his support. But we are of opinion, that from 12*l.* to 15*l.* a head, where three or four patients are placed together, would prove inducement sufficient to bring forward persons of respectable character to undertake their entire care and support; and, as has been stated, it is on the introduction of this system that we ground our hopes of so restricting the number of patients in asylums as to keep the general expenditure for pauper lunatics within 100,000*l.* per annum. We calculate that about one-fifth of the total number would still be left with relatives at an average rate of 8*l.*, so that any diminution in the expenditure would be the result of the development of the cottage system, and its application to cases at present retained in asylums. By its adoption economy would ensue, not only from the smaller cost of maintenance, but also from the diminished necessity for providing expensive asylums, as we have no doubt that appropriate cottage accommodation would cost materially less. We do not, however, conceal from ourselves the obstacles likely to be encountered in introducing a system such as that proposed; but we are, at the same time, convinced that these would be found by no means insurmountable, and that the result would be most beneficial to the country. We are not, however, desirous for any sudden or sweeping alteration of the present system, but simply for the removal of the legal difficulties which prevent the reception of more than one patient without a license. To the Visiting Commissioners the advantages would also be great. By placing three or four patients together, the number of houses requiring visitation would be greatly lessened; and the labour of inspection would be further diminished were the cottages generally grouped together. If, as we hoped would be the case, they were usually erected in the neighbourhood of asylums, an interchange of patients would naturally and easily take place, whenever any alteration in the character of the mental or bodily condition of the patients rendered it desirable. Indeed, under such circumstances, the cottages might be regarded simply as an out-lying part of the asylum.

In these remarks we refer more especially to pauper lunatics; but we believe there are many private lunatics who might be accommodated

in a like manner, greatly to the relief of relatives, and with increase of comfort to the patients. We are aware of the existence of 1887 private patients not in asylums, of whom a very large proportion are in indigent or even in destitute circumstances. In many cases, the relatives of these patients struggle on without applying for parochial relief; and, in many others, application is made only to be refused, and much misery is thus endured. We are aware that the proper mode of affording relief to the poor forms one of the most difficult problems in economic science; and this question, moreover, is one which it does not fall within our province to determine. It is, however, our duty to point out the many evils which a refusal of relief too often entails upon the patient and his relatives. In the first place, the malady is allowed to pass into an incurable form, and the patient is rendered unproductive for life. In the second place, the small means of the family are gradually dissipated in the struggle, and the whole are reduced to the condition of paupers. Finally, the habitual presence of an insane person is apt to induce the disease in others, especially when there happens to be a hereditary tendency. The comfort of the household is destroyed; habits of regularity and industry are broken through; and, not unfrequently, the constant sight of the sufferer engenders a feeling of despair, and induces the habitual resort to intoxicating liquors." (pp. xli.—xiv.)

These suggestions are well worthy of serious consideration. They indicate one mode of providing for lunatics of a certain class, which both medically and economically commends itself to our approbation, and which would appear to be feasible. An additional interest is given to the suggestions of the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners, when they are compared with Dr. Parigot's observations on the Belgian "free air system" of treating lunatics, contained in a paper on the reform of lunatic asylums, to be found in the present number of this Journal.

The impediments cast in the way of the Commissioners, in the performance of their duties, by parish authorities, although desecrated upon by them, need but a passing notice from us. Beadledom is the same all the world over. But we are much interested in a comparison which the Commissioners institute between the public asylums of Scotland and England, seeing that the chartered asylums of the former country have been so recently held up by the Chairman of our Lunacy Board, the Earl of Shaftesbury, in his official capacity, for imitation by us. The Scotch Lunacy Commissioners say:—

"During the past year the condition of the public asylums has, on the whole, continued to improve, although, in several respects, it falls considerably below the general standard of English county asylums. But in making this comparison, we must direct attention to the fact, that in one very essential respect the Scotch asylums do not occupy nearly so favourable a position as those of England. In the latter country, the necessary funds are raised by assessment; and an asylum,



calculated to afford accommodation for all the patients of the county, and supplied with all the necessary appliances, is at once provided. Should this accommodation be afterwards found to be insufficient, a further assessment is made and additional buildings are erected. In Scotland, on the other hand, the directors of the public asylums possess no compulsory powers of raising funds. The houses have been built with money derived from legacies, charitable donations, and subscriptions; and their extension chiefly provided for by the payments made for patients. The cost of the original building, and its subsequent extension, have thus both been defrayed from uncertain sources; and a considerable portion of the payments for patients has been diverted from the more legitimate object of providing for the proper treatment and comfort of those on whose account they were made, into furnishing accommodation for others. In this way, a large proportion of the public asylum accommodation in Scotland has been provided from monies levied directly on the friends of the insane, by making the payments on their account considerably exceed the expenditure; instead of by the fairer course of assessing the community. This procedure is well illustrated by the history of the Dundee Asylum. A sum, amounting to 770*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, having been raised by charitable contributions, the asylum was erected at a cost of 8493*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.* Accordingly, when opened for the reception of patients in 1820, a debt had been contracted of 786*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.* In 1859, the sum expended on land and buildings had increased to 35,262*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*, of which sum 5640*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* had been obtained through further charitable contributions, and 4144*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* had been borrowed. It thus appears that during the 39 years which have elapsed since the opening of the asylum, the patients have contributed 17,771*l.* 2*s.* 4½*d.* beyond the cost of their maintenance; and this sum has been spent, not for the special benefit of these patients, but in providing accommodation for the district. In other words, a public want has been supplied from the private funds of those who, perhaps of all the community, were the least able to afford the sacrifice." (p. lii.)

The following remarks concerning the celebrated Crichton Institution, at Dumfries, also deserve to be noted, as bearing upon the same subject.

"The plan of the building of the Crichton Institution is such that many of the galleries must necessarily have a dark and gloomy appearance; nevertheless, they are capable of being rendered much more cheerful than they are. There is especially room for improvement of the furniture, in which there is a pervading bareness, both in quantity and quality, throughout the establishment. It is generally objected to private asylums that the principle of profit is allowed to interfere with the comforts of the patients; but in the present case, it appears that the necessity for providing funds for the extension of the pauper departments of the asylum is permitted to swallow up an undue share of the payments made for private patients. The apartments of the highest class of patients, though comfortably furnished in essential respects, are scarcely fitted up in accordance with the previous habits



of the patients, or their position in society; but it is in the lower galleries that the want of articles necessary even for comfort is most apparent. The flagged day-rooms there have neither matting nor carpeting; the lowest rate at which patients are now admitted is 50*l.* a year." (p. lviii.)

The Commissioners report at length on the condition of the different public and private asylums in Scotland, and on criminal and alien lunatics; and they terminate their report with a few comments on the property of lunatics.

Affixed to the report are several appendices containing returns and tables showing the number and distribution of lunatics in the different asylums and poorhouses in Scotland, the cost of pauper lunatics, pecuniary allowances to single patients in private houses, &c., and the movement of patients in asylums; also the general reports of the Visiting Commissioners on the condition of single patients.

The tables which refer to the movement of patients in asylums, show the results for 1858 and 1859, and include returns of the monthly admissions, discharges, and deaths in public and private asylums and poorhouses; also of the length of residence of those who had recovered and those who had died, as well as of the causes of death. These returns, continued over a few years, will furnish a vast body of useful information.

The general reports of the Visiting Commissioners contain much matter of interest. We extract several paragraphs from these documents illustrative of one of the most important modes in which mental, moral, and physical degradation is fostered among the impoverished and lower classes of the population. The subject is one which cannot be too much dinned into the ears of the public.

Mr. Cockburn writes:—

"In the county of Banff there is also evidence of improvement in the condition of the pauper lunatics since last visitation. This is more particularly seen in the better house and sleeping accommodation, and in the increase of the money allowances. Their condition, however, still requires much amelioration. Nine patients, in particular, were found in a very unsatisfactory state, and appropriate changes have been recommended. Among these are two illegitimate idiot sisters living under charge of an imbecile mother and of an aunt who is periodically insane. This arrangement I cannot but regard as highly unsatisfactory, if not unsafe. Their dying grandmother is also in the house, the general aspect of which was squalid and bare. Another somewhat similar case, in respect of the guardian not being a suitable person, is that of the begging imbecile J. C., who lives with a thriftless sister said to drink, and whose bed and home were found in a filthy and comfortless state." (p. 194.)

Dr. Browne writes of the lunatics at large in the southern part of Ayrshire :—

“ When viewed in their moral aspect, it is found that these classes [idiots, imbeciles, chronic lunatics, 260 in number—111 females, 149 males, chiefly living with relatives or strangers] include 3 individuals who nudify; 12 prostitutes, or idiots and imbeciles who have borne illegitimate children; and 11 drunkards. It is not for the reporter to attempt to determine how much of moral turpitude, and how much of mental infirmity, may enter into such diseased minds; but the obvious union of these elements produces such an amount of degradation, such an outrage upon decency, as to tax belief. There is, for example, a case among several others, where a squinting, hideous, dirty, drunken imbecile has borne three illegitimate children, all of whom were idiots, to different fathers. One of them, still lower in the intellectual scale than his parent, is in the poor-house; another was burned to death; the fate of the third could not be ascertained. The mother is supposed still to prostitute herself, and to share the wages of her iniquity with her mother, in whose house she lives. It has been most erroneously supposed that a disposition existed to urge too stringently the seclusion of cases where neither danger nor violence was apprehended. The accusation should be reversed, and blame attached either to the Act or to the Board of Lunacy for sanctioning the continued liberty of such an individual as the one described. The limited powers of the Board may be well illustrated by the fact that this woman, undoubtedly insane, living upon charity and crime, procreating idiots worse than herself, is beyond their control from not being *at present* in receipt of parochial relief.” (p. 198.)

Mr. Cockburn again writes :—

“ In the parish of W., an illegitimate girl, aged eleven, a pauper, is boarded with, and is under the entire charge of her grandmother, M. T., an irascible, peculiar woman, who is on the roll as a pauper lunatic. She will not allow the child to attend school, nor at any time to go out alone. When the grandmother goes out herself, the girl is locked into the house. The girl is healthy and intelligent, but growing up uneducated, and in the society of a fatuous old woman and an aunt with an infant bastard. M. T. was in prison six years ago on suspicion of child murder, by putting another bastard grandchild under the ice.” (p. 203.)

Mr. Mitchell writes :—

“ The Zetlanders, as a general characteristic, are a sober and virtuous people. Nevertheless I have reported on the cases of seven fatuous mothers, who had borne illegitimate children. The child of A. F., one of these women, is an idiot; and J. M., who is herself illegitimate, has borne three bastard children; one of the three being a complete idiot, and a second one imbecile. Of the third I know nothing. Altogether I have reported on five fatuous persons, who are

the illegitimate offspring of fatuous mothers, some of these last being now dead." (p. 21).

Other illustrations of the same class may be found in these reports; but we here close our analysis of the very valuable Second Annual Report of the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners.

#### ART. VII.—POPULAR PHYSIOLOGY.—THE NERVOUS SYSTEM\*

MR. GEORGE HENRY LEWES is an enthusiastic naturalist and physiologist, and one of the most brilliant writers of the day on scientific subjects. He has so happy a gift with the pen that he charms you even when what he advances is directed in the teeth of your most settled convictions. He treads without compunction on your tenderest opinions, and yet compels you to simper and smile the while. In the last of Mr. Lewes's fully published works, he, for example, as well in the conception as in the execution of the book, dashes right through old-standing ideas both of the method and manner of popular instruction. Still the book is so delightful to read, so full of admirably told information, that we can heartily sympathize with that great pleasure with which it has been received on all hands, and we have little doubt that it will long hold its own as the most popular of popular works on physiology.

"No scientific subject can be so important to man as that of his own life," wrote our author in the announcement which heralded his work; "no knowledge can be so incessantly appealed to by the incidents of every day, as the knowledge of the *processes by which he lives and acts*. At every moment he is in danger of disobeying laws which, when disobeyed, may bring years of suffering, decline of powers, premature decay. Sanitary reformers preach in vain, because they preach to a public which does not understand the laws of life—laws as rigorous as those of gravitation or motion. Even the sad experience of others yields us no lessons, unless we understand the *principles* involved. If one man is seen to suffer from vitiated air, another is seen to endure it without apparent harm; a third concludes that 'it is all chance,' and trusts to that chance; had he understood the principle involved, he would not have been left to chance—his first lesson in swimming would not have been a shipwreck."

This is an old and familiar story, but not the less true because familiar. Well did Phineas Fletcher sing in his *Purple Island, or the Isle of Man*, and well might Mr. Lewes sing after him:—

\* *The Physiology of Common Life*: By George Henry Lewes. 2 vols. Blackwood and Sons, 1860. Vol. II., *The Nervous System*.



"Hark then, ah, hark ! yon gentle shepherd cried ;  
 An isle I fain would sing, an island fair,  
 A place too seldom view'd, yet still in view ;  
 Near as ourselves, yet farthest from our care ;  
 Which we by leaving find, by seeking lost ;  
 A foreign home, a strange, tho' native coast ;  
 Most obvious to all, yet most unknown to most.

"Coeval with the world in her nativity,  
 Which tho' it now hath pass'd thro' many ages,  
 And still retain'd a natural proclivity  
 To ruin, compassed with a thousand rages  
 Of foemen's spite, which still this island tosses,  
 Yet ever grows most prosp'rous by her crosses,  
 By with'ring springing fresh, and rich by often losses.

"Vain men, too fondly wise, who plough the seas,  
 With dang'rous pains another earth to find ;  
 Adding new worlds to th' old, and scorning ease,  
 The earth's vast limits daily more unbind !  
 The aged world, though now it falling shows,  
 And hastes to set, yet still in dying grows :  
 Whole lives are spent to win what one death's hour must lose.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Yet this fair isle, seated so nearly near,  
 That from our sides, nor place, nor time, may sever ;  
 Though to yourselves yourselves are not more dear,  
 Yet with strange carelessness you travel never :  
 Thus while yourselves and native home forgetting,  
 You search for distant worlds, with needless sweating.  
 You never find yourselves ; so lose ye more by getting."\*

No doubt if the general public were possessed of a better knowledge of the laws of life, they might listen with more respect to the teaching of sanitary reformers. No doubt the numerous and distinguished physicians and surgeons were right, who in 1853 presented an opinion to the Government, respecting tuition in common schools, which terminated thus:—"We are therefore of opinion that it would greatly tend to prevent sickness, and to promote soundness of body and mind, were the elements of physiology, in its application to the preservation of health, made a part of general education ; and we are convinced that such instruction may be rendered most interesting to the young, and may be communicated to them with the utmost facility and propriety in the ordinary schools by properly instructed schoolmasters." We shall not question this conclusion, but it has always appeared to us to hold a very similar position to the dogma that in order

to know practical religion it is necessary first to be indoctrinated in theology, properly so called. Sanitary science is, indeed, a science which has its own data to build upon. For the explanation of these, both physiological and physical science must be had recourse to. The certainty of the explanation in the majority of instances by no means corresponds with the certainty of the data to be explained. Assuredly, therefore, our teaching should invariably begin with what is most certain. Now the physiology actually available in the teaching of sound sanitary rules is certainly not very extensive, and it always and invariably finds a legitimate place in the teaching of those rules. To start, therefore, from physiology to teach sanitary science, is to endeavour needlessly to educe practical certainties from speculative uncertainties; and to dignify the physiological items which may be made use of for the explanation, confirmation, and right appreciation of sanitary facts and rules, whether applicable to the individual or communities, with the term *physiology*, is a misnomer.

We have little doubt that to the profuse and unguarded use of the phrase *physiology* to designate the items of that science, which under the guise of elementary and rudimentary treatises have too often found their way into our school-rooms and libraries, we are indebted in no small degree for those pseudo-scientific follies which have abounded of late. The innocent imbibers of these crude treatises are but too often puffed up with the vain imagination that they have laid a solid foundation of physiological information, and are prepared to dogmatize upon any question which may arise in reference to man, mental or physical. They have been furnished with sundry stray tools, it matters not whether good or bad, and they have not been taught how to use those tools, but have been led to believe that because they have them in possession, therefore they are qualified to use them. This is the great vice of the popular teaching of the present day on almost all scientific subjects.

But sanitary science being, as we assert, a science resting upon specific data, it is a curious fact that while the importance of making its principles a portion of the education of the people at large is being recognised, yet these principles are only taught incidentally, so to speak, to the very men from whom the public would chiefly have to learn, that is to say, medical men. With one or two exceptions, sanitary science is not taught in any of the medical schools of this country. Moreover, there is not a complete textbook, or book of any kind, on the subject in the English language.\* If we do not err the only specific lectureships on sanitary science

\* Dr. Pickford, of Brighton, published the first part of a work on *Hygiène* in 1858, but the work, so far as we are aware, has not been completed.

in London are in the medical schools of the St. Thomas's Hospital and of Grosvenor-street. But the attendance upon the lectures delivered upon this subject is *optional* to the students. We would commend this strange anomaly in our tuition of medicine to the members of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. We hold that any attempt to teach effectively sanitary science to the people will prove abortive, until medical men, who must, in the majority of instances, be the chief authorities referred to in doubtful questions, be themselves disciplined in the science as a science.

But in addition to the importance attached to the popular teaching of physiology as a means of promoting a knowledge of sanitary science among the people, it is frequently urged that the former would contribute, even in common schools, to a better intellectual training. We doubt this. Dr. Whewell has said that—

“No ideas are suited to become the elements of elementary education, till they have not only become perfectly distinct and fixed in the minds of the leading cultivators of the science to which they belong; but till they have been so for some considerable period. The entire clearness and steadiness of view which is essential to sound science, must have time to extend itself to a wide circle of disciples. The views are principles which are detected by the most profound and acute philosophers; are soon appropriated by all the most intelligent and active minds of their own and of the following generations; and when this has taken place (and not till then), it is right, by a proper constitution of our liberal education, to extend a general knowledge of such principles to all cultivated persons. And it follows, from this view of the matter, that we are by no means in haste to adopt, into our course of education, all new discoveries as soon as they are made. They require some time, in order to settle into their proper place and position in men's minds, and to show themselves under their true aspects; and till this is done, we confuse and disturb, rather than enlighten and unfold, the ideas of learners, by introducing the discoveries into our elementary instruction.”\*

Agreeing entirely with Dr. Whewell in these opinions, it will readily be understood that we cannot avoid questioning the beneficial effects of Mr. Lewes's work in an educational point of view, looking upon that work in the light indicated by himself. He tells us that its object “differs from all other works on popular science in its attempt to meet the wants of the student, while meeting those of the general reader, who is supposed to be wholly unacquainted with anatomy and physiology.” This in the preface. Elsewhere he writes:—“Assuming the position of a lecturer addressing a miscellaneous audience, he will imagine that beside the Medical Student there sits an intelligent Artisan,



beside the Man of Letters sits the Mother of a family ; and he will endeavour to be intelligible and interesting to all, while reproducing the *latest* discoveries of European investigators, and the results of *original* research." Then, again, Mr. Lewes writes, in the preface, of the manner of executing the work :—

"In pursuance of this object I have been forced to depart very widely from the practice of other popular writers, who consider themselves bound to act as 'middle-men' between scientific authorities and the public, and to expound facts and doctrines as they find them. I could not adopt this easy and convenient plan. I could not bring myself to publish, on the authority of respected names, statements which I knew to be false, and opinions which I believed to be erroneous. After having laboured earnestly to get at the truth, it would have been disloyal to contribute in any way to the spread of what I believed to be error. All that I felt bound to do, was to state impartially the facts and opinions current among physiologists ; and, when those opinions seemed inadmissible, to state the reasons for their rejection. There is therefore a great deal of criticism, and much original matter in this work."

Now the portion of Mr. Lewes's work which most concerns us is that devoted to the Nervous System, and it is in this portion that is found, as he correctly observes, "the greatest amount of dissent from correct opinions ;" and it is there that the reader will have the "greatest difficulty in agreeing with him." So great is this difficulty on our own part, that we find our objections and our doubts running tolerably evenly side by side with his peculiar conclusions, and to do justice to either one or the other it would be requisite to follow Mr. Lewes's opinions *seriatim*. This, however, we need not do, as a few hints will suffice for every useful purpose.

And first of the nerves : are they conductors only ? and what do they conduct ? Mr. Lewes writes :—

"Nerves are very generally likened to telegraphic wires, carrying messages to and from the centres ; or to the conducting wires of a galvanic battery. But except as a loose and superficial analogy, this is not acceptable ; and it is based on a misconception so important, that we must pause a moment to consider it. The misconception is, that the centres *produce* a force which the nerves, as passive conductors, *transmit*. The analogy is to the plates of a battery producing the electricity, which the wires conduct. I think there is ample and decisive evidence to show that the nerves have a force of their *own*, the property of their tissue, which is far from being the product of nerve-centres, and is wholly *unlike* that produced by the centres." (Vol. ii., p. 14.)

Further, Mr. Lewes remarks :—

"When the conducting wire is separated from the battery, it loses at once all galvanic power ; it is a bit of wire, and it is nothing more. All its galvanism came from the battery ; and this it could only con-

duct, not create. But the nerve, when separated from its centre, still retains its force; any irritation of such a nerve will excite that force, just as the stimulus from its centre would excite it. The battery is removed, and lo! the wire is found to be galvanic." (p. 18.)

Now these being Mr. Lewes's notions of galvanic action in a "conducting wire," his previous remarks admit of some justification. But the said notions being by no means such as we have been accustomed to hold (following Faraday) respecting the transmission of galvanic force, and such as may be presupposed to be held, and which so far as we know are held, by our leading physiologists, Mr. Lewes's observations do not apply to their opinions, when they may analogically express the action of a nerve to that of a so-called "conducting wire." So that when Mr. Lewes assumes that nerves have a force of their own, which he proposes to call *Neurility* ("in the sense of *excitability*, but without the misleading suggestions of that word"); and further explains that "Neurility simply means the property which the nerve-fibre has, when stimulated, of exciting *contraction* in a muscle, *secretion* in a gland, and *sensation* in a ganglionic centre;" we do not see what we gain either by the new name, or the definition. It seems to us, that both the one and the other leave the facts which show the mode of action of nerves, and the expressions which have been made use of to convey a notion of that mode, just where Mr. Lewes found them, neither adding to the one, nor making apparent the unfitness of the other.

Mr. Lewes holds that "Sensibility is the *property inherent in ganglionic tissue*." Subsequently he writes: "Sensibility is ascribed to the ganglionic substance of the brain, or some portion of the brain, and denied to other masses of ganglionic substance, absolutely identical in all the fundamental characters. Nevertheless, no physiologist, to my knowledge, has been aware of this violation of a first principle."—(p. 22). Again: "It is simple logic, therefore, to conclude that there being one *common tissue*, there must be one *common property*, in brain, medulla, and chord, however various the *functions*, or uses, to which the property may in each case be applied. Experiment clearly verifies what logic thus deductively concludes—namely, that the spinal chord is in all animals a seat of sensibility; and in some animals the all important seat."—(p. 23). It is evident that Mr. Lewes is here using the term sensibility in a sense very different from most physiologists. Thus Müller says of sensibility, "It is only one among several functions of the nervous system. It would be an abuse of words to extend this denomination to functions unaccompanied by perception." Now, as this fact of perception is the determining element in the chief common, and the more persistently scientific use of the word, and has governed the application of the word even

in its widest metaphorical sense, of what scientific utility can be the following generalization? "*Sensibility* is the property of ganglionic substance, and however various the uses or functions which different centres may serve—those of Respiration being very different from those of facial Expression, and these again from those of Perception, and so on—the same fundamental character is found in all"—(p. 24). Thus, then, Mr. Lewes would apply to the peculiar capacity of action possessed by ganglionic substance generally a term which it is customary to apply, and which can be definitely restricted to a definite mode of action of that substance in certain nervous centres. We cannot conceive that such an application of a term can add any clearness to our apprehension of the phenomena, the "fundamental characters" of which are sought to be generalized; neither can we conceive how a term, which in its most legitimate sense implies perception, can, without confusion, be applied scientifically to phenomena which are not supposed under any circumstances to be accompanied by perception.

Once more; Mr. Lewes tells us that:—

"One of the principal conclusions to which fact and argument will direct us in these pages will be, that the brain is only *one* organ of the mind, and not by any means the exclusive centre of Consciousness (p. 4) . . . It will be understood that by the word Mind, we do not designate the intellectual operations only. If the term were so restricted, there would be little objection to our calling the brain the organ of the mind. But the word Mind has a broader and deeper significance; it includes all sensation, all volition, and all thought; it means the whole psychical life, and this psychical life has no one special centre any more than the physical life has one special centre; it belongs to the whole, and animates the whole. The brain is a part of this whole, a noble part, and its functions are noble; but it is only the organ of special mental functions, as the liver and the lungs are organs of special bodily functions. It is a centre, a great centre, but not *the* centre. It is not the exclusive sensorium. Its absence does not imply the absence of *all* consciousness, as I shall prove by experiment. It cannot, therefore, be considered as *the* organ, but only as *one* organ of the mind." (p. 5.)

Here then, as in the case of the word sensibility, Mind and Consciousness are used in a sense very different to that in which they are commonly used. They are made to include phenomena usually expressed by different terms.

Let us briefly examine an illustration of the application of this doctrine and that of sensibility. We take it from the section on the evidence against the sensibility of the spinal chord. Mr. Lewes admits:—

"That injury to the spinal chord wholly or partially destroys the power of obeying the Brain by voluntary movement, and the power of transmitting sensory impressions to the Brain, in the parts *below* the



seat of injury; while in those *above* the seat of injury, sensation and voluntary motion remain.

"Such is the conclusion rigorously deduced from numerous facts. I accept it, without reserve. But I shall now prove that it does not in the least affect the question under discussion, does not throw a shadow of doubt on the sensational and volitional character of the spinal chord. That it should ever have been thought to do so admits of easy explanation. Let us disclose the fallacy it involves.

"On the supposition that the whole cerebro-spinal axis is everywhere the seat of sensibility, it has already been shown that division of this axis would create two independent centres. In this case we have no right to suppose that the *cerebral* segment will be affected by impressions made on the *spinal* segment; nor, conversely, that impressions made on the cerebral segment will affect the spinal segment. The anterior limbs will obey the brain, because they are in organic relation with it; but the posterior limbs *cannot* obey the brain after they have ceased to be in organic relation with it. This has been fully explained (p. 249 *et seq.*)

"Now, when a man has a diseased spinal chord, the seat of injury causes, for the time at least, a division of the cerebro-spinal axis into two independent centres. For all purposes of sensation and volition it is the same as if he were cut in half; his nervous mechanism *is* cut in half. How, then, can any cerebral volition be obeyed by his legs; how can any impression on his legs be felt by his cerebrum? As well might we expect the man whose arm has been amputated, to feel the incisions of the scalpel, when that limb is conveyed to the dissecting-table, as to feel in his brain impressions made upon parts wholly divorced from organic connexion with the brain.

"But, it may be objected, this is the very point urged. The man himself does not feel the impressions on his limbs when his spine has been injured; he is as insensible to them as to the dissection of his amputated arm. Very true. *He* does not feel it. But if the amputated arm were to strike the anatomist who began its dissection, if its fingers were to grasp the scalpel, and push it away, or with the thumb to rub off the acid irritating one of the fingers, I do not see how we could refuse to admit that the *arm* felt although the *man* did not. And this is the case with the extremities of a man whose spine is injured. *They* manifest every indication of sensibility. In the frog they manifest unmistakable volition. It is true that the man himself, when interrogated, declares that he feels nothing; the cerebral segment has attached to it organs of speech and expressive features, by which *its* sensations can be communicated to others; whereas the spinal segment has *no* such means of communicating *its* sensations; but those which it *has*, it *employs*. You can ask the cerebral segment a question, which can be heard, understood, and answered; this is not the case with the spinal segment; yet if you *test* its sensibility, the result is unequivocal. You cannot ask an animal whether it feels, but you can test its sensibility, and that test suffices."

Now, even admitting the correctness of Mr. Lewes's con-

clusions from his experiments on the effects of section of the spinal chord of the frog, referred to in the preceding paragraphs, what advantage can arise from applying, in a scientific sense, terms of which we can only know and apprehend the signification as referring to the man in his entirety, to circumstances in which the terms must bear an entirely different signification? Must not such a course inevitably lead to confusion, by widening illimitably, and, indeed, rendering incongruous, the meaning of words which at the present time have tolerably well-defined common acceptations which can be, and are usually, restrained within strictly scientific bounds?

There are certain observations of Mr. Mansel's on "an unacknowledged anthropomorphism" that pervades our speculations on consciousness which it may not be inutile to quote here. Mr. Lewes uses consciousness as an equivalent term to sensibility, and we have seen how greatly he extends the meaning of the latter word. The following remarks of Mr. Mansel, on a portion of Professor Ferrier's theory of Knowing and Being, we think clearly indicate the inadvisability of such an extension of the signification of the word consciousness as Mr. Lewes proposes, and points out the source of much error in the use of that word. Mr. Mansel writes:—

"Let us try Professor Ferrier's theory in three special instances, selecting that portion of his axiom, ['Along with whatever any intelligence knows, it must, as the ground or condition of its knowledge, have some cognizance of itself:'] which, as limited to human consciousness, is unquestionably true.

"1. Whatever state of consciousness I experience, I must know that state as mine.

"2. Whatever state of consciousness an angel experiences, he must know that state as his (the angel's).

"3. Whatever state of consciousness an oyster experiences, he must know that state as his (the oyster's).

"Are these three statements equally self-evident? Most people at first sight would admit the first and second, but doubt about the third. How do we know, they might ask, that the oyster has an idea of self at all? How do we know that he has memory; that he can associate one sensation with another, and know himself as the subject of all? Why, then, are we most confident about the angel, in whose case we have no more warrant of experience than in that of the oyster? Simply because we can subtract from the sum total of our own consciousness, but cannot add to it. I think of a lower intelligence as a part only of my own; and I see that the subtraction may possibly change the entire result. I think of a higher intelligence as my own, and something more; but, this something being totally unknown, I assume, quite gratuitously, that it will not interfere with the poorest operations of the remainder. Hence I have no difficulty in anthropomorphizing the angel; but I do not find it so easy to anthropomor-

phize the oyster. Where my own intelligence is but a part, I am well content to reason as if it were the whole; but where it is the whole, I am not equally ready to identify it with the part. But I have not thereby advanced one step in the knowledge of the conditions of other than human intelligences. I have only made my own intelligence the representative of all. I have generalized the *Ego*, and named it Pan: I have gazed on the image of my own mind, and in the microcosm I have symbolized the Universe.”\*

In quoting this psychological fragment, we are running counter to the canons of criticism which Mr. Lewes has enjoined for his book. He holds that the nervous system “must be studied free from all control on the part of psychologists. If we (the physiologists) do not prescribe conclusions for them, neither must they prescribe conclusions for us.” He would, therefore, consider the psychologist “as out of court”—(p. 3). If we have broken our author's precepts, it has assuredly been because we have not been able clearly to recognise the line of demarcation he would have us heed. But here we terminate our fragmentary criticism. The illustrations we have given, showing how greatly we differ from Mr. Lewes in the significations we attach to certain words of very frequent occurrence in any dissertation of the nervous system, might have been added to if it were needful. But we shall not multiply instances. Sufficient has been said to indicate that our position with regard to several of Mr. Lewes's views on the nervous system is pretty much that of the logicians in the celebrated recital of Sawkenbergius:—

“ . . . The logicians stuck much closer to the point before them than any of the class of the *litterati*; they began and ended with the word *nose*; and had it not been for a *petitio principii*, which one of the ablest of them ran his head against in the beginning of the combat, the whole controversy had been settled at once.

“ ‘A nose,’ argued the logician, ‘cannot bleed without blood—and not only blood, but blood circulating in it to supply the phenomenon with a succession of drops (a stream being but a quicker succession of drops, that is included, said he). Now death,’ continued the logician, ‘being nothing but the stagnation of the blood——’

“ ‘I deny the definition. Death is the separation of the soul from the body,’ said his antagonist. ‘Then we don't agree upon our weapons,’ said the logician. ‘Then there is an end of the dispute,’ replied the antagonist.”

The chapters on the nervous system, although of chief interest to us, barely exceed a third of Mr. Lewes's work, every portion

\* *Psychology the Test of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*: an Inaugural Lecture. By Henry Longueville Mansel, B.D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Magdalen College, Oxford. 1855, p. 43.



of which possesses that rare charm which he has the gift of infusing into all his writings. It is very far from requisite that we should attempt to whet the appetites of our readers by any samples which might convey a notion of the attractive qualities of the book, for the work must be already well known to them. Rarely, indeed, if common report be true, has a treatise on physiology been so widely read; rarely have we closed a book which, while embodying so much from which we dissent, has so largely excited our admiration as the *Physiology of Common Life*.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE CENSUS OF 1861 AND LUNACY.

WE had hoped that the late Parliamentary Inquiry into the Care and Treatment of Lunatics would have had for one result the institution of an investigation, at the time of the approaching Census, into the amount of lunacy in the kingdom. It might have been thought, that the evidence tendered before the Committee, had made sufficiently plain that it was high time, if we would really deal in a practical manner with the practical question of due provision for our lunatics, we should emerge as quickly as possible from those vague speculations respecting the status of lunacy among us, which bewilder the public and to which, for the want of right data, we are condemned. The increase of *known* lunacy, and particularly of pauperism from lunacy\* goes on, seemingly without let or hindrance, at an enormous rate from year to year. We spend money most lavishly in the erection and enlargement of asylums, and yet we barely keep in advance of our most urgent necessities. Nay, were we to do justice to our known lunatics, we have not, even at the present time, with all our efforts, a sufficiency of proper accommodation. The number of pauper lunatics now housed most unfittingly in workhouses, would more than fill all the additional asylum accommodation completed or in progress. Moreover, putting these lunatics entirely out of the question, the accommodation referred to would be entirely occupied in *five* years, supposing that the rate of increase of pauper lunatics in private and public asylums progressed as in the twelve months of 1857.

Again; so hampered are our public asylums with chronic cases of insanity, that with few exceptions our chief asylums have lost completely their character as hospitals for the cure, and have become

\* See for the statistics of this question the article *Pauper Lunacy* in our last volume, p. 352.

simply houses for the detention, of lunatics. This result does not arise merely from the gradual accumulation of incurable cases in the asylums, but in a great measure from the rush of chronic and incurable cases to these buildings, as refuges, as soon as they are opened or enlarged.

We cannot tell from the statistics of our asylums in what degree the rapid increase of lunatics in, and the increase of pressure upon, them represent an actual increase of insanity among the population at large, or if they represent such an increase at all. We cannot tell whether the said double-phased increase indicates solely the existence of an unexhausted substratum of chronic lunacy among the people, and yet this is a highly probable supposition. In fact, we are in worse than absolute ignorance of the actual status of lunacy in the kingdom, because we have veneered our knowledge with a mass of statistics, which, while of great value as bearing upon our asylums, have no value as bearing upon the population at large. But, as if gratified by the bulk, and neatness, and formality of these statistics, we persist in making use of them as though they contained all that it was needful to know, and would give an account of all that we ought to know.

How shall we best provide additional accommodation for our lunatics? This is the great question which our Commissioners of Lunacy have to deal with, and which the late Parliamentary Committee ought to settle for us. It is a question that bears at least more heavily on our purses every year, if it will not influence us through a higher medium. Let us glance at the question. First, then, what is the amount of existing lunacy that it is probable we shall have to provide for? Secondly, what is the rate of increase of lunacy among the population at large? The answers to these questions will of course give the chief data for the solution of the problem under consideration. But, alas! the answers are not only not forthcoming, but not even an approximation to them, and we are compelled to have recourse to speculation to supply the data upon which to frame a scheme for meeting a practical need of high social importance.

Let us look a little further. Supposing that the increase of lunatics in our asylums and poor-houses represents simply a want that we have not been able to overtake; if we get to know the full extent of that want, we have little doubt that the evil it represents would quickly be efficiently compassed.

Supposing that the increase represents an absolute and progressively increasing rate of augmentation of insanity among the population at large; then it is evident that our present means of combating the evil barely even scotch it, and that it is highly necessary we should have some more definite information respecting the fostering causes of lunacy in society.

Under any circumstances, it is certain that the first thing to be done is to institute an inquiry into the amount of lunacy in the kingdom. This, if properly conducted, would give at once a trustworthy basis for subsequent investigations on the progress of insanity among the people, and until this basis be obtained surmise must be substituted for fact. Such an investigation would, moreover, give immediately the data upon which to found a correct opinion on the number of lunatics now at large, for whom provision may probably be required.

The information which we have here set forth to be so urgently needed in this country (and, we may add, in Scotland also), before the vexed question of additional provision for our lunatics can be satisfactorily decided, was obtained for Ireland in 1851, by means of the Census inquiry. Why should not the Census of 1861 be made the means of obtaining for England and Scotland the information specified, the inquiry into the question of lunacy being carried out in the same effective fashion as was done in Ireland? It is to be feared, however, that the Government have determined to let this important question rest, notwithstanding its momentous nature. If this be so, ten years more will probably elapse before the question of the progress of insanity in the kingdom can be put even in the way of being determined; twenty years before the determination can be satisfactorily arrived at. But in the meantime, so rapidly are the questions connected with the status of insanity in the kingdom rising into public prominence, that it would not be surprising if before the termination of the ten years ending in 1871, a special inquiry became necessary, at an enormous expense, to decide, or lay the foundation for deciding, the very question which, if the experience of Ireland may be applied to England, can be readily, and at a comparatively trifling additional expenditure, more efficiently made during the Census inquiry.

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## FOREIGN PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

OUR retrospect of Foreign Psychological Literature will embrace the following subjects:—

1. On a Form of Paralysis of the Lower Extremities, prevalent in part of the District of Allahabad.
2. On Puerperal Insanity.
3. On a Form of Cachexy peculiar to the Insane.

1. *Notice of a Form of Paralysis of the Lower Extremities, extensively prevailing in part of the District of Allahabad, produced by the use of Lathyrus sativus as an article of food.* By JAMES IRVING, M.D.

[THE following paper is a highly-interesting and important contribution to our knowledge of the physical degenerations of the human species]:—

In October, 1856, Mr. Court, the Collector of Allahabad, when in Pergunnah Barra, on the right bank of the Jumna, was very forcibly struck by the number of lame persons whom he met in all directions. On inquiry he found, in village after village, that there were several cripples in each. He was also informed that the disease which gave rise to this lameness was of recent origin, and that it was attributed by some of the people to their living on bread made from *kessarree dāl*, and by others of them to the unwholesome qualities of the wind and water of the Pergunnah; the latter being vague causes of disease ever ready to be brought forward by the natives in order to account for any unusual or unintelligible sickness. Several cases of paralysis of the lower limbs were sent from Barra to the Government Charitable Dispensary at Allahabad, for medical treatment. Unfortunately, however, they got tired of the means employed for their cure, and left after being in hospital for a month or five weeks. But, through the kindness of Mr. Court, who accompanied me to Barra, I was enabled to make some few inquiries into the nature and history of the malady.

Close to the village of Kheerut Gohanee, on the Sohagee Road, all the lame people from surrounding villages were mustered for my inspection on the morning of the 6th February, 1857. About fifty men were present, all more or less lame in both legs; some so much disabled as to be hardly capable of motion, while others were only slightly affected. One after another was questioned, and the following particulars were thus gathered. Without exception they all stated that they had become paralytic during the rains; in most cases suddenly so; and several stated that it had been during the night. Men who had gone to bed quite well had awoke in the morning feeling their legs stiff and their loins weak, and from that day they had never regained the use of their limbs. At first, the lameness was trifling, and amounted only to unsteadiness of gait, and slight stiffness chiefly of the knees. After a time the muscles of the thighs commenced to ache and feel weak, and also the loins. In no case did those examined admit that they had then, or ever had, severe pain

either in their limbs or loins. They all ascribed their disease to their feeding principally on *kessaree dāl*, but they seemed to imagine that, in order to produce the malady, there must be another circumstance superadded—viz., the deleterious quality of the water during the rains. So far as could be gathered, it was not from drinking the water that they fancied they took harm, but from getting wet by it. More than one dwelt on the fact of his having been exposed to rain, either while ploughing or tending sheep; and others spoke of having been working in jheels just before they became lame, at various periods embraced between the months of July and October. The people were particularly examined, and questioned as to whether they had had any symptoms of fever, or of any other disease at the time that they lost the use of their limbs, but they all said that they had not, and nothing was discovered to lead to the inference that this was not strictly true. In only one of many cases examined was enlargement of the spleen observed. Many of the men appeared to be strong-looking, and their legs even, in most cases, did not seem to be much wasted, if at all so. It was stated by those affected, as well as by several native officials who were interrogated on the subject, that the complaint did not lead to other diseases, nor tend to shorten life, unless indirectly by preventing the individual working, and thus procuring proper means of support. It was further stated, that the arms were never affected; but that there were some few cases of persons so greatly crippled that they could not walk. It was added, that males were more often afflicted than females; and that ryots were more liable to the disease than the zemindars, although the latter class was not exempt from it. . . .

Now it appears, from a return with which Mr. Court kindly furnished me, that, in the month of January, 1857, there were, in Pergunnah Barra, 2028 persons known to be affected with paralysis, or in the proportion of one in every 31.30 of the population. These figures disclose a terrible amount of removable disease, showing a proportion of 3.19 per cent. of the population rendered useless by a single disease; for only a very few of those paralysed are able to do any work in order to support themselves.

To show further the extent to which palsy of the lower limbs prevails in Barra, the following facts may be stated. In the beginning of 1857 there were 295 villages, and I had a return showing that there were paralytics in 188 of these, thus leaving only 107 villages, scattered over an area of 158,493 acres, in which there were no cripples. But, of the 107 villages in which there were no cripples, there were 58 uninhabited, so that in reality there were only 49 inhabited villages in the whole pergunnah which were free from this species of paralysis.

Different villages, however, are affected in very different degrees and proportions. Thus in Kuchra, with a population of 371, there was only one paralytic, while in Soondurpore, with a population of 250, there were 39. In Puchiour, with a population of 375, there was one. In Buschora Uperhar there were 353 inhabitants, of whom 33 were paralysed. In the village of Abheepoor there were, in January, 1857, 268 inhabitants, of whom 22 were palsied. In Lohera, out of 557 villagers, 8 were cripples, or one in 69. In Pooreh Gunga Chuk

there were 261 inhabitants, of whom 20 were palsied, or one in every 13. In Buradeh Zuptee, there were 148 inhabitants, 8 of whom were affected, or in the proportion of one in 18. In Room there were 6 paralysed villagers of 198, or one in 33. In Buckla there was a population of 491, and only 4 lame, or one in 122.

The disease, as might be expected, is not confined to Barra, but extends to Khairagurh, in Allahabad District, and to the adjoining District of Banda. Mr. Mayne, the Collector of the latter, supplied the following table and memorandum in reference to this malady :—

Per-gunnah.	Thannah.	No. of villages in which cripples are known to exist.	No. of cripples.	Population of Pergunnah.	Per-centage.
Chiboo	Mow,	23	64	} 80,170	0·249
	Burgah,	26	131		
	Rajapoor,	3	5		
Total	...	52	200	...	...
Enohan	Kurwee,	10	14	} 82,313	0·139
	Munikpoor,	23	72		
	Bimree,	12	34		
Total	...	45	120	...	...

“The greatest amount of cripples in pergunnah Chiboo, is to be found in Burgah, which is composed entirely of villages in the hills. In Mow, where the country is less hilly, the numbers decrease, and in Rajapoor, where there are no hills, we have none at all. The causes are given as gatheea, baiee, guruhun, beadh, shukembad, gutteea, adhung. The same remarks apply to pergunnah Enohan. Thannah Munikpoor is entirely in the hill country, and the cripples are there more numerous. Thannah Bimree is less hilly, and has less cripples. Kurwee is in the flat country, and contains hardly any cripple.”

When Mr. Mayne says that the causes are given as gutteea, &c., I presume he alludes to the native names by which this particular kind of palsy is known in the Banda District.

Before alluding to the cause of this form of paralysis, it may be as well to glance at the physical aspect of Barra, and the circumstances connected with it likely to produce sickness. In passing through this part of the country, it appears a vast swamp. One is struck not only by the great number of jheels, but also by the numerous tanks that are visible in all directions. These tanks, moreover, have generally one side, or part of a side, level with the surrounding ground, and are intended to drain the contiguous fields and render them arable. There are several low ranges of hills covered with large blocks of stone. The village of Barra stands high, and I was told that, looking down from it in the rains, nothing is visible but one vast sheet of water on all sides. This was the case so late as the month of December, in the year 1856. The soil of Barra is a stiff marl. It appears to take up



water readily, and to retain it for a long time. In the hot weather it dries and splits into deep and wide fissures. I examined numbers of bricks made in different parts of the pergunnah, and found that none of them had the ring of good brick, when struck. They were easily broken, and a fracture generally showed numerous small calcined masses, chiefly of lime. There is a strong saline impregnation of the soil which shows itself by efflorescence on the surface. Lime made with the water soon crumbles away.

In March, 1856, some of the water from a well which was said to be poisonous to any animal that drank of it, was sent to the Chemical Examiner to Government for analysis, in consequence of a law-suit then pending in reference to the closing of the said well, on account of the deleterious qualities of its water. He reported that the water contained "no absolutely poisonous ingredient, but it holds in solution so large a quantity of saline matter that it would prove very deleterious to any animal habitually drinking it." He further stated that the saline ingredients consisted of Sulphates, Carbonates, and Chlorides of Lime, Magnesia, and Soda. Water is found very close to the surface. In several wells examined in February, it was only six feet, and in the rains it is said to rise within one foot of the surface of the ground.

The people of Barra appear to be very poor, and signs of their poverty are everywhere visible. The villages look dilapidated, and many of the houses are unoccupied. I saw no horses nor camels,—not even a common bullock cart. The bullocks that one does see, ploughing or carrying loads, are wretched, half-starved looking animals. The area of Barra is 158,493 acres, and the population 63,490, which gives an average of 256 to the square mile. But the general population of the North-West Provinces, according to the last Census, is at the rate of 420 to the square mile, and in the district of Allahabad generally, it is 493 to the square mile.

As has been stated, the paralytic symptoms which prevail so extensively in Barra are, by the natives, very generally attributed to their making large use of *kessaree dāl*,—the *Lathyrus sativus* of English botanists; and it is perhaps one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the malady, that the people should be so fully persuaded that in eating this grain they eat poison, and that yet notwithstanding they have continued, and will continue to do so, from generation to generation.\* *Kessaree dāl* is not unlike gram, and is common enough

\* Mr. Court, Collector of Allahabad, in a letter to Government on this subject, writes:—"It will be an object with me to discourage as much as possible the cultivation of Kessaree Dāl, and the employment of that vetch as food. But I fear that this will have but little effect on the people. They all ascribe the disease to eating it, and yet they live upon it. The fact is they cannot help themselves. They must either eat it or die of starvation. In the highlands of the pergunnah, wheat will not grow; cotton is grown in the khareef; gram and linseed in the rubbee; but the staple produce of khareef harvest is the kodoo; of the rubbee, kessaree. There are other causes for this besides that of the soil being unsuited for wheat, &c. The pergunnah is particularly liable to disaster. Too much rain is as destructive to the better description of crops as too little, and as in that as in

in most parts of India. It is frequently sown along with wheat or barley and cut green as fodder for cattle. In Barra the *kessaree dāl* is ground and made into bread. It is sometimes mixed with other grains, such as barley; but is more generally taken alone, the people, in fact, not being able to afford anything else. It is the cheapest grain procurable, and forms the chief support of the people from March till October. On the 7th February, 1857, in the bazaar at Barra, wheat sold at the rate of fourteen seers to the rupee, while *kessaree dāl* was at the rate of twenty-two per rupee. It grows without labour or trouble, and on damp swampy ground that will bear no other crops. The land is merely ploughed slightly once, and the seed thrown in; or the plant sows its own seed, which germinates freely next year without further attention or care. The moist nature of the soil of Barra should be noted in connexion with the production of this poisonous *Lathyrus*; for it is stated by Loudon—in speaking of *Lathyrus cicera* causing paralysis of the lower limbs, in those who live on bread partly made of it, in some continental states—that the plant grown on a strong moist soil is more injurious than that cultivated on one which is dry and light.\*

That use of *kessaree dāl* as an article of food is apt to lead to paralysis of the lower limbs appears to be very generally known to the inhabitants of many parts of India. Dr. K. W. Kirk, in his *Topography of Upper Sindh*, says:—

“My attention was first attracted to it [Paralysis] as follows: a villager brought his wife, a woman of about thirty years of age, to my hospital, with paralysis of her lower extremities; she had been so afflicted for the last four years. I asked whether she had had a fall or a blow to cause the disease. ‘Oh,’ said the man, ‘it is from *kessaree*; we are very poor, and she was obliged to eat it for five months on end!’ I had never heard of such effects before from any grain, and asked whether it was good of its kind. Finding it was so, I sent the man into the bazaar to bring me a handful, which I afterwards showed to some respectable natives, and was told that disease from its use is very common all over the country. The villager above alluded to said, that if they had sowed a better kind of grain it would have been plundered by the Belooches from the hills, but they would not take this. I did not enter a village in Sindh where this *kessaree* was not to be found in the bazaar, and daily used by great numbers of poor people, nor where several were not rendered most helpless objects by the use of it. Their general health seemed good, however, their only complaint being that they had no power in their legs, but they moved about by lifting themselves on their arms. All natives know that this *dāl* is a poison, and eat it only because it is cheap, thinking that they can in time save themselves from its consequences.”

Colonel Sleeman states, that in part of the Saugor Territories in 1829, and two succeeding years, the wheat crop failed from various reasons, and during these three years the *kessaree* remained uninjured,

other pergunnahs bordering on the hills, hail-storms are very frequent. The *kessaree* grows in all seasons. It requires little or no culture; it varies in luxuriance of growth only according to the season, and affords the only certain provision of life. As the people are at present circumstanced, they have, in real truth, no option.

\* *Encyclopædia of Plants*, p. 620. *Taylor on Poisons*, p. 536.



and thrived with great luxuriance. In consequence it formed the only food of the people during the three years of famine. "In 1831, they reaped a rich crop of it from the blighted wheat fields, and subsisted upon its grain during that and the following years, giving the stalks and leaves only to their cattle. In 1833 the sad effects of this food began to manifest themselves. The younger part of the population of this and the surrounding villages, from the age of thirty downwards, began to be deprived of the use of their limbs below the waist, by paralytic strokes; in all cases sudden, but some more severe than others. About half of this village, of both sexes, became affected during the year 1833-34, and many of them have lost the use of their lower limbs entirely, and are unable to move. Since the year 1834 no new case has occurred, but no person once attacked had been found to recover the use of the limbs affected." He further adds, that "many of those he saw were fine-looking young men, of good caste and respectable family. They stated that their attack had come on suddenly, often while the person had been asleep, and without any previous warning. Males were said to be more subject to the disease than females. They believed that both horses and bullocks fed on *kessaree* lost the use of their limbs."—(*Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i. p. 134.) Dr. Thomas Thomson also, in his book of *Travels in the Himalayas*, mentions instances of paralysis caused by the use of *Lathyrus sativus* which he had observed in Thibet. I received the following information as to the prevalent ideas of the people of this part of the country in reference to *kessaree dāl* from a very intelligent educated native, the late Pursidh Narain Sing, a tehseeldar in the Allahabad District.\* The lameness, he writes, that results from the use of *kessaree dāl*, is supposed by the natives to be a mixture of palsy and rheumatism. Living on this particular grain is supposed to be the predisposing, and exposure to cold, rain, and damp weather, the exciting cause of the disease. He adds, "the bhoosa (or chaff) of this grain may be given to cows and bullocks without harm, but such is not the case with horses, who are affected (in consequence of eating it) with what is called by natives *koorkooree*. I do not know the English term for it. He describes the symptoms of this complaint in the horse, and both from the name he gives above, and from the description, there is little doubt that he alludes to colic, or gripes, an affection likely enough to result from this or any other indigestible food, and which would result independent of any specific action of this grain on the horse. Colonel Sleeman, as before noted, had been informed that *kessaree dāl* caused loss of power of the limbs in both horses and bullocks. Pursidh Narain Sing further informed me, that "the natives consider *kessaree dāl* to be void of all nourishment, and they declare it to have a peculiar effect on the lower part

\* This man was Tehseeldar of Hundya, and was one of the *very very* few native officials at this place who, *really* and *in earnest*, stuck to us during the rebellion. He did so from the very first to the very last. For having gone to Cawnpore along with General Neil, he was sent to Bithoor with a party of Mehter police for the purpose of re-establishing order, and was there attacked by a large band of rebels, and cruelly put to death.



of the spine. It is also said that *kessaree* grain makes the system susceptible of catching other diseases, such as scrofula, particularly in Patna District."

In Europe also, paralysis of the lower limbs has been observed to follow the use of *Lathyrus sativus* as an article of food. Thus Don, in the Gardener's Dictionary, says, that the flour of this plant, mixed with wheat flour in half the quantity, makes very good bread, but alone produces surprising rigidity of the limbs in those who use it for a continuance. In the same quarter of the globe similar effects have also been observed to follow the eating of other kinds of grain produced by the same great natural order of plants, the Fabiaceæ—to which the *Lathyrus sativus* belongs; as well as other species of the same genus. Thus Dr. Taylor alludes to *Lathyrus cicera* and *Ervum Ervilia* (bitter vetch) as occasionally rendering bread poisonous. In some part of the Continent, a bread is made from the flour of the *Lathyrus*, which is so injurious in its effects, that the use of it has frequently caused its prohibition by law. Loudon states, that when mixed in equal parts with wheaten flour it makes a good-looking bread, which, however, occasionally gives rise to weakness of the knees and spasmodic contractions of the muscles. Cattle and birds, when fed on the seeds, are said to become paralysed. A more recent example of the poisonous effects of *Lathyrus cicera* flour is furnished by M. Vilmorin; he remarked that "the use of this bread for a few weeks produced complete paralysis of the lower extremities in a young and healthy man. Six or seven individuals of the same family who had eaten it suffered more or less from similar symptoms, and one had died. A physician who practised in the district remarked that paralytic affections were very common among the poor, who subsisted on this bread, while they rarely occurred among the better classes. When the *Lathyrus* flour formed one-twelfth part, no inconvenience was observed to attend its use; in a proportion greater than this it becomes injurious; and when it amounted to one-third part, the effects might be serious." (Ann. d. Hyg. Avril 1847, p. 469—Taylor on Poisons, p. 536.) Dr. Lindley also states, that the seeds of *Ervum Ervilia*, mixed with flour and made into bread, produce weakness of the extremities, especially of the lower limbs, and render horses almost paralytic. (*Vegetable Kingdom*, 2nd Edit. p. 548.)

As to the treatment of cases of paralysis caused by the use of *Lathyrus sativus*, I have little to say from practical experience. About a dozen cases have come under my observation at the Dispensary, but most of them disliked the restraint and the means of cure employed, and left after they had been patients for a month or five weeks. In some strychnine was tried; in others blisters to the loins frequently repeated; in others tonics. To all I gave generous diet. Two seemed to be somewhat benefited, and could walk better; and in one case the improvement was such, that a man who formerly could only walk with the aid of two sticks could after a time proceed without any assistance. He was under treatment at the time of the rebellion in June, 1857, when the Dispensary was burnt down by the "poor natives," for whose use it had been built and maintained by Government. What

seemed to me of most use were tonics and generous diet, together with the application of occasional blisters.

The natives of Barra do not appear to have any kind of rational treatment. They rub the lower extremities with various liniments, of which one is composed of oil, garlic juice, and opium. They fancy that eating pigeon's flesh is of use. It was stated to Mr. Court that this affection was of recent origin in Barra; but on asking a native official who had known the purgannah for twenty years past, I was informed that the disease had, to his knowledge, always existed; although he thought that of late it had become more common; and villages in which formerly there were no cripples now contained several.—*Indian Annals of Medical Science*, July, 1859.

2. *Observations upon Puerperal Insanity.* By RICHARD GUNDRY, M.D., Assistant Physician to the Southern Ohio Lunatic Asylum.

[In a very able and interesting paper, Dr. Gundry has elaborately analysed fifty-six cases of puerperal insanity, and compared the results of his own experience and research with those recorded by other observers. He divides the puerperal state into—

1. The period of gestation; including both conception and delivery.
2. The period extending about two months from delivery, during which the involution of the uterus is completed, and the function of lactation is thoroughly established.
3. The period of lactation, including weaning and the changes induced by the decline and cessation of the lacteal secretion.

The following important data are extracted from this paper:—]

*Proportion of Cases of Puerperal Insanity in Asylums.*—In an analysis of the causes of insanity in 11,762 insane women, reported from fourteen hospitals for the insane in the United States, 1050 are noted as occurring during the puerperal period; or nearly 1 in 11 insane females. The reports of foreign hospitals for the insane would doubtless tell the same story. During five years one-eighth of the females admitted into Bethlem (London) were subjects of puerperal insanity. At Salpêtrière a twelfth, and during some years a tenth, were of the same nature. The experience of these two metropolitan hospitals is thought by Dr. Tuke to be above other institutions. He estimates that in most English asylums one-fourteenth to one-twentieth of the females admitted is the proper proportion. The results of a careful examination of the cases given above do not enable me to concur with this opinion, but exactly agree with the deductions from the experience of Bethlem and Salpêtrière, and it may be questioned whether they represent fully the proportion chargeable to this cause. Esquirol met in private practice with a still greater relative number of cases, and this has been the experience of several eminent practitioners who have had abundant opportunities for observation. From various sources we derive the following statistics on this subject.

	Number of In- sane Females.	Puerperal Cases.
14 American Asylums . . . . .	11,762	1050
Reported by Dr. McDonald . . . . .	691	49
"    "    M. Parchappe . . . . .	596	33
"    "    M. Seller . . . . .	97	11
"    "    Hanwell Asylum . . . . .	703	79
"    "    M. Mittvie . . . . .	242	9
"    "    M. Esquirol . . . . .	1119	92
"    "    Bethlem Hospital . . . . .	899	111
Totals . . . . .	16,109	1434

According to which table, of every 100 insane women, nearly 9 became so in consequence of the puerperal condition in some of its stages. On the other hand, the records of lying-in hospitals show that a very small proportion of the whole number of women *confined* become insane. In the Westminster Lying-in Hospital, according to Dr. Reed, only 9 out of 3500 delivered there were attacked. In Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital, in 2000 cases there were eleven who became insane. Other institutions of a similar nature furnish like results. It must be recollected, however, that the time spent in a lying-in hospital after delivery is usually very short, and does not include the period of lactation most productive of mental disease.

*Analysis of Fifty-six Cases.—Age.*—The age at which insanity first appeared in these cases, was as follows:—

	Cases.	Ratio.
Under 20 years of age . . . . .	3	5·36
"    25    "    "    . . . . .	18	32·14
"    30    "    "    . . . . .	11	19·64
"    35    "    "    . . . . .	13	23·21
"    40    "    "    . . . . .	8	14·29
"    45    "    "    . . . . .	3	5·36
Totals . . . . .	56	100.

It will be seen that from 20 to 25, and from 30 to 35, the proportion is much larger than at any other period; but this might have been expected, so far as the first period is concerned; for the proportion of females living at that age in the United States greatly exceeds that of any other period, excepting less than 20 years of age. So far as any conclusion can be drawn from such limited data, it points to the period of life between 30 and 35 as the time most prolific of puerperal insanity. Many of the cases in our survey did not come under observation during the first attack. We must therefore inquire the age at which the attack (herein alluded to) was developed:—



Between 20 and 25 in 9 cases.

„ 25 „ 30 „ 15 „  
 „ 30 „ 35 „ 16 „  
 „ 35 „ 40 „ 11 „

Between 40 and 45 in 3 cases.

„ 45 „ 50 „ 2 „  
 Total . . 56

And in this connection we must also take into account the number of attacks suffered. Thus, it was—

The 1st attack in 37 cases..

„ 2nd „ „ 10 „  
 „ 3rd „ „ 4 „

The 4th attack in 4 cases.

No. unknown „ 1 „  
 Total. . . 56

We shall more full understand the influence of age by ascertaining the periods at which each of these attacks occurred :—

PERIODS.	Cases of one Attack.	Of two at- tacks.		Of three at- tacks.			Of four attacks.				Total No. Attacks.
		1st	2nd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	
Less than 20 years. .	0	2		1							3
„ „ 25 „ . .	6	6	2	2	2	1	3	3			25
„ „ 30 „ . .	9		2	1	1	1	1		3	3	21
„ „ 35 „ . .	11	2	2		1	1		1	1	1	20
„ „ 40 „ . .	8		3								11
„ „ 45 „ . .	3										3
„ „ 50 „ . .			1			1					2
Totals. . . .	37	10	10	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	85

The history of the 55 persons, therefore, embraces 85 different attacks of insanity, of which more than one-half occurred between 25 and 30 years of age; while taking those only who had one attack, the period from 30 to 40 furnishes more than one-half. Whether the inference to be drawn from this, that those attacked more early are more liable to a recurrence of the disease, is warranted by the other circumstances of the cases, will afterwards be adverted to. One case of the 56 not included in the above analysis had suffered from several attacks (the exact number not being known to me), of which the first took place before 25 years, and the last at 32 years of age; from all of which she perfectly recovered.

*Occupation.*—The influence of occupation receives but feeble illustration from this series of cases. All classes seem equally liable. Neither riches, with the luxury that attends, nor poverty, with its supposed exemption from enervation, can claim any exemption.

*Civil Condition.*—As to their civil condition very little can be said. 54 patients were married, and 2 single women. Esquirol remarked that the number of single persons becoming mothers, who are afflicted with puerperal insanity, bears a large proportion to the married. Of 92 cases reported by him, 63 were married and 29 single. We might expect, *à priori*, that if moral causes exerted so preponderating an influence in the production of insanity as many



1st labour . . . . .	10	3rd and 4th labours . . . . .	1
1st, 2nd, and 3rd labours . . . . .	3	4th . . . . .	6
1st and 3rd . . . . .	1	5th . . . . .	3
1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th . . . . .	3	5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th labours . . . . .	1
2nd . . . . .	8	7th . . . . .	2
2nd and 3rd . . . . .	1	After every labour (No. unknown) . . . . .	1
3rd . . . . .	9	After having borne several children . . . . .	4

Only 18, or 1 in 2·94 of the number were primiparæ; while of these 7 had a repetition of the attack in connection with every child born to them. When insanity has once established itself as one of the incidents of the puerperal condition, it seems to have a great tendency to appear at every successive period of that kind. This periodicity was noticed in 10 women, and was established in the 1st, the 2nd, the 3rd, and even the 5th puerperal state. In only one case did it skip over one child after it had once appeared, and then re-appeared with the next. M. Marcè found in 57 patients only 14 primiparæ; and amongst the 43 remaining cases, 13 had been confined 5, 6, and even 9 times.

*Circumstances attending the Labour.*—How far the nature and history of the labour influenced the production of insanity which may have ensued, is open to much discussion. Difficult and tedious labours seem as innoxious as regular and easy labours. Nor are those who have flooded profusely more certainly liable to an attack than any others. Drs. Merriman, Gooch, Esquirol, Frias, Selade, Billod, and Reid, mention one instance each of insanity in connexion with labour, complicated with puerperal convulsions, and apparently dependent on that cause. Yet the proportion of patients with eclampsia becoming deranged is exceedingly small; too trifling to furnish evidence of any relation existing between them, as cause and effect. Dr. Webster has charged upon the use of chloroform in labour some few cases of puerperal insanity, and Dr. Skae, of the Edinburgh Asylum, reports one case attributed to this, the only one out of 44 cases of puerperal insanity admitted into that institution since the discovery of chloroform. On the other hand, Dr. Simpson relates two cases where the use of chloroform in labour prevented the expected usual attack of mania after it.

*Period of Invasion :—*

PERIOD OF ATTACK.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.
During pregnancy . . . . .	7		
Less than 15 days after delivery . . . . .		20	
"  "  1 month "  " . . . . .		5	
"  "  2 months "  " . . . . .		4	
"  "  3 "  "  "  " . . . . .			2
"  "  4 "  "  "  " . . . . .			6
"  "  6 "  "  "  " . . . . .			4
"  "  12 "  "  "  " . . . . .			2
Immediately after weaning (about 12 months after delivery)			2
Unknown, but during lactation . . . . .			4
Totals . . . . .	7	29	20



To complete the history of this stage of the disease, it may be necessary to ascertain at what period the previous attacks already alluded to occurred. Four attacks were non-puerperal; four attacks were during pregnancy; fourteen attacks were during the second epoch; two attacks were during lactation; and the circumstances of *six*\* attacks are unknown. So that of 76 known puerperal attacks, 11 began during pregnancy; 43 during the two months following delivery; 22 during lactation, or immediately after weaning.

Compare with these the results of others. Esquirol thus classifies 92 cases:—

From first to fourth day after delivery . . . . .	in 16 cases.
„ fifth to fifteenth „ „ . . . . .	21 „
„ sixteenth to sixtieth „ „ . . . . .	17 „
„ sixtieth to twelfth month of suckling . . . . .	19 „
After forced or voluntary weaning . . . . .	19 „

A summary of the cases reported by Dr. McDonald, Dr. Burrows, M. Marcè, and at Hanwell, in 1848, and those collected by M. Marcè, and by Dr. Wyman, of Boston, in Report of 1834, may also be useful for comparison:—

PERIOD OF ATTACK.	Dr. McD.	Dr. B.	M. M.	At H.	M. M.	Dr. W.	Total.
During Pregnancy . . . . .	4		18	4	27	5	58
After Delivery . . . . .	44	51	41	26	180	28	370
During Lactation . . . . .	18	6	20	13	103	47	207
Total . . . . .	66	57	79	43	310	80	635

The second period is, therefore, the most important in the causation of disease. Some have regarded that as embracing only six weeks after delivery instead of two months, the limit I have adopted; so that were the figures corrected to that period, the numbers of the second epoch would be still slightly increased.

*Access of Disease.*—The access of the disease was marked by symptoms in this series, which were, in many instances, doubtless but imperfectly recorded. Often the alterations of manner, of feeling, the emotional and instinctive changes which ushered in the attack, were either unobserved, or their value unappreciated. Something startling, out of the usual routine of life, must occur to be remembered as the starting point in the history of mental disease in such cases. I have estimated the first symptoms as closely as possible, in the following table:—

\* These *six* attacks, marked as unknown, occurred either during the second or third epoch,—in which is unknown.

NATURE OF THE FIRST SYMPTOMS.	No. Cases.	NATURE OF THE FIRST SYMPTOMS.	No. Cases.
Unfounded jealousy and suspicion . . .	4	Quarrelsome propensity . . .	1
Fear of injury from persons . . .	3	Attempt to kill child . . .	3
Attempts to wander away . . .	5	Suicidal attempt . . .	4
Indifference to child . . .	3	Suicidal and homicidal attempt on children . . .	1
Excited talk . . .	9	First symptoms not ascertained .	8
Delusions . . .	7		
Hallucinations . . .	4		
Fear of impending evil . . .	3	Total . . .	56
Ecstatic feeling . . .	1		

*Form of Disease.*—The form of insanity assumed by the patient is to some extent influenced by the epoch in which the attack began. This may be seen, so far as the 56 cases are concerned, in the following table:—

FORM OF MENTAL DISEASE.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	Totals.
Mania . . .	5	22	9	36
„ periodical . . .		1		1
Melancholia . . .	2	5	7	14
Dementia (primary) . . .		1		1
Monomania of fear . . .			2	2
„ „ unseen agency . . .			1	1
„ „ suspicion . . .			1	1
Totals . . .	7	29	20	56

Mania is the most frequent form, and especially predominates in the cases occurring soon after recovery. In those during lactation, melancholia, and those partial forms (more allied to melancholia than to mania), more nearly balance the number in which mania occurred. The experience of M. Marcè accords in assigning the highest number of cases to mania. All other authorities coincide. There is, however, a class of cases which rarely has any examples in any hospital for the insane, wherein mental disturbance (of the type of delirium rather than mania) supervenes a few days after delivery, and very rapidly terminates, either by recovery (as in the large majority) or in death. The proportion of such is difficult to be arrived at.

*Suicidal and homicidal Propensities.*—A distressing symptom, frequently met with in all forms of puerperal insanity of every epoch, is the perversion of the instinct of self-preservation. Attempts at suicide are often very suddenly put into force, and persevered in. It may be the first symptom of mental derangement that arouses the alarm of friends, as in the five cases already noted, or it may be developed at any time during the course of the attack. A lady during lactation, not previously deranged, was discovered by her husband hanging in the room at night; so quiet had been her movements, that he had not been awakened. She was resuscitated, and passed into deep melancholia, from which she gradually recovered, to all appearances,

so that the vigilant oversight hitherto maintained, were relaxed. No sooner did this take place than again she hanged herself. Resuscitation, followed by a similar state of melancholia, was again succeeded by apparent restoration of cheerfulness and reason, when the suicidal impulse again suddenly re-appeared. The case is not embraced in this series, and the final result I am not acquainted with. In the 56 cases twelve attempted suicide, and three threatened or contemplated such a course. The manner of attempts may be noted :—

MANNER OF SUICIDAL ATTEMPT.	Mania.			Melancholia.			Monomania.			Total No. Cases.
	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	
By cutting throat . . . .		1			1					2
„ drowning . . . . .		1	1						2	4
„ hanging . . . . .						1				1
„ several modes . . . .		1	1		1	2				5
Totals . . . . .		3	2		2	3			2	12

In Bethlem Hospital, out of 111 cases of puerperal insanity 32 were affected by the suicidal impulse.

Allied with this perverted instinct, and appearing sometimes in the same individuals, is the propensity or impulse to kill. The victims selected are usually those naturally claiming the love and sympathy of the patient.

One patient tried to kill by scalding various persons; three patients tried to kill husbands; four patients tried to kill their infants; one tried to kill children and husband; so that nine, or one in six developed homicidal propensities. Of these, three were combined with the suicidal impulse.

*Hallucinations, Illusions, &c.—*

NATURE OF SYMPTOMS.	Mania.			Melancholia.			Monomania.			Total No. Cases.
	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	1st Epoch.	2nd Epoch.	3rd Epoch.	
Hallucinations of hearing . . . .		2	2			1				5
„ „ sight . . . . .		2				1			1	4
Illusions of hearing . . . . .			1							1
„ „ sight . . . . .		1								1
Hallucinations of sight and hearing .			1							1
„ „ „ hearing & smell									1	1
„ „ „ hearing, and illusions										
of sight . . . . .		2								2
Delusions . . . . .	2	4	4		2	2			1	15
Totals . . . . .	2	11	8		2	4			3	30



More than one-half, therefore, of the 56 cases were more or less under the control of some form of illusion. They heard voices directing them to do this, or to refrain from that. They saw robbers, or deceased relatives, or acquaintances, or faces constantly peering at them from the ceiling or the window. Several entertained that most harassing delusion that they were eternally lost, having committed the unpardonable sin: one that her husband had bewitched her, and another that she could cure all the sick by laying her hands upon them. In one case, ecstasy "rapt her soul in Elysium," but soon the scene changed to the blackness of despair, and a fear of demons who were tormenting her took possession of her.

*Prognosis.*—The prognosis of puerperal insanity is stated by writers in exceedingly favourable terms. The proportion of recoveries is quite large, according to the following authorities:—Dr. McDonald records that 80 per cent. of his cases recovered. Dr. Webster thinks that "three in every five cases of puerperal insanity may be confidently expected to recover within the year." Dr. Haslam cured 50 out of 85 cases at Bethlem. Dr. Burrows records 57 cases, of whom 35 recovered. Drs. Gooch and Prichard have considered these results as indicating a less favourable prognosis than the circumstances would justify, inasmuch as the cases are taken from hospital practice, and usually do not come under care under the most recent, and consequently curable stage of the disease. Dr. Gooch observes: "Of the patients about whom I have been consulted, I know only two who are now, after many years, disordered in mind, and of them one had already been so before her marriage."

So far as regards the present analysis, the following results are obtained:—

Recovered . . .	31	persons or 55·35 per cent.
Improved . . .	4	" " 7·14 "
Died . . .	6	" " 10·71 " "
Were not improved.	15	" " 26·78 " "
<hr/>		
Total . .	56	

For the rest, of the 37 persons labouring under mania, 19 recovered, 3 improved, and 4 died, 11, after periods varying from eight months to ten years, remaining unimproved.

Of the melancholic, and other depressed forms of mental disease, including nineteen persons, twelve recovered, one improved, two died, and four had received no benefit, in periods of from four to ten years.

Of seven cases occurring during pregnancy, three recovered, one improved, and three were not improved.

Of 29 occurring within two months after parturition, fifteen recovered, three improved, three died, and eight received no benefit from treatment.

Of 20 cases occurring during lactation, thirteen recovered, three died, and four were not improved.

We have already seen that these 56 persons had previously suffered, in some instances, from one or more attacks of puerperal insanity. Taking the number of these attacks as the basis of our calculations, we have the following interesting results:—

PERIOD OF ATTACK.	Recovered.	Improved.	Died.	Not Improved.	Totals.
Occurring during 1st epoch . . . . .	7	1		3	11
„ „ 2nd „ . . . . .	29	3	3	8	43
„ „ 3rd „ . . . . .	15		3	4	22
„ in 2nd or 3rd (which unknown) .	6				6
Totals . . . . .	57	4	6	15	82

This would give a ratio of 69·51 per cent. of recoveries from attacks.

An interesting inquiry may arise, whether the chances of recovery are lessened by the previous occurrence of attacks in the individual? Some light will be gained by investigating the results of the attacks, embraced in the present analysis:—

NUMBER OF ATTACKS.	Recovered.	Improved.	Died.	Not Improved.	Totals.
First attack . . . . .	38	4	5	8	55
Second „ . . . . .	14			4	18
Third „ . . . . .	6			2	8
Fourth „ . . . . .	2		1	1	4
Totals . . . . .	60	4	6	15	85

This is exclusive of one patient who had several attacks (the number not ascertained). We may safely assume two attacks, though three or four would probably be more correct. But *four* of the first attacks were non-puerperal in their character; deducting these, and adding the two as above, we shall have the following proportion of recoveries in 83 known puerperal attacks:—

Recovered from 1st attack . . . . . 35 out of 52; or 67·3 per cent.  
 „ „ other than 1st attack . 23 „ „ 31; „ 74·2 „ „

Total . . . . . 58 out of 83; or 69·8 per cent.

Thus it would appear that the first attack is more disastrous to life and reason than when several attacks have been safely borne. If we take those who did not recover, or those who died, and make the same comparison, we shall arrive at the same result.

The influence of time upon the prognosis is shown in the general table of results. We may notice more particularly a few of the more important points in this connection:—

Within six months 13 recovered, and 1 died; in one year, 10 recovered, 3 died, and 2 did not improve; in 18 months, 4 recovered, and 1 did not improve; in two years 4 recovered, 1 died, and 1 did not improve; over 2 years, 4 improved, 1 died, and 11 did not improve.

*Treatment.*—No special means were resorted to. Such indications as from time to time appeared were met with appropriate treatment. In a majority of the cases, anodynes, in some form or other, entered into the medicinal treatment. Morphine and camphorated tincture of opium, were perhaps the most frequently called into requisition. Both in mania and melancholia they seem to relieve the tired brain from the fatigue of its own teasing vagaries, and, besides the inducing of sleep at night, exert a beneficial effect. Tonics are also generally required, and none are better than the various ferruginous compounds. The citrate, the tartrate, the muriated tincture may be used, as the taste of the physician or the special case would suggest. The carbonate combined with conium, "Brigham's mixture of iron and conium," with the occasional addition of morphine, answers admirably as a general tonic.

In the sleepless ravings of some cases, chloroform may be cautiously applied. In a few cases it was useful for the immediate purpose of inducing sleep, but further than this I have not observed any marked effect on the course of the disease. A more reliable course for a more permanent benefit to this class of patients, is the free administration of diffusible stimulants. Where opiates fail to induce sleep, and chloroform can only induce temporary quiet, these often act like a charm, in soothing irritation and producing good, refreshing sleep. Wine, spirits, ammonia, sulphuric ether, according to the special exigencies of the case, are thus beneficial.

Cathartics have always played a very conspicuous part in the treatment of insanity, puerperal and otherwise, ever since 'Naviga ad Anticyram' conveyed a reproach, as well as suggested the therapeutic means to put it away. But it may be doubted whether the practice has not often been carried too far. Their occasional use in this disease is undoubtedly proper, not because the patient is insane, but to procure relief when she is constipated. In the same way emetics may be occasionally useful. In both cases it is rather to remove causes of disturbance, than from any other reason.

In two or three cases I have seen great benefit from the continued use of quinine in moderate doses, with an occasional anodyne. They were of a low, nervous, melancholy character, with loss of appetite, inability to apply themselves to any object requiring attention, and a depressing, somewhat hysterical state of feelings.

In a word, the treatment of puerperal insanity is, to brace up the enfeebled body and shattered nerves, to procure as absolute quiet and repose for the organ of the mind as we gain for a broken bone by the use of splints. To devise the special means by which this end may be attained, constitutes the difficulty of treatment in the one case as in the other. And there is, in both cases, a point in their history, when, passive treatment having done its work, it needs to be replaced by action of the limb, or of the brain, as the case may be.



To recognise the exact time when this point is reached, and to make the change of means judiciously, should ever be objects of the greatest care. When mental exercise can be safely substituted for mental quiet (now passing into lethargy), excitement and of the emotions replaces indifference, then they are not only proper, but almost imperative. But, to be too hasty in this matter, is only to renew the former trouble. On the other hand, too long delay allows the patient to sink into partial fatuity. (*American Journal of Insanity*. Jan. 1860.)

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3.—*On a form of Cachexy peculiar to the Insane*. By Dr. E. BILLOD, Chief Physician and Director of the Lunatic Asylum of Sainte-Gemmes-sur-Loire.

[In a communication addressed to the Academy of Medicine in 1855, Dr. Billod made known the existence, in several French asylums, of a pellagrous affection which he held to be peculiar to the insane. The results of his subsequent researches upon the subject are summed up in the following paper.]

In order to complete our study of this subject, and to sum up the various opinions, it only remains for us to demonstrate the existence of a cachexy, which specially belongs to the state of insanity, of which the affection which we have hitherto described by the name of a *variety of pellagra proper to the insane, or pellagra consequent upon mental alienation* only, constitutes one of the forms—say the pellagrous form—and to consider it in general and under all its forms; such is the object of the present paper.

Although this general disposition of the health of the insane at certain periods of mental alienation has never yet been the subject of a special description, we do not believe that its existence will be disputed by any physician, however little he may be versed in the study of mental disorders, and we shall have no difficulty in gaining admission by the side of the various known cachexies, such as the scorbutic, cancerous, venereal, paludal, saturnine, mercurial, &c., of a cachexy specially belonging to the insane, which may be properly considered as the result of the latent progress of mental alienation and of its continuous action on the animal economy, aided or not by the concurrence of certain particular hygienic conditions.

*Symptoms*.—It does not require a long observation of the insane, in order to recognise that some in whom the disorder has passed to the chronic state, and by presenting an alteration in nutrition, the progress of which, though very variable, is ordinarily slow. This alteration betrays itself in the first instance by a certain emaciation, by the tendency to diarrhœa, and by a successive diminution of strength; but that which appears to me to constitute one of its essential characteristics is the tendency presented by the skin of those individuals who are, or are about to be, affected by it, to undergo various changes; in fact, it is the pathological result depending upon the relation which exists between the dermis and the nervous system. In many in-

stances alterations of the skin which appear to us very variable in their nature coincide or alternate with disorders of the digestive apparatus. At times, and most frequently under the influence of insolation, there may be observed on the dorsal surface of the hand, and extending more or less up the fore-arm, erythematous symptoms, uniting all the characters assigned by writers on the subject to pellagrous erythema, from scarlet erythema to blackish erythema, accompanied with exfoliation; the back of the feet, the neck and the breast, when they remain uncovered, sometimes participate in this state. For an *exposé* of the symptoms of the progress and other points in the history of this form of the cachexy of insanity, answering to that which we have hitherto described by the name of a *variety of pellagra proper to the insane*, we must refer the reader to our preceding memoirs. That which completes the analogy between this form of the cachexy of insanity and pellagra is the period of evolution and habitual exacerbation of its symptoms, and their amendment or almost complete remission after this period. At times, there is observed, as in the last stage of pellagra, scorbutic spots, œdema of the extremities, a general earthy appearance of the skin; at other times, as we have observed in two cases, and as M. Bonacossa, the eminent chief physician of the asylum at Turin tells me he has also observed in his practice, this membrane assumes a bronze tint which recalls the malady known as Addison's *bronzed skin*. In some cases we may observe eruptions successively vesicular, papulous, squamous and furuncular, constituting a sort of lichen (*poussée*), as noticed by M. Girard of Auxerre. Neither is it very uncommon to see *dartres farineuses*, most frequently on the face, and sometimes affecting circular forms with almost geometrical regularity. We have twice observed purpuric eruptions over the whole body. In two cases we have seen the skin assume the characteristics of *psoriasis diffusa*, and M. Baume of Quimper has told me that he once made a similar observation. Several bullæ of pemphigus have also been observed by us in the course of the cachexy which we are now considering. We believe we may refer to alterations of the cutaneous organs, sometimes observed in the case of lunatics threatened with, or actually in the state of cachexy, a certain hypertrophy with deformity and blackish discoloration of the nails, to which our esteemed friend, M. le Dr. Payen of Orleans, has particularly called our attention. Perhaps, also, the bloody tumours of the pavilion of the ear, to which our dear and venerated master, M. Ferrus, was the first to call attention in his lessons at Bicêtre, and which have recently been the object of an interesting monograph by M. Foville, jun., are not unconnected with the general disposition which we are now describing.

Most frequently the skin of cachectic lunatics, or those who are about to become so, is dry, rough, and does not perspire. Finally, in some cases no appreciable alteration in the skin is to be noticed.

With reference to these alterations of the skin, which so evidently testify to a pathological relation between the dermis and the nervous system, we ought to allude incidentally to a fact observed by our colleagues as well as by ourselves, that is, the relative frequency of erysipelas and



ichthyosis amongst the insane. We do so, however, without referring it to the cachexy now under consideration.

When the cachexy of the insane threatens to assume the character of pellagra it is not uncommon, as in the latter disorder, to see the cutaneous symptoms long precede the development of the cachexy: it is often, in fact, only after a long series of vernal exacerbations, and at the end of several years, that the cachectic state really commences. One of the three cases which M. Baillarger presented in our name to the Academy of Medicine, that of the patient named Bureau, has only been cachectic for one year, or speaking more correctly, it is only one year since the alteration of nutrition began to operate in him, and it has progressed but very slowly.

The cutaneous symptoms which we have enumerated almost always accompany the cachexy of insanity, but their intensity does not always measure its degree; thus, for example, they are sometimes wanting in the last stage of the affection, although they may be very decided in its commencement, and before any appearance of emaciation; they may also be wanting, as we have already said, during the whole course of the cachexy. It is not so with its other characteristics, marked by disorders of the digestive apparatus and nervous system, which are common to all forms, and rarely vary except in degree.

Among the digestive symptoms which characterize this special cachexy the most prominent is without doubt diarrhœa. This diarrhœa is often colliquative and incoercible; the stools are generally serous, sometimes bilious, very rarely bloody, and are scarcely ever accompanied with colic. The belly is supple, painless, and ordinarily depressed. What distinguishes this diarrhœa is that throughout its continuance the tongue is ordinarily clean and humid, the appetite is maintained, and the apyrexia is perfect. In some cases, however, and especially in the last stage, the tongue is dry and horny, the thirst raging, and the appetite gone; but these cases are, we repeat, exceptional.

Being rather an asthmic flux than a symptom properly so called of enteritis, the diarrhœa of our cachectics sometimes ceases after a duration varying from a few days to as many months, and it always exhibits a strong tendency to reproduce itself, without any other assignable cause, in most instances, than a slight increase in the general asthenia. This tendency to relapse and the incoercibility augment as the patient approaches the last stage of the cachexy of insanity, and there are few cases in which they do not mark the ultimate step.

In certain cases cachectic lunatics are the prey of burning thirst; some, especially those whose condition partakes of all the characters of pellagra, complain of a burning sensation in the epigastrium of the nature of pyrosis. Ptyalism often exhibits itself; in which case the buccal mucous membrane is red, tumefied, sometimes aphthous, and the papillæ of the tongue are generally depressed.

The urinary secretion presents no special modification; we have never discovered in it any trace of albumen or saccharine element, its reaction has always appeared more or less acid. In some cases, how-



ever, the acidity of the urine has seemed to us very notably diminished; the secretion is most commonly limpid pale and free from sediment.

We here offer these remarks only upon the urinary secretion in the cachexy of insanity, reserving to ourselves their completion by ulterior researches, and if need be their rectification.

Nothing particular has been observed with reference to the heart and lungs; the latter less frequently become tuberculous than might have been expected; but we believe we can trace to the cachexy of insanity certain cases of venous obstructions and arterial obliteration followed by sphacelus of entire members, which we have sometimes had occasion to observe. In general, whatever may be the stage of this cachexy, no *bruit de souffle* is perceived in the carotids; a diminution of caloricity may, however, generally be observed, as also a diminutiveness and a characteristic depression of the pulse.

At the same time that the symptoms we have enumerated develop themselves, general enfeeblement progresses until death, which is ever the fatal result, ensues.

In some of our cachectics we observe a certain curvature of the vertebral column, although the patients do not ordinarily complain of any pain in that region; this symptom is particularly marked in one of our pellagrous patients at the asylum of Sainte-Gemmes, who for some years has also exhibited some choreic symptoms.

We have never observed at any period in the cachexy of insanity any symptoms of general or special paralysis which we could refer to a lesion of the nervous centres, and in particular to the spinal chord; nevertheless as we have remarked in a previous paper, the general muscular debility sometimes calls to mind that which characterizes the general paralysis of the insane.

In proportion as the cachexy displays itself and becomes more pronounced the dementia becomes confirmed.

*Progress.*—The progress of the cachexy of insanity is properly speaking continuous: intermission and abatement are at times observed, but they only relate to certain of the symptoms, for example, the cutaneous and digestive symptoms, which when they exist generally pursue the same evolution as the symptoms of pellagra.

Although latent, then, the progress of the cachexy is no less real; at most it can only be said that the malady is sometimes stationary.

The mode of inversion is variable; thus in those cases in which the affection assumes the characters of pellagrous cachexy, the cutaneous symptoms may precede for a long time, many years, for example, the development of the cachectic state, and there is then recognised in the progress of the malady the two periods that we have admitted; the first extending from the apparition of the earliest cutaneous or other symptoms to the moment when the constitution receives a cachectic impress, which we have termed *pellagrous properly so called*: the second extending from the commencement of the cachexy to the termination of the affection. In those cases, on the contrary, in which the cachexy manifests itself without having been preceded by any cutaneous or other symptom, it is evident that there is but one period.

It follows from the exposition we have given of the symptoms of

the cachexy of the insane that, as in pellagra, the modification in nutrition which characterizes the affection is most ordinarily preceded by a group or a succession of disorders in the cutaneous system, the digestive apparatus, and the nervous system. The cutaneous symptoms, it is true, sometimes fail; but as (still as in pellagra) they constitute but a symptomatic expression of a general interior disposition, and this symptomatic expression can fail, and indeed very often fails, without the aforesaid disposition the less existing, a conclusion cannot be drawn from their absence contrary to the opinion which we have expressed.

This is the place, moreover, to consider that it is much less in real and effective changes that the symptoms derived from the skin of our cachectics consist, than in a disposition of this membrane, in a sort of aptitude, so to speak, to become morbidly changed in divers fashions under certain conditions, just as is observed in pellagrous individuals. We know indeed that insolation ordinarily constitutes the essential condition of the development of alterations of the skin among the pellagrous as among our cachectics, and we are able, in removing patients from this influence, to prevent effectively the alterations; but it is evident that in this case, if the skin is not altered, it does not lack the morbid aptitude to become changed, and that just as, according to the first Sydenham, there is *variola without eruption*, so there may be pellagra and cachexy of the insane without cutaneous symptoms.

The inquiry which we have instituted in the majority of our principal asylums, with the kind aid of our honourable fellow-labourers, has fully confirmed these last-named data. It results, in effect, that notwithstanding cachexies inherent to the progress of mental alienation exist in every establishment, in some, nevertheless, these cachexies are not accompanied with any special alteration of the skin; it results also that in those cases where the alterations of the skin are manifestly linked to the progress of the cachexy peculiar to the insane, these alterations have not presented everywhere the same characters, witness, for example, the asylums of Auxerre and of Toulouse. The conclusion to be drawn from this difference is that, if the state of mental alienation is the primary condition of the development of the cachexy of the insane, this cachexy, nevertheless, is dependent for its manifestations upon certain hygienic conditions peculiar to each medium.

*Differential Diagnosis.*—The special conditions under which the cachexy we have under consideration is developed, prevent us from confounding it with other cachexies, hence it is not necessary to detail the differential diagnosis. We think, however, that it is of importance to note that this cachexy ought to be distinguished from the marasmus which terminates the course of general paralysis, and with which it has nothing in common. It is well also not to confound the cachexy with the modifications of nutrition which accompany divers maladies that may supervene incidentally during insanity. It is manifest, for example, that it is necessary to distinguish the cachexy of the insane from the modification of nutrition in a lunatic, which depends upon the development of incidental tubercular phthisis.



*Pathogeny and Etiology.*—The primary condition of the development of the cachexy of the insane being the state of mental alienation, it follows from this that its etiology will not be doubtful; as to its pathogeny it will be allied to the mechanism of this cause, and we cannot but reproduce here what we have previously said apropos of our variety of pellagra, and of which the application is equally fitted to the cachexy which we now study:—

“If it be true, and no one doubts it, that an emotion, a chagrin, a pleasure, any moral cause, in short, can exercise an influence upon the play of the organic functions, and produce a modification, of whatever kind, of the general health, it ought also to be true, *à fortiori*, of mental alienation, that exaggeration, that *ne plus ultra* of all moral causes. This follows, moreover, from a physiological principle which appears to me to have the force of a law, to wit, that the general health may be regarded as the result of a pre-established repartition of the innervation between all the organs. Every circumstance which disturbs the exercise of a function, in a manner to augment or diminish the quantity of innervation which physiologically devolves to it, ought to induce a change in the general repartition, a rupture in the equilibrium, and consequently a disordered state of the health.

“It follows from this that mental alienation, by the disturbance of the cerebral functions which characterize it, ought, in modifying the innervation almost at its source, to lead much more certainly than any other disturbing cause to the rupture of equilibrium just referred to, and, in consequence, to a change in the general health. Now, we believe that pellagra is in the number of these possible effects.”

This being presumed, it is easy to admit that the chance of the cachexy under consideration being produced, will be greater in proportion to the older date of the mental alienation. All things being equal, observation demonstrates that, of all the forms of mental alienation, that which most disposes to the cachexy is the melancholic or depressive.

Of 65 lunatics suffering from or threatened with the peculiar cachexy, we observed in 18 lypemania with stupor or depression; in 32 lypemaniacal dementia, also with stupor or depression; in 5 chronic mania; in 2 dementia, consecutive to epilepsy; and in 7 idiocy.

It results from these data that it is depression which plays the principal part in the production of the cachexy of the insane. It is always important, in order to appreciate the comparative influence of depression and excitation, to hold count of the very marked predominance which exists in the asylums in which we collected our observations of the melancholic form of mental alienation, but as the cachexy of the insane, when it assumes a pellagrous character, induces depression, that is to say converts mania into lypemania among those individuals who are attacked with the malady, it results that the portion of maniacs who suffer from the said cachexy is greater than at first appears. *A priori*, it does not appear that it could be otherwise, because prolonged mania brings about an expenditure of innervation, which necessarily, sooner or later, leads to exhaustion, the effects of which, although not invariably manifested during the progress of the expenditure, are not the less real, and in the end appreciable. Also,



when the source of innervation is exhausted among maniacs, in consequence of the excessive expenditure it has been subjected to, it is common to see depression succeed hastily to excitation, and the marasmus progresses much more rapidly than in other cases. We have seen recently a striking example of the rapidity with which patients sink in these circumstances. It happened in the case of one of our boarders, the sister of a physician, attacked with mental alienation characterized by a delirium of persecutions and habitual exaltation. Her physical health had always been sustained without the appearance of exhaustion, when, fifteen days before death, she began to exhibit the first symptoms of an enfeeblement, the progress of which was most rapid. During these fifteen days, in proportion as the marasmus became more conspicuous, the excitation gave place to depression, but not without reappearing at certain intervals, as if to complete the exhaustion of its source even to death, which seemed to be the result of a last glimmer of exaltation.

It will be understood that the cachexy of the insane, when it pursues a progress so rapid, is not marked by the same characters, and is much more rarely accompanied by symptoms recalling more or less pellagra, than when it pursues, as among melancholics, a slower progress.

This difference in the characters of the cachexy of the insane, according as the progress is more or less rapid, or according as it affects patients in a state of depression or exaltation, explains, perhaps, the differences observed, in this respect, in the asylums of the department of the Seine, where the maniacal form of alienation predominates over the melancholic, and in the majority of the provincial asylums where the contrary is ordinarily observed. It is possible also, that under the same relation there are notable differences between the asylums of the North, South, East and West.

The influence of mental alienation upon the development of a special cachexy can be heightened or diminished, and sometimes altogether neutralized, by certain hygienic conditions. It is a fact, recognised at first sight, that in the *maisons de santé*, and in the boarders' quarters of public asylums, where the regimen is more comfortable than in the pauper sections, the development of the special cachexy is less manifest, and when it supervenes, it never assumes a pellagrous character.

We have, in certain cases, retarded and even stopped the progress of the special cachexy by a simple modification in the regimen; for example, in rendering it more substantial and more nutritious. The use of wine has seemed to us to exercise a prophylactic influence. This is to be gathered plainly from the following observation:—Until the 1st of January, 1859, our lunatics received wine but once or twice weekly at most, and from the 4th of June, 1854, to that period—that is to say, during a period of four years—we had recorded 66 cases of the affection that we have described under the name of a *variety of pellagra peculiar to the insane*, in a total of 1287 individuals, who made part of the population in the interval. Now, since the 1st of January, 1859, the distribution of wine has been daily, and during the

course of the year we have not observed any new case of this variety of pellagra.

We cannot terminate our remarks on the etiology of the cachexy of the insane, and in particular of its pellagrous form, without saying a few words on the argument which some physicians have deduced from this affection against the opinion which is maintained by several that the use of maize, deteriorated or not by *verdet*, is the essential cause of pellagra. Now, although we rank ourselves among the adversaries of this opinion, we do not think that the existence of a variety of pellagra peculiar to the insane and consecutive to mental alienation proves anything against the etiological hypothesis referred to, from the moment when this variety of pellagra is regarded as of a distinct and every way special species. It might be, after all, although this is but another hypothesis, that, if the influence of deteriorated maize was as real as some physicians believe, it would act by producing in the nervous system previous perturbations, of which the effects upon the nutrition are analogous to those which result from the continued action of mental alienation. This opinion would be all the more admissible since, among the nervous perturbations which characterize pellagra properly so called, mental alienation is observed in the end, and in its melancholic form.

I may be permitted here, to express the opinion that the practice indicated by one of the most fervent adepts of Balardini, of submitting the maize, before delivering it for consumption, to torrefaction by the process of Bourguignon, should be undertaken sooner or later. I am an adversary, as I have already said, to the theory that the use of maize is the sole cause of pellagra, but not a bigoted one. Were it but for the sake of dissipating the obscurity which still invests the etiology of pellagra, I think that the foregoing experiment is desirable.

[Dr. Billod in terminating his paper dwells briefly on the prognosis, pathological anatomy, and treatment of the cachexy he describes. The *prognosis*, as would be surmised, is very grave; *pathological anatomy* does not throw any definite light on the nature of the cachexy, but Dr. Billod is inclined to think general or partial softening of the spinal cord has some connexion with the cachexy, particularly its pellagrous form; finally, the *treatment*, apart from that which is proper to the form of mental alienation which precedes the cachexy, is simply hygienic.]

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## MEDICO LEGAL TRIAL.

DISPUTED WILL.—PLEA OF UNSOUND MIND.

COURT OF PROBATE, MAY 18.

Before Sir C. Cresswell and a Special Jury.

WILLIAMS *v.* EVANS.

THE plaintiff, Anne Williams, propounded, as executrix, the will, dated the 5th of December, 1856, of Philip Taylor, late of Hirwaine, near Aberdare, in Glamorganshire, who died on the 23rd of July, 1859, at the age of 70. The defendant, Helen Eliza Evans, a niece of the testatrix, opposed probate on the grounds that the will was not duly executed, that the deceased was of unsound mind, and that it was obtained from him by the undue influence of the plaintiff.

Mr. Lush, Q.C., Dr. Spinks, and Mr. F. W. Lloyd were counsel for the plaintiff; Mr. Edwin James, Q.C., Mr. Serjeant Pigott, Dr. Swabey, Mr. Giffard, and Mr. Owen for the defendant.

The deceased began life as a draper's assistant, and afterwards carried on business for many years as a draper at Hirwaine. By this business, and by farming, and by some fortunate purchases of land which contained coal, he accumulated a fortune of about 15,000*l.* He was married, but had no children, and his wife died in 1848. A niece of his wife, Anne Edwards, the present plaintiff, lived with them until 1841. In that year she married David Evan Williams, who had been first Mr. Taylor's apprentice and then his partner, and who from 1837 had had the management of the business. Upon the marriage Mr. Taylor transferred the business to Williams for 1,700*l.*, of which he gave 200*l.* to Mrs. Williams, received 200*l.* from her father, and took a bond for the remaining 1,300*l.* from Williams, who paid him interest upon it. He gave up the premises upon which the business was carried on to the Williamses, and took up his own residence in an adjoining house. He had a niece, Helen Eliza Taylor, the daughter of an only brother, in Jamaica, and in 1841, at his request, she came over to England to live with him. She remained with him, keeping his house for him after his wife's death, until 1851, when she married Mr. Evans. She and her husband lived first at Cardiff, then at Manchester, and in October, 1855, went back to Hirwaine. The Williamses and the Evanses did not agree, and the deceased appeared at first to have sided with the Evanses, for in December, 1855, he gave the Williamses notice to quit the premises they occupied. The consequence of this notice was, that the Williamses removed to a third house adjoining the two occupied by the deceased and the Evanses. Between the death of his wife and 1855 the deceased made a number of wills. Their general effect was to divide his property between Mrs. Evans and Mrs. Williams, giving a slight advantage to Mrs. Evans, and to appoint them joint executrices. In 1855 he made an alteration in this disposition. He gave the whole of his property to Mrs. Evans, appointing her sole executrix, subject to legacies of 500*l.* to Mrs. Williams and her five sisters, the daughters of Mr. Edwards, and these legacies were only to be payable conditionally. He had had a dispute with Mr. Edwards respecting the proportion to which he was entitled of a piece of land that they had purchased jointly; the land had turned out more valuable than had been anticipated in consequence of the discovery of coal, and the condition upon which the legacies were left was, that Mr. Edwards should transfer to him a sufficient quantity of the land to make up his share to 250 acres. His next will was made on the 10th of September, 1856. Mrs. Evans was appointed sole executrix and residuary



legatee; 500*l.* was given to her sister and Mrs. Brown, 100*l.* to a friendly society for miners, 100*l.* to a former shopman, 6*s.* a week to an old servant, and 50*l.* a year to a Mrs. Moore. In June, 1856, Mrs. Evans had written to Mr. Frank James, the attorney of Mr. Taylor, directing him, as her uncle was getting very old and infirm and wished to transfer to her the management of his affairs, to prepare an instrument empowering her to act for him in all matters. She added that it would be necessary to make this instrument irrevocable, and that any document which he might subsequently sign should be void. A few days afterwards Mr. Taylor and Mrs. Evans went together to his office. He advised Mr. Taylor not to sign any such instrument, and drew up a short paper empowering Mrs. Evans to receive Mr. Taylor's rents as his agent, which Mr. Taylor signed. On the 2nd of December, 1856, he wrote to the secretary of the Vale of Neath Railway Company, asking him to transfer some shares which he held in that company to Mrs. Evans. The secretary sent him the forms which it was necessary for him to fill up before the transfer could be made. He received them on the 5th of December. On that day he went into Mr. Williams's shop, burst out crying, wished he was dead, showed the papers, said that the Evanses had been trying to get his property from him during his life, that they had treated him badly and he could stand it no longer, and asked to be allowed to live with Mr. and Mrs. Williams. They consented to receive him, and he said he should have come to them before, but he was afraid they had taken offence at having had notice to quit the premises they first occupied. He also said he had made a will disinheriting Mrs. Williams, and he wished to alter it immediately. Mrs. Williams asked him to take time for consideration, but he insisted, and a clergyman was sent for. The clergyman declined to interfere, and Mr. Frank James, his solicitor, was sent for. Mr. James and his clerk (Mr. Harris) arrived between eight and nine that same evening, saw the deceased alone, took his instructions for a will, drew it up, and it was duly executed and attested by Mr. James, Mr. Harris, and a chymist named Rees Thomas. By this will 70*l.* a-year in fee was left to Mrs. Evans, certain mortgage estates were vested in Mr. Williams, and Mrs. Williams was named residuary legatee and sole executrix. At the same time the instructions for the transfer of the Vale of Neath shares to Mrs. Evans, and the appointment of Mrs. Evans as agent for the receipt of rents, were revoked. He had left some deeds and papers in the house of the Evanses, who refused to give them up when they were demanded, and their detention gave rise to legal proceedings. In the beginning of 1857 the Evanses presented a petition to the Court of Chancery for a commission in lunacy to inquire into Mr. Taylor's state of mind. On the 13th of February, 1857, four medical men—Messrs. Dyke, Lucas, North, and White—had a long interview with him for the purpose of testing his capacity, and arrived at the conclusion that he was of perfectly sound mind, and certified that opinion to the Lords Justices, before whom the petition was heard. Their lordships, thinking it desirable to have further evidence, commissioned Dr. Forbes Winslow to examine him. Dr. Winslow examined Mr. Taylor on five occasions—twice in London, and three times at Hirwaine—and stated the result in an elaborate report to their lordships. Dr. Winslow stated that Mr. Taylor was free from all kind of delusion, hallucination, and illusion; that he conversed about the Russian and Chinese wars and other topics of general interest; that he complained of the manner in which he had been treated by Mr. and Mrs. Evans, and accused them of having received money without accounting for it; that he said he had left their residence in consequence of having been asked to transfer some of his property to them, and had sought the protection of his other niece, Mrs. Williams; that he conversed about his property, and estimated its value at 15,000*l.*; that his knowledge of his pecuniary position appeared to be remarkably acute; and that the only part of his intellect which

appeared to be defective was his memory, which occasionally flagged. Dr. Winslow said that, perceiving his irritation against Mr. and Mrs. Evans, he urged him to forget the past and make an equitable distribution of his property; to which he replied that he had not been well treated by them but would not forget their claim. In conclusion Dr. Winslow submitted that, if evidence similar to this were generally considered sufficient to warrant the protection of the Court of Chancery, no aged man in the kingdom with a memory somewhat impaired by age and bodily infirmity would be free from the suspicion of insanity and mental incapacity, and he reported that he was clearly of opinion that Mr. Taylor was a person of sound mind and capable of managing himself and his affairs. In consequence of this report their lordships, in April, 1857, dismissed the petition. In June, 1858, an application was made on the part of the Evanses for a *habeas corpus*, on the ground that the Williamses were detaining Mr. Taylor in their custody against his will, but that application also was refused, and with costs. The deceased died in July last of brain fever, having been confined to his bed for the previous 15 months.

In support of the plaintiff's case Dr. Forbes Winslow and the four medical men who had tested the testator's capacity in the course of the proceedings in Chancery in 1857 were examined, and adhered decidedly to the opinion they had then expressed. Mr. Edward Davies, a medical man at Merthyr Tydvil, had also examined him to test his capacity in December, 1856, and found him perfectly rational. This gentleman attended him subsequently, and said that in August, 1857, he had a slight attack of paralysis.

In addition to this medical evidence a great number of witnesses were called to speak to various acts of business done by the testator subsequent to the date of the will. Mr. Frank James and his partner, Mr. C. H. James, had had several consultations with him on the subject of the proceedings in Chancery and of the actions against the Evanses, and had taken his instructions, and had also transacted business for him connected with his mineral property at Hendrewin. On two occasions, in May and in September, 1857, Mr. C. H. James inquired whether he wished to make any alteration in the disposition of his property in favour of any of his other relations. He replied decidedly and positively that he wished matters to remain as they were. Mr. Joseph had seen him several times at the end of 1856 and the beginning of 1857 about taking a lease of the minerals at Hendrewin. He conducted the negotiations himself and granted the leases. At the general election in 1857, he was canvassed for Mr. Vaughan, but said he had promised to vote for Messrs. Talbot and Vivian, and did vote for them.

A number of other witnesses were called to speak to various other smaller matters of business, such as the receipt and payment of money, in which he had acted for himself in 1856 and 1857, without showing any symptom of a decayed mind.

In the course of the case his lordship asked one of the witnesses what was the number of the inhabitants of Hirwaine, and how many of them knew the deceased.

The witness said Hirwaine had about 6,000 inhabitants, and most of them knew Mr. Taylor.

His lordship observed that he could now form some idea as to the probable duration of the cause.

The plaintiff's case was concluded, and Mr. Serjeant Pigott briefly opened the defendant's case.

The court then adjourned.

May 21.

This trial was resumed by the examination of Mr. William Davis, a surgeon, who had attended the deceased, and who said that he had an attack of paralysis in May, 1855, and that in June, 1856, he had become quite childish.

At the conclusion of this witness's examination, a conference took place between the learned counsel.

Mr. E. James then said that he and his learned friends found that it would be hopeless to attempt to establish the plea of undue influence on which the defendant relied, and he was therefore authorized to consent to a verdict for the plaintiff.

Mr. Lush said that the plaintiff was willing to hold out the olive branch by consenting that the costs should be paid out of the estate, in order that Mrs. Evans might enjoy the annuity of 70*l.* left her by the will.

His lordship observed that he hoped this arrangement would tend to the reconciliation of the parties. It was his opinion that the defendant had not the slightest chance of success, and he should have felt bound, however reluctantly, to have condemned her in costs, if the plaintiff had applied for them.

The jury expressed their concurrence in his lordship's opinion.

The verdict was accordingly entered for the plaintiff, and probate of the will of December, 1856, was granted; the costs, by consent, to be paid out of the estate.



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OF  
PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDICINE  
AND  
MENTAL PATHOLOGY.

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OCTOBER 1, 1860.

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ART. I. — THE PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY CONCERN-  
ING LUNATICS.

THE Parliamentary inquiry touching the care and treatment of lunatics, after having been protracted over three sessions, has at length terminated. The Select Committee have reported, and we proceed at once to an examination of that Report, simply premising that, in the session which has just terminated, additional evidence was given by Mr. Bölden, Dr. Hood, Mr. Perceval, and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Mr. Joseph Elmer, attached to the office of the Masters in Lunacy, was also examined. The last-named gentleman gave evidence chiefly on the expenses connected with lunacy inquisitions: Mr. Bolden detailed the particulars of a case of unjust confinement in a private lunatic asylum. He also laid before the Committee certain estimates of the probable expenses of establishments for private patients in this country, framed upon the plan of the chartered asylums of Scotland. Dr. Hood offered sundry suggestions for the more effective carrying out of the inspection and care of lunatics; Mr. Perceval corrected and explained one or two points in the evidence he had previously tendered; and the Earl of Shaftesbury stated the advantages attached to the present constitution and method of working of the Lunacy Commission, pointed out the serious disadvantages which he conceived would arise if any radical changes were made in the formation of the Commission, and indicated a mode in which its executive capacity might be largely increased.

The Report commences by stating that the number of lunatics, using the word in its statutory sense (that is to say, "every person being an idiot or lunatic, or of unsound mind, though that

meaning will include many persons to whom the word is not strictly applicable"), "is very large, and it is to be feared that the number is still on the increase." Whether this number is increasing in a greater ratio than the increase of population, may, it is remarked, be doubtful; "as it should not be forgotten that old chronic cases, which were not formerly under supervision, have now, with the increase and improvement of public asylums, been since brought into them; and, in addition to this, the care of the patient is so much more efficient than it was before, that the annual mortality is considerably diminished, and the consequent longevity is considerably increased." (p. iii.) The Report then proceeds:—

"Until the year 1844, there were no data upon which an accurate opinion could be formed with reference to this important part of the subject; but since that year cases have been better looked up, and more closely attended to. Taking this as our starting-point, and comparing the number of patients on the 1st of January, 1844, with the number of patients on the 1st of January, 1858 and 1859, we find the following results:—

	1844.	1858.	1859.
Private patients in asylums, hospitals, and licensed houses . . . . .	3,790	4,612	4,762
Pauper lunatics and idiots in asylums, hospitals, and licensed houses . . . .	7,482	17,572	18,022
Pauper lunatics, and idiots in workhouses and with friends, &c. . . . .	9,339	13,163	13,208
Total . . . . .	20,611	35,347	35,982

There was, therefore, on the 1st of January, 1858 and 1859, as compared with the 1st of January, 1844, an increase of about 15,000, out of totals of 35,347 and 35,982; an increase apparently very great in proportion to the increase which has taken place in the population during the same period. But it should be borne in mind that in the return for 1844 many patients living with their friends as paupers were not included, there being no record of them at that period. After making allowance for the operation of the causes above referred to, it is to be feared that a large part of the increase must still be attributed to other causes. Taking the figures as they stand, it is a melancholy fact that out of every 600 people in England and Wales, one at least is in such a state that, in many respects, he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs. A vast proportion, no doubt, are cases either of natural idiocy or of mental imbecility arising from age, epilepsy, fits, and other causes, where the maladies may be regarded as chronic or incurable. With regard to them, little more can be done by any laws however wise, or any regulations however prudent, than to provide the patients with such comforts as their circumstances will admit; but with regard to others, since 50 or 60, or even 70 per cent. are capable of cure, if taken in time and carefully treated, it is cer-

tainly a matter of primary importance that our legislative provisions should be so framed as to promote the accomplishment of this desirable object." (pp. iii. iv.)

The provisions of the Acts of Parliament now in force which relate to lunatics in *public asylums* are next briefly recited, and the Report then states:—

"It appears from the evidence that these asylums are, generally speaking, so well looked after, and so carefully attended to, that, as regards them, but little alteration is required in the law. In some cases it may be a question whether they are not, in their structure, inconveniently large; whether the staff of attendants should not be increased; whether higher remuneration in some instances should not be given; and whether it might not be advisable to erect, in connexion with them, detached buildings, of a simple and inexpensive character, for the reception of imbecile and chronic patients. But these and the like matters require no alteration in the law, and may well be left to the visiting justices to regulate and determine, acting in communication with the Commissioners in Lunacy and the Secretary of State." (p. iv.)

The state of *lunatics confined in workhouses* is next considered. The number of these lunatics amounted, on the 1st of January, 1857, to 6800; and on the 1st of January, 1859, to 7632. The law relating to this class of lunatics, the Report states, "is certainly in a very unsatisfactory state." The Report then proceeds:—

"By the Poor Law Amendment Act the detention in any workhouse of 'any dangerous lunatic, insane person, or idiot,' for a longer period than fourteen days, is expressly prohibited; and the word 'dangerous' is read as applicable to each of the three classes of mentally disordered persons who are there mentioned. But with regard to those who are not dangerous, the statutory provisions are ambiguous. On the one hand, it seems to have been contemplated by the Legislature that all pauper lunatics should be sent to some asylum, registered hospital, or licensed house, under an order by a justice or justices; on the other hand, there are provisions in the same Act, and also in another Act of Parliament, passed in the same session, which seem to recognise, to a certain extent, the detention in workhouses of paupers deemed by law to be insane. The consequence is, that large numbers of pauper lunatics are kept in these houses without a certificate of their mental condition, and without an order from any magistrate regarding them as lunatics, although a large portion of such persons, especially in the rural districts, may be correctly described as harmless lunatics, who, if kept under a slight degree of supervision, are capable of useful and regular occupation, or whose infirmity of mind is consequent on epilepsy, or paralysis, or fatuity from old age. It cannot be denied that, with regard to those who are really lunatics, there is a great absence of proper supervision, attendance, and medical



treatment. In some workhouses there are not even separate wards; mechanical restraint is frequently applied, because the imperfect state of the accommodation will not admit of a better mode of treatment; in many cases the medical officers of a union cannot have the special knowledge requisite for the management of the insane; and it may generally be concluded, that the special appliances of a union workhouse are not by any means equivalent as to this class of inmates to those of a lunatic asylum.

"The state of the law on this branch of the subject appears to require amendment. Your Committee are not prepared to recommend that all these cases, without exception, should be removed to asylums; but they are of opinion that no person should be detained in a workhouse respecting whose sanity a doubt exists, without a medical certificate, renewable quarterly, stating that the patient is a proper patient to be kept in the workhouse; that there should, if possible, be distinct wards for such patients, with distinct attendance; that the guardians of the union should specially visit such patients once in each quarter, and make a special entry on each such visit of their state and condition; that the Commissioners should also visit them at least once in each year, and that the same power of removing any patient to an asylum should be given to the Commissioners as that which the justices now have." (p. v.)

The clauses of the Lunatic Asylums' Bill brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Walpole, and referred to the Select Committee on Lunatics in the first Session of 1859 are next considered, although the Bill has not been re-introduced. The object of the Bill was—

"To facilitate the union of certain boroughs to counties, where the lunatics in such boroughs are now sent, for want of an asylum, to great distances from their own immediate neighbourhood; to enable the Secretary of State, where two or more counties have agreed to unite, but cannot agree about the plans and estimates of the intended asylum, to determine for them what plans and estimates shall be proceeded with and carried into execution; to authorize the committee of visitors to hire or take on lease land or buildings, either for the employment or occupation of the patients in the asylum, or for the temporary accommodation of any pauper lunatics for whom the accommodation in the asylum is inadequate; to authorize the committee of visitors to pay or contribute such sum of money as the Commissioners in Lunacy shall approve, for or towards the enlargement of any churchyard or consecrated public burial-ground, that the lunatics dying in any asylum need not be buried within the precincts of that asylum, to which in many cases great objections are entertained; to alter the interpretation of the word county, so as not to include under that term the county of a city or the county of a town; and to provide that a pauper lunatic found in any borough which is exempt from contributing to the county asylum shall be chargeable to the borough, and not to the county, when the settlement of such pauper lunatic cannot be ascertained." (pp. v. vi.)

The Committee concur in the general expediency of these alterations, and add :—

“It would further seem desirable to reduce the time at which committees of visitors may grant superannuation allowances to their medical officers. Their duties are so peculiar, and such painful consequences are known to result from incessant intercourse with the various forms of this distressing disease, when prolonged for many years, that your Committee believe it would tend to greater efficiency of service, if the period which stands at present at 20 years, were reduced to 15. It would also be desirable that the name of some relation of the patient should be inserted in the order of admission of a pauper lunatic into an asylum, to whom, in the case of the death of such patient while in the asylum, notice should be sent.” (p. vi.)

The Acts of Parliament relating to lunatics in *private asylums* are now considered and their provisions briefly recapitulated. The Report then notices an opinion which had been submitted to the Committee that nothing short of the entire abolition of private asylums would be effectual in remedying their defects. The Report next refers to the recommendation of other witnesses, and particularly of Lord Shaftesbury, that “the magistrates should be empowered, if they think fit, to provide asylums by money raised on the security of the rates, for all classes of lunatics :”—

“The main reason for this suggestion is thus put by Lord Shaftesbury :—‘When I look into the whole matter,’ he says, ‘I see that the principle of profit vitiates the whole thing ; it is at the bottom of all those movements that we are obliged to counteract by complicated legislation, and if we could but remove that principle of making a profit, we should confer an inestimable blessing upon the middle classes, getting rid of half the legislation, and securing an admirable, sound, and efficient system of treatment of lunacy.’ Again, in answer to a question whether he would have those asylums in every part of the kingdom, as there are public asylums for paupers, he adds, ‘Yes ; these asylums would be quite free from all those vicious motives that have been referred to in the licensed houses.’ The examples which he would principally take as his guide are the chartered asylums dependent on charitable endowment, or private benefactions, in Scotland, of which there are seven, and the hospitals in England founded out of private funds, of which there are eleven.” (p. vii.)

Upon this question the Committee conclude—

“The establishment of asylums of this character deserves to be encouraged, if it could be effected by private contributions. But should a power be given to establish such asylums throughout the kingdom as public institutions, by money to be raised on the security of a rate, the apprehension of a burden to be imposed on the rate-payers would, in the opinion of your Committee, render such an enactment inoperative ; and they cannot recommend the establishment of them upon a compulsory system.” (p. vii.)



The Committee assumed that "it would not be possible to abolish altogether the private asylums, or licensed houses," and it therefore became "all the more important to consider in what manner they can best be regulated." The suggestions submitted to the Committee are considered under four different heads.

1st. *The Suitableness of the House for the Purpose for which it is licensed.*—The Report states that it is to be feared that several of the houses, both in the metropolis and the country, are not well suited for the purpose; but "many which are unsuitable have had licences for years past, which have given to the property an additional value, and, therefore, it is generally difficult to refuse a renewal of them." And this does not constitute the chief obstacle in the way of improvement. "The great and leading difficulty," the Report continues, "is to find proper persons to undertake the charge of such an establishment. The fittest men may not have the capital, or those who have the capital are not the fittest men. The consequence is, that licences are given or continued to some capitalist, upon the condition that he has under him a medical superintendent; but as the superintendent has not the same control as the proprietor of the house, there is a diminished, or at any rate a divided responsibility, which cannot be otherwise than prejudicial to good management."

These defects are perfectly well known to the Commissioners and the magistrates, and much care is being devoted to their removal; but the Committee think that some amendment of the law might be advantageously introduced. It is therefore suggested that,—

"Except in cases to be specially allowed by the visitors or Commissioners, the proprietor, or, in the case of a joint ownership, one of the proprietors, should, as regards future licences, be required by law to reside on the spot. Nothing can lead to greater abuses than that large proprietors should have three or four houses, and reside in none of them. As a general rule, the proprietor, or one of the proprietors, ought to reside; and where he is permitted to be non-resident, the appointment of the medical superintendent should be subject to the approval of the Commissioners or visitors, as the case may be." (p. viii.)

2nd. *The Circumstances under which the Patient may be placed under Restraint, and the Safeguards provided for the Propriety of his Confinement.*—This portion of the Report is too important to be curtailed.

"This is by far the most difficult part of the subject. It has been suggested that in all cases the alleged lunatic, before he is confined, should, as a matter of right, be entitled to have his case tried and decided by some magistrate; or, as it has been proposed in a more mitigated form, that the medical certificates of the alleged insanity should be inspected and verified before a magistrate; and that if the



magistrate was not satisfied with them, he should have the power of inquiring into the truth of the statement made, and of the necessity of the intended confinement. The exact nature of the former proposition, and the principal reasons upon which it is founded, are explained at length in the Second Report, in answer to question 179. The latter proposition would tend to assimilate the law of England to the law at present existing in Scotland. There, the certificates, with a statement regarding the case, signed by a relation of the party desiring the confinement, are sent to the sheriff of the county (the sheriff in Scotland being a judicial officer), who has to satisfy himself, either upon the mere examination of the parties, or, if he thinks proper, by a personal examination of the alleged lunatic, or by calling other evidence, that the alleged lunatic is a proper person to be detained and taken care of. The reasons assigned in favour of this proposition are thus stated by the witness in reply to the question, 'What evils would the course you recommend obviate?' The answer is, 'I think it would give greater security to the public, instead of having an examination after the confinement in an asylum, when the mischief has been done. If you once place a person in an asylum, there is a certain stigma which attaches to him, and which he never gets rid of, and upon persons of weak nerves it has a most prejudicial effect.'

"The two suggestions thus offered to your Committee involve a most important question. But it appears to your Committee, that if either of them were introduced and strictly acted upon, they would be likely to produce still greater evils than those which they profess to remedy. According to the evidence taken before your Committee, it is fully admitted that in a very large majority of cases there is *primâ facie* evidence to justify the confinement. Indeed, it may be said that the instances are extremely rare in which, under the present law, the confinement is or has been unwarranted. If that be so, the evil of acting on the present law without inquiry before a magistrate is more imaginary than real. But the evils arising from a change in that law by insisting on inquiry, when the parties desired it, would often lead to an unnecessary publicity, which it is for the interest of the patient, as well as his family, if possible, to avoid. Insanity under any shape is so fearful a malady, that the desire to withdraw it from the observation of the world is both natural and commendable. The reverse of this would in all instances be painful, and in many it would be cruel. A man in business may become affected with temporary insanity, brought on by over-exertion, mental anxiety, or physical ailment; but if he is early and properly treated, his recovery may be as quick as his seizure was sudden. What could be more injurious than a public inquiry in such cases as these? Where the insanity was undisputed, the inquiry would lead to no useful result, though the knowledge of the malady might be seriously prejudicial to the future prospects of the patient and his family. But when it was disputed, it is unnecessary to dwell on the various mischiefs which would instantly result from it; such, for instance, as the agitations caused to the patient's mind just at the moment when it was trembling on the balance; the injurious comments which might sometimes be made on his character and conduct; the

unnecessary exposure of private matters, which need not be brought, and which ought not to be brought before the public gaze, if, at least, it be possible to avoid it; the stigma or prejudice which might permanently attach to him and his children in the event of recovery; and frequently, it may be added, the grievous expense which such inquiries would entail, as they did in the case of Chancery lunatics, where inquiries were required, until recently, to be held before a jury. Nor should it be forgotten that the delay caused by reference to the magistrate, with a possible inquiry, to be instituted by him into the case, might prevent or retard the immediate treatment which is so requisite for the patient, and thereby tend to aggravate the malady. It ought also to be borne in mind that the sheriff in Scotland is a judicial officer and professionally conversant with legal matters, while a magistrate in England may have little experience in those subjects which, according to this plan, he might be called upon to determine. For these reasons your Committee are disinclined to adopt these suggestions. No doubt the conclusion thus arrived at introduces the further question, what then are the proper safeguards? For if there be even one person improperly confined, it is right to provide the amplest protection which the law can afford in order to prevent so deplorable a result.

“For providing this protection several things are necessary. *In the first place*, it is important that the medical certificate should be clear in its statement, and accurately framed. The whole justification for the patient's confinement depends on this document. The form of the certificate required by law appears to be sufficient; but your Committee are of opinion that some additional security should be taken for ensuring its accuracy. It is sometimes imperfectly filled up, and the patient is then placed under restraint on a document which does not legally justify his detention. Mr. Bolden's suggestion, that these certificates should be verified before a magistrate, so far only as to enable him to determine whether the Act had been complied with, would probably tend to greater caution in this behalf. It would operate as a check on too hasty a conclusion, and obviate the necessity of further examination, without impeding a proper confinement for the purposes of cure, and without entailing that painful publicity which on so many accounts it is desirable to avoid. This suggestion, when thus considered, deserves to be attended to. *In the second place*, your Committee recommend that the certificate authorizing the detention should be limited, in the first instance, to three months, and no more. It is now granted for an indefinite period; but if it were limited to three months in the first instance, ‘the effect would be,’ as Lord Shaftesbury observes, ‘to compel a revision of the case by the family or friends; the relations would be obliged to look again into the matter, as they would know, in all probability, if they did not do so, the patient would be returned upon their hands.’ *In the third place*, the order for receiving the patient into the asylum with which the medical certificates are accompanied, should state the time when the person signing it had last seen the patient; and such order should not be effective unless the applicant had himself seen the patient within three months of his signing the order. A case has been brought to the notice of your Committee,



where the party applying had not seen the patient for two years, and another where he had not seen him for six times that period. *In the fourth place*, a copy of the order and of the medical certificates upon which the patient is confined should be sent to the Commissioners within twenty-four hours, instead of within seven days, as at present, in order that their attention may be immediately called to any irregularity in these documents; and *in the fifth place*, the patient should, as soon as possible, be visited by the Commissioners, or by some persons acting directly under their authority; so that the patient should have the fullest opportunity of stating his complaints, if he has any to make, and that if he should appear to be improperly confined, immediate means should be taken for his release. A provision of this kind has been sometimes objected to by the proprietors of asylums, upon the ground that it implies suspicion and undue distrust. But the confinement of a person is too serious a matter to allow any feeling of that kind to interfere with the protection which is due to the patient. Moreover; in those asylums which are well-conducted the proprietors have nothing whatever to fear, and asylums which are ill-conducted ought to be controlled. Undoubtedly it is true that, as above shown, the cases in which persons have been improperly confined are extremely rare; but one has happened within the last twelve months. In this case it turned out, when the facts were heard, that the supposed delusion was not a delusion, and the patient was released as soon as visited by the Commissioners. But before that happened, the confinement had lasted for six weeks." (pp. viii.—x.)

3rd. *The Care and Treatment of the Patient while he remains in the Asylum.*—The Committee think that a recommendation of the Commissioners in Lunacy, to the effect that it should be "made compulsory upon the friends of all private patients, whether in mixed, private, and pauper asylums, registered hospitals, or licensed houses, or under separate care as single patients, to visit them, or delegate some one to visit them periodically, and ascertain by personal inspection the accommodation and comforts provided for them," well deserves consideration, "though there may be some practical difficulty in giving full effect to it." (p. x.)

It is suggested also that "the *prima facie* right both of receiving visits and also of corresponding should be secured to the patients, and should never be refused by the authorities, except on specified grounds; and in that case patients or friends should be at liberty to appeal to the visitors or Commissioners, as the case may be, against such refusal." It is further suggested that power should be given to the Commissioners and visitors "of ordering the temporary discharge, upon trial, of a patient in a private asylum"—a power which the visitors already possess in the case of patients in county asylums. It is added, however, that "a power of this kind, if it be conferred, should of course be exercised with extreme caution." (p. xi.)



4th. *The Restoration of the Patient to Liberty as soon as his Case will with safety admit of it.*—The Report states that “it would be an improvement in the law, and an additional protection and security to the patient, if the notice of recovery which is sent to the Commissioners or visitors after a fourteen days’ interval, were required to be sent simultaneously with the notice of recovery which is sent to the relations. Such a requirement would secure attention, prevent delay, and enable the Commissioners at once to act in case of neglect.” (p. xi.)

The subject of “*Patients in Single Houses*” is next entered upon, and the Committee consider that “it is very desirable that some provision should be made for the superintendence of this class of cases; and there is no better mode of enforcing such a provision than by making it penal for any medical man to receive any such patient without apprising the Commissioners of it. This would place such patients under authority and supervision.” (p. xi.)

In respect of *Chancery Lunatics*, the Report, after reciting the advantages derived from the Lunacy Regulation Act of 1853, states that there is one point which is still capable of further improvement. “By the law as it now stands, the Master has the power of summoning a jury if he think that the circumstances require it; but, before he does so, he must go through the whole case. It is clearly advisable that the power of the Master should in this respect be extended; for the preliminary investigation, to a great extent, is useless, and occasions delay and expense.” (p. xiii.)

Again, one of the improvements advantageously introduced by the Regulation Act of 1853, was the doing away with the necessity of a special order of reference to the Master in each stage of the case. The Report states that—

“In consequence of this alteration in the law, and the general orders in lunacy issued in pursuance of it, the saving of expenses has been very considerable. In many respects there is reason to believe that this saving may be carried still further; and if the power of making general orders for that purpose is not sufficient, there can be no reason why it should not be enlarged. The cost even of an unopposed application to the Court is about 20*l.*: it would be much less if an original jurisdiction in other cases, besides those which now exist, were given to the Masters. Mr. Barlow recommends, that with regard to leases of the lunatics’ property, as well as with regard to the sums allowed for the maintenance of the lunatic, and the mode in which those sums are applied, original jurisdiction might be given to the Master, without the necessity of going to the Court. Mr. Elmer concurs in these recommendations, and he points out other cases in which a similar course might be adopted; such, for instance, as the transfer into Court of money belonging to the lunatic’s estate. Mr. Elmer also concurs in the following suggestions, which have been submitted to the Committee

by Mr. Enfield, and they appear to the Committee to be worthy of adoption—viz. 1. To assimilate the powers of the Masters in Lunacy to those of the chief clerks in Chancery. 2. To give the Masters the opportunity of oral communication with the superior judges when any explanation is required, or any pending inquiries, in the same way in which explanations take place between the chief clerk and the Vice-Chancellor. 3. To devolve on the Master the duties of seeing that committees of the person are only allowed so much each year as they actually expend in the maintenance of the lunatics, giving the Masters liberty to allow salaries to committees when they see reason; and, 4. To make periodical returns to the Lord Chancellor of the condition of every case under the charge of the Lord Chancellor as regards committees, their accounts, and their sureties.” (p. xiii.)

Further, the Committee suggest that the duty of visiting Chancery lunatics should be transferred to the Commissioners in Lunacy, “so that in all cases there should be one supervision and one mode of treatment, with all the appliances which the best and most recent experience could afford, applicable to all the lunatics in the kingdom.” (p. xiii.)

The evils which appertain to the present mode of dealing with *Criminal Lunatics*, the Committee conceive will be removed when the State Asylum, now in course of erection at Broadmoor, is opened for the reception of this class of patients. It is recommended, however, that the Commissioners of Lunacy should be required to visit the State Asylum; the Report adding that—

“The extended supervision will be a new guarantee for its good management, while it will assist the Secretary of State to determine in what way the cases shall be dealt with, according as circumstances may justify a partial or total restoration to liberty. On a subject so delicate and difficult as this, a large and continuous discretionary power must be somewhere reposed, and there can hardly be a doubt that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the proper person in whom such power should be vested. It would not be advisable to limit his power by provisions unduly strict and specific, since this class of cases, more than all others, requires to be dealt with in the most exceptional manner, according to the circumstances which at the time are or may be applicable to each of them.” (p. xv.)

The *Composition and Power of the Lunacy Commission* are next considered. The Committee think that, if their recommendations are carried into effect, some alteration in the law as regards the Commission would be required. The Report states that—

“If the visitation of the Chancery lunatics and single patients, and an additional visitation of workhouses and private asylums is required of the Commissioners, increased facilities will be necessary for the discharge of this class of duties. This object might to a certain extent be obtained by enabling a single Commissioner, whether paid or unpaid, to perform the additional duties required, even if it should be thought



essential that each of the existing statutory visits should be made by two paid Commissioners. Your Committee cannot but feel some doubt whether it will be in the power of the Board, as at present constituted, efficiently to discharge the increased duties to be entrusted to it. But as they collect from the evidence of the Chairman that the Commissioners themselves are of opinion that they could do so without any permanent addition either to their number or their staff, your Committee have abstained from recommending, without proof of its necessity, that such addition should be made, and also from considering, as in that case it would have been right to do, in what manner any such addition could best be provided." (p. xv.)

It is also recommended "that all the Acts of Parliament relating to this subject should be consolidated in three statutes; one with reference to public asylums, another with reference to private asylums, and another with reference to Chancery lunatics; and that the amendment suggested in the Report should be incorporated in the consolidated statute." (p. 15.)

Finally, the Committee direct particular attention to several minor alterations, which, although not specifically noticed by them, have been suggested in the evidence and papers laid before the Committee by Messrs. Bolden,\* Campbell,† Parnell,‡ and Enfield.§

Such, then, is an abstract of the Select Committee's Report, and we propose now briefly to consider the recommendations it embodies, regarding these chiefly from a point of view suggested at the very outset of the Report. "With regard to [more acute cases of lunacy]" the Committee state, "since 50, or 60, or even 70 per cent. are capable of cure, if taken in time, and carefully treated, it is certainly a matter of *primary importance that our legislative provisions should be so framed as to promote the accomplishment of this desirable object.*" (p. iv.) To what extent has this initial proposition influenced the deliberations and conclusions of the Committee?

I.—It is tolerably evident that a knowledge of the status of lunacy in the kingdom would have facilitated the labours of the Committee in coming to any decisions upon the requirements of lunatics. If the number of lunatics still at large among the population, and their civil and social condition, were accurately or approximatively known, it is to be supposed that the great problem of further provision for our insane, and of the legislative interference which might be requisite for promoting or carrying out that provision, could be approached with some prospect of solution. Conversely, in the absence of such information as that suggested, it may be assumed, without much fear of contradiction,

\* First Report, Queries 3077—3200.

† Second Report, Appendix No. 1.

‡ Second Report, Appendix No. 3.

§ Second Report, Appendix Nos. 3, 4, 5.



that the most conscientiously devised measures for the relief of lunacy must be empirical.

Now, the figures made use of by the Committee to show the status of lunacy in the kingdom, simply make manifest the accumulation of lunatics in our asylums and the number of pauper lunatics. That is, these figures show solely the amount of lunacy thrown up to the surface of society, but give no information whatever of the amount at large, or of the sources from which the mass of lunatics now subsisting on public charity come. Nay, more, even the statistics laid before and made use of by the Committee, although exhibiting a serious increase of lunatics under charge from year to year, are so imperfectly prepared, that it is impossible to determine from them the relation of the increase to the population at large; that is, whether that increase be real or apparent. The Committee think that the great increase of known lunacy from year to year since 1844, is chiefly due to the fact, that the tendency of legislation and philanthropy since that period has been to bring hitherto neglected cases to light. This may probably be the case, but the question is one which can be, and surely ought to be, for the future, determined by a rightly ordered system of statistics.

Further, the history of our public asylums and their present condition—that is, in so far as they are principally refuges for chronic lunatics—would seem to show that the substratum of neglected cases of lunacy in the kingdom is far from being exhausted; another consideration marking the extreme importance of ascertaining the number and condition of what may be termed our floating population of lunatics.

It will hardly be denied that the deficiencies in our knowledge which we have just indicated, place an almost insuperable bar to our dealing effectively with nascent and early lunacy among the mass of the population, and restrict our curative efforts within very narrow limits. It is, therefore, with the most painful surprise that we find the Committee making use of the highly imperfect statistics laid before them without comment. We had hoped, so patent was the insufficiency of those statistics for all practical, curative, and preventive purposes, that the Committee would have strongly urged upon the Commissioners of Lunacy and the Government the importance of a complete revision, or rather reform, of the statistics of lunacy. We had hoped, also, that the Committee would have seen the propriety of recommending that the status of lunacy should be made a special subject of investigation in the census of 1861; and we believe that a lamentable error has been committed by the omission of such a recommendation, which will be severely felt before the census of 1871. We are aware that many question whether a census-investigation of lunacy in this

country would have led to any trustworthy results. We see no just reason to doubt that it would have been less successful in England in 1861 than such an investigation was in Ireland in 1851, and that it is expected to be again in that country in the approaching census. The census of 1861 offered an early and fitting means of determining approximatively the amount of lunacy, and the civil condition of lunatics in the kingdom. It would have given the very elements, the want of which, more than those of any other elements, most impedes our dealing satisfactorily with the practical question of future provision for our lunatics—to wit, the amount and condition of lunatics at large among the population. Yet this question was immediately brought home to the consideration of the Committee (although, sooth to say, passed over unheeded) by the details laid before them, which showed that the present and prospective asylum accommodation among us was barely sufficient to meet the imperative wants of our lunatics, *leaving entirely out of the question the seven thousand and odd lunatics provided for in workhouses.*

The neglect of this question by the Committee will rivet for another period that unfortunate, yet, under present circumstances, almost necessary system which seems to govern the erection of our public asylums—a system which makes them little better than reservoirs for the reception of our surplus lunacy; a system which reduces their curative influence to a minimum; a system which would be paralleled by an attempt to stop the flow of a river, by damming it up where it enters the sea. If we would hope to influence markedly the development of lunacy by curative measures, we shall have to penetrate first towards the more remote sources of the disease among the mass of the people. Those sources are still hidden in darkness; but as we feel our way towards them, we may rest assured that our opportunities for nipping lunacy in the bud will increase in proportion as we advance, while at the same time we shall lay securely under foot the foundations of a sound system of prevention. The first step in such an investigation must be an attempt to ascertain, either by means of a census inquiry or by some other means, the general status of lunacy in the kingdom. This being ascertained, the ground would be clearly mapped out for those further researches, which would be requisite to probe the questions bearing upon the evolution of lunacy among the people to the core.

It is too commonly imagined that an inquiry into the status of lunacy would lead to little else than the results which immediately come from it, and that the practical value of these would not be commensurate with the expense and trouble of the inquiry. This is an error. The ultimate results of the inquiry would be of greater value than the immediate; for they would form the basis



for the further and thorough investigation of the conditions fostering lunacy, and, consequently, pave a secure way to the practical dealing with those conditions.

II. Keeping to the text adopted from the Report, it is somewhat puzzling to read that the Committee, "from the evidence" tendered to it, has concluded that our public asylums "are, generally speaking, so well looked after and so carefully attended to, that, as regards them, but little alteration is required in the law." If this exceedingly favourable opinion refers simply to the routine management of the asylums, we could concur in it without hesitation; but if it is meant in any degree to imply that they are to be regarded, in their present state, as models of institutions for the curative treatment of insanity, the conclusion cannot but be regarded as running somewhat counter to the evidence.

It was shown that the tendency of local governing bodies to erect huge buildings, and crowd them with patients, as in the case of Colney Hatch and Hanwell, notwithstanding that all experience had proved that such structures were ill-adapted to the curative treatment of the insane, could not be controlled by the Commissioners in Lunacy, or even the Secretary of State, short of forbidding the construction altogether, if the local governing powers were pleased to carry out their own fancies. It was shown that of 1000 patients in the Hanwell Asylum, not more than 50 could be spoken of as "curable;" and the Chairman of the Committee of Visitors to the Colney Hatch Asylum stated that, "as at Hanwell, the proportion at Colney Hatch supposed to be susceptible of cure is very much the same;" adding, "it must be remembered that we are an asylum rather than an hospital. We are an hospital only in occasional instances, an asylum always." The evidence also went to show that the condition of these two asylums represented, more or less, the condition of almost every public asylum in the country. It was shown, moreover, that the medical and general staff of the majority of public asylums was insufficient for that effective medical and general care of the patients which was essential to their effective curative treatment. In fact, the evidence clearly indicated that, as *hospitals*, our public asylums hold a position lamentably low, compared with the means at their command.

There was no lack of information in the evidence of the causes of this unfortunate state of our great asylums. These might be chiefly traced to erroneous (as we think) notions of economy on the part of the governing bodies, and to the still too prevalent notion among these bodies that an asylum is not necessarily a medical institution. This latter idea is no doubt correct of the original constitution of the majority of our public asylums, but experience has taught us that so long as asylums are regarded



primarily as refuges, and only secondarily as hospitals, for the care of the insane, so long the popular aversion to these "lunatic prisons" will be kept up. There can be little doubt that it rests mainly with the governing bodies of public asylums to give to them an entirely medical, and in so far house-of-recovery aspect, and that they have the power to do this. It is certain that *an asylum will never and can never become an hospital for the cure of lunacy, and will never be regarded by the public at large as such, until it becomes a strictly medical institution.*

Few things in the whole course of the official evidence given before the Committee, will exert a more harmful effect than the inconsiderate expressions of opinion tending to depreciate the position of the medical man in relation to lunacy. Such a notion, authoritatively stated, cannot but serve to confirm local governing bodies in their comparative indifference to the curative treatment of the patients in public asylums; and as a consequence will tend in no small degree to perpetuate the idea, which offers so great an impediment to the early reception of patients from among the poor—to wit, that an asylum is a house of detention, not of cure.

Be this as it may, however, the expression of opinion by the Committee, so highly favourable to the present state of our public asylums, and insufficiently guarded by the remarks which follow, can hardly fail to protract a state of things which, according to the evidence before the Committee, was most unfavourable, and in some respects altogether repellant, of the early treatment of cases of lunacy.

It may be that the deficiencies in our public asylums which we have hinted at were not of a nature to be removed by legal enactments. Upon this point we shall offer no opinion; but, after the Committee had asserted the "primary importance" of the early treatment of insanity, it was but just to the House of Commons and the public that the inaptitude of our public asylums to afford that early treatment, and the causes of that inaptitude, should have been fully set forth in the Report.

III. The suggestions of the Committee respecting lunatics detained in workhouses are very important, and will doubtless be carried into effect; but in so far as that detention may interfere with the early treatment of lunatics, it is to be feared that the suggestions would only yield very partial relief, until the deficiencies in our public asylums, already noted, are in a great degree done away with.

The suggestion that the time at which committees of visitors may grant superannuation allowances to their medical officers should be reduced from twenty to fifteen years, is a just acknowledgment of the arduous duties of those men, and we trust will

pass into law. We hope also that the strongly-expressed opinions of the Commissioners in Lunacy, examined before the Committee, on the insufficiency of the medical officers' salaries, will not fall to the ground. The important services rendered by the medical superintendents of asylums, often under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, and the heavy responsibility resting upon them, are as yet but ill-appreciated by the public.

4. The opinion expressed by the Committee on the so-called middle-class asylums, so far as that opinion would imply the desirability of founding asylums which would meet the wants of a class of cases inadequately provided for by existing asylums, is a just one. But the quotation of Lord Shaftesbury's abstract reasoning in favour of the establishment of such asylums, to wit, that they are free from all those evils which the "principle of profit" has introduced into, and which, he conceives, utterly vitiates the management of private asylums, will be apt to lead to the conclusion that the Committee approved of that reasoning. If this were the case, then it would seem that the evidence tendered before the Committee on the working of the chartered asylums of Scotland (the type of middle-class asylum which Lord Shaftesbury would introduce into England), by one of the Scotch Commissioners in Lunacy, must have been to no small extent, if not entirely, unheeded by the Committee.

Dr. Coxe's evidence was sufficient to show that Lord Shaftesbury's statements concerning the value of the system of chartered asylums, and its freedom from the evils which he asserted were inseparably attached to the system of private asylums in England, were, to say the least, exaggerated. The opinions of the Scotch Commissioners in Lunacy as recorded in their last (second) Annual Report, is conclusive on this point. The question is altogether so important, that we shall not hesitate to quote here the opinions referred to, notwithstanding that we have already quoted them in a previous number of the Journal, when reviewing the Report named. The Scotch Lunacy Commissioners state that:—

"During the past year the condition of the public asylums has, on the whole, continued to improve, although, in several respects, it falls considerably below the standard of English county asylums. But, in making this comparison, we must direct attention to the fact, that in one essential respect the Scotch asylums do not occupy nearly so favourable a position as those of England. In the latter country, the necessary funds are raised by assessment; and an asylum, calculated to afford accommodation for all the patients of the county, and supplied with all the necessary appliances, is at once provided. Should this accommodation be afterwards found insufficient, a further assessment is made and additional buildings are erected. In Scotland, on the other hand, the directors of the public asylums possess no compul-



sory powers of raising funds. The houses have been built with money derived from legacies, charitable donations, and subscriptions; and their extension chiefly provided for by the payments made for patients. The cost of the original building, and its subsequent extension, have thus both been defrayed from uncertain sources; and a considerable portion of the payments for patients has been diverted from the more legitimate object of providing for the proper treatment and comfort of those on whose account they were made, into furnishing accommodation for others. In this way, a large proportion of the public asylum accommodation in Scotland has been provided from moneys levied directly on the friends of the insane, by making the payments on their account considerably exceed the expenditure, instead of by the fairer course of assessing the community. This procedure is well illustrated by the history of the Dundee Asylum. A sum, amounting to 7706*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, having been raised by charitable contributions, the asylum was erected at a cost of 8493*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.* Accordingly, when opened for the reception of patients in 1820, a debt had been contracted of 786*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.* In 1859 the sum expended on land and buildings had increased to 35,262*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*, of which sum 5640*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* had been obtained through further charitable contributions, and 4144*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* had been borrowed. It thus appears that during the 39 years which have elapsed since the opening of the asylum, the patients have contributed 17,771*l.* 2*s.* 4½*d.* beyond the cost of their maintenance; and this sum has been spent, not for the special benefit of these patients, but in providing accommodation for the district. In other words, a public want has been supplied from the private funds of those who, perhaps, of all the community were least able to afford the sacrifice." (p. lii.)

Of the celebrated Crichton Institution, at Dumfries, it is said :—

"The plan of the building of the Crichton Institution is such that many of the galleries must necessarily have a dark and gloomy appearance; nevertheless, they are capable of being rendered much more cheerful than they are. There is especially room for improvement of the furniture, in which there is a pervading barrenness, both in quantity and quality, throughout the establishment. It is greatly objected to private asylums that the principle of profit is allowed to interfere with the comforts of the patients; but in the present case, it appears that the necessity of providing funds for the extension of the pauper departments of the asylum is permitted to swallow up an undue share of the payments made for private patients. The apartments of the highest class of patients, though comfortably furnished in essential respects, are scarcely fitted in accordance with the previous habits of the patients, or their position in society; but it is in the lower galleries that the want of articles necessary even for comfort is most apparent, the flagged day-rooms there having neither matting nor carpeting. The lowest rate at which patients are now admitted is 50*l.* a-year." (p. lviii.)



That which is true of the Crichton Institution is also true, to a greater or less extent, of the other chartered asylums of Scotland.

Here then we see (1) that the accommodation provided for the patients in the best Scotch chartered asylums barely equals that provided in the inferior English private asylums, while (2) it is authoritatively stated that a "considerable portion of the payments for patients has been diverted from the more legitimate object of providing for the proper treatment and comfort of those on whose account they were made, into furnishing accommodation for others." Thus it would be easy to show, if we were to adopt Lord Shaftesbury's style of argument, that the "principle of economy" vitiates the whole system of our public asylums, Scotch and English, whether chartered or not; and it would be no difficult task to parade reasons in abundance, seemingly utterly condemnatory of the pecuniary principles governing the working of public asylums, and from the evils arising from the "principle of economy" erect a portentous argument tending to prove that nothing short of the entire abolition of public asylums would destroy those evils. But we are wearied with the reiteration in a grave inquiry of the wretched sophism of the "principle of profit." Each class of asylums (both Scotch and English) has its special advantages, each its peculiar evils. To foster the one and ameliorate or remove the other is the teaching of ordinary prudence; but to attempt to effect this by elevating inordinately, and at the expense of sober fact, the advantages of the one at the expense of the other, must prove as futile in the end, and as injurious in the process, as the efforts of that ingenious individual who sought to lengthen his cloth by adding to the one end that which he had cut off the other.

To the suggestions offered by the Committee for the improvement of the law regulating private asylums, no serious objection will probably be offered. These suggestions do not partake of that vexatious and intermeddling character which too frequently characterized the opinions advanced by several of the witnesses, while at the same time they would, if carried into effect, ensure increased care in the confinement of lunatics, and consequently give greater confidence in this respect to the public. The suggestion that "the patient should as soon as possible be visited by the Commissioners, or by some persons acting under their authority," would alone, perhaps, lead to some difficulty in being carried out, and it is not to be forgotten that this suggestion was originally offered by the Commissioners in Lunacy "only as an expedient, with a view of satisfying public feeling, and not with any hope that it would be really effective."\* The Committee

\* Report 1, Qy. 81.

rightly state that cases of improper confinement are extremely rare, and it is to be regretted that the solitary case referred to by them was not more fully investigated, so that the possibility of misapprehension might have been put out of the question. We cannot overlook the fact that Mr. Perceval directed the attention of the Committee to a supposed case of unjust confinement, and that on a further examination of the case by the Committee, it was found that that gentleman was labouring under an egregious misconception.\* It would have been well to have removed the possibility of doubt from the case recorded by Mr. Bolden.

5. The suggestions respecting patients in single houses, Chancery lunatics, and the Commission, need no comment other than a general approval; those respecting criminal lunatics have already been carried into effect by an Act passed in the session just terminated, and of which an abstract is given on another page.

If now, in concluding these observations, we ask, still keeping chiefly to our text, to what extent the protracted inquiry, conducted by the Select Committee, is likely to promote the earlier and more efficient treatment of lunatics, we are compelled to answer, to little if any. Throughout the whole of the inquiry the chief question has been the protection of the lunatic from unjust restraint, *not from the sad disease from which he suffers*. The lunatic has been persistently regarded as an unfortunate being, constantly subject to unjustifiable control; but only incidentally looked upon as an individual suffering from a curable disorder. If the latter has not been entirely overlooked, it has only been influential so far as to prevent the Committee concurring in suggestions which would add other difficulties to those already existing in the way of the earlier treatment of lunatics. The growing importance of the early and earlier treatment of lunacy was made most clearly manifest in the course of the inquiry, as is very obvious from the text with which we have headed our comments; *yet the question of the possibility of facilitating this early treatment without at the same time weakening the legal protection extended to the unfortunate was never touched upon*. Had it been so, the utter insufficiency of the data before the Committee would at once have become apparent, and the necessity for a complete inquiry into the status and fostering causes of lunacy, previous to further legislation upon the subject, would have been too evident to have been set aside. The hints derivable from the inquiry instituted by the Commissioners in Lunacy, into the condition of lunatics in



workhouses, should, however, at least have been sufficient to have directed the attention of the Committee to the necessity of more accurate information as to the fostering causes of lunacy among the poorer classes of the population. That inquiry showed a state of things tending to the perpetuation of lunacy among the poor such as had not previously been dreamt of, and which can at once be met by legislation.

We do not for a moment underrate the importance of protecting the lunatic as much as may be practicable from unjust confinement or improper treatment, and so far as the present inquiry will help to secure that result, without casting additional impediments in the way of his medical treatment, we accept the issue as of importance. At the same time we accord no small praise to the cautious manner with which the Committee have dealt with the evidence submitted to them; but we protest against the mode in which, throughout the inquiry, the medical care of the lunatic has been regarded as almost entirely subsidiary to his legal. Had the evidence even shown that the popular belief in the too frequently unjust detention and improper treatment of the insane had been to some extent correct—a belief which, by the way, gave rise to the inquiry, but which the evidence clearly showed to be almost entirely without foundation, in so far as asylums were concerned—this depreciation of the relation of medicine to lunacy would have been an unjustifiable wrong to the lunatic. How much greater then is the injury to the insane when the depreciation is persisted in, after the circumstances which were supposed to justify it, are proved, upon the evidence of those who have chiefly supported and fostered it, to be without any just foundation? If the care and treatment of lunacy are to become *dilettanti* affairs, well and good; but if they are to be looked upon as involving the prevention and cure of lunacy, and that for these purposes a knowledge of lunacy in all its bearings is required, then so long as legislators and philanthropists will deal solely with those questions bearing upon the subject which are obtruded to the surface, so long will inquiries, such as the Parliamentary one just ended, prove abortive in all that more immediately concerns the interest of the nascent or actual lunatic—his CURE.

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ART. II.—ON THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES,  
CONSIDERED WITH RELATION TO THE AMELIORATION OF RACES BY  
EDUCATION AND INTERMARRIAGE.\*

By A. BRIERRE DE BOISMONT.

(Translated from the French by H. J. Manning, Esq.)

WHEN I took up my pen to write the history of hallucinations, my wish was to enter a protest against the scientific opinion which makes Socrates, Pascal, Joan of Arc, and many others, downright madmen. The motive which sends me into the lists now is the instinctive repugnance which I feel to the doctrine of the inequality of races. I find it impossible, indeed, to look upon all the inhabitants of the different countries of the earth otherwise than as members of the same family. Isolation, misery, famine, conquest, emigration, ignorance, &c., have modified original types, made them stationary, retarded or even degenerated them; but the attentive observer perceives that it only wants devotedness and will to remedy this state of things. Examples abound to prove that colonies, apparently the least favoured, may be raised from their apparent decay, either by the aid of social relations, or by means of intermixture. Such will be the object of this work.

Writers have supposed that they have found a decisive argument, from having seen in the bazaars of Cairo or Damascus, the colossal Circassian; the Egyptian, of shorter stature and arched nose; the Nubian, of the colour of violet, but with an agreeable face, the nose short and small, the teeth fine and even; the Turk, with white and transparent skin; the Negro, with crisp hair, flat nose, high cheek-bones; the Fellah, olive-coloured; the Bedouin, almost as black as the Nubian, but of tall stature, aquiline nose, and royal mien. Recalling this quotation from an illustrious naturalist, the author of the *Plurality of Races*, who promises to bear worthily his father's name, adds: "And yet all these men, so opposite to one another, live and have lived for centuries at the distance of a few leagues, and almost under the same sky!"

We might remark that the geographical distance of most of these people from one another is not so inconsiderable as M. Pouchet thinks. We might also add that he has grouped in this picture only the extremes of each type; but we prefer answering

\* Read before the Société Médicale du Pantheon, 14 March, 1860, *apropos* of a discussion upon the different races of mankind, occasioned by "the remarkable work" of M. Hipp. Lamarche, *La Politique et les Religions, Etudes d'un Journaliste* (Paris, 1859), one of the chief arguments of which is summed up by the author in these terms: "I believe with our great masters in the unity of the human species, in the superiority of the Caucasian race, shown by continual progress, and in the possible amelioration of races less thoroughly distributed by intermixture with our own."

him by a similar group of the different peoples of the European race. Examine the German, the Russian, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, and you will be struck by the difference in feature, language, and habits presented by each of these races. Nay more: the same country will offer the most striking dissimilitude between its different divisions. To quote but one example of this—the Piedmontese could not be mistaken for a Neapolitan. Yet who would dispute the common origin of all these nations?

These preliminaries set forth, we have only now to lay down our arguments.

An examination of the physical, physiological, and psychological characteristics of our species—such is the plan to which I have limited myself; yet I do not hesitate to confess that, as I advanced in the study of the question, my own inefficiency alarmed me, and that, but for the engagement I had entered into with the Society to which for some time I have had the honour of belonging, I should have abandoned the task. When I saw among the adversaries of the unity of the human species such men as Linneus, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Richard Owen, and other names full of energy, youth, and science, I felt that I had nothing new to show, and that my inquiries could only be analytical and critical, which placed me in a marked degree of inferiority; but led on by my philosophical convictions, fortified by certain anthropological observations, calling to my help Blumenbach, Cuvier, Humboldt, Flourens, and Professor Godron (of Nancy), who has written a book\* rich in facts, and from which I have borrowed extensively, I followed up my undertaking; and it is the result of my labour which I present to the Society, and for which I claim every indulgence.

A circumstance which I had frequently observed, and which all medical men may observe, had also predisposed me in favour of the unity of the human race. Nothing is more common than to find in the same family handsome, well-made children, and others ugly and ill-formed. The configuration of the cranium offers sometimes the most opposite shapes. The colour of the skin is often variable. By the side of the fairest skins are seen others of yellow or brown tint, approaching almost to the foreign type. The difference in intellect is not less decided: the highest qualifications spring up in all their brilliancy side by side with the most confirmed idiocy. Yet no one outside the circle in which they are produced takes it into his head to seek for an explanation of dissimilarities in appearance so alarming. Why should the human species escape this great family law?

\* *De l'Espèce et des Races dans les Êtres Organisés, et spécialement de l'Unité du Genre Humain.* Two vols. Paris, 1859.



Doubtless the four principal races among whom the world is divided—the white, the black, the tawny, and the red—present numerous differences; but there is one primitive law which must not be lost sight of, and that is the reproduction of all these races, one by another. This physiological fact, laid down by Buffon, and demonstrated by M. Flourens, is now incontrovertible, and constitutes the species. Whatever analogy is presented by certain species, however possible their intermixture may be, sterility is sooner or later the result. Other considerations of the highest importance may be summoned in favour of the unity of the human race.

A profound study of secondary meteorological influences, of the important influence exercised by the mode of life, of profound modifying causes, of inheritance, of amalgamation, of all the circumstances which go to form customs, habits, religious laws, and the moral aspect of a people, explains the repeated varieties to be observed in the physical characteristics and intellectual development of a people, and leads to the recognition of but one family in these men of such different colour and appearance.

This doctrine of the unity of the human race, one of the most beautiful ornaments of Christianity and philosophy (the proof of which is, that it has caused barbarity and cruelty, formerly permanent, to be acts instantaneously and momentarily branded): this doctrine penetrates the conscience little by little; and, in spite of the opposition it encounters, we foretel the time when it will become the code of humanity.

We are well aware that it seems at first sight difficult, not to say impossible, to place on the same level, and to consider as belonging to the same family, the fair-skinned Caucasian type, with its oval face, broad forehead, Greek profile, aquiline nose, and straight front teeth, and the Negro type, with its black skin, frizzled hair, receding head, narrowed at the top, and long jaw-bone. But this parallel is a style of argument which is merely begging the question. We have taken the two extremes of beauty and ugliness, and left in the background the intermediate series which unites the two ends of the chain.

Let us take the most striking difference, viz., the colour. Certainly nothing could be more opposite than the ebony black of the Negro of the Guinea coast, and the rosy white of the European. But, according to Dr. Charles Livingstone,\* one of the most able explorers of Africa, this hideous colour, commonly placed as a sign outside a tobacco shop, only exists among the lowest class of the population. During his extensive wanderings across Central Africa he has noticed the black tinged with olive,

\* Livingstone: *Explorations dans l'Afrique Australe*, ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais. Par Mme. Loreau. Paris, 1859.



the olive tint less deep, the bronze tint, and the coffee colour; the black colour is specially marked in the districts which are hot and damp. Prichard has remarked that there are tribes in Africa with a brown skin, with chocolate colour, or simply sunburnt—(3rd edit. vol. ii. p. 158). Schreber declares that there are in Africa and Madagascar yellow Negroes and red Negroes with the same kind of hair.\* And, lastly, Prichard points out the “Gallas Edjows” as almost white, though living under the equator.

If we confine ourselves to this fact, this fair colouring of the Negro may appear astonishing, but it is not peculiar to this race. The Touaregs, pirates of the Sahara, are white in certain countries, according to General Daumas, and it is not even very rare to meet among them fair-complexioned women with blue eyes.† In other districts, according to Heeren, they have the tawny and even black skin, without the crisp hair or the features of the Negro. These Touaregs only marry among themselves. Lastly, Abel de Rémusat reports that here are in the provinces of Central China women of fair complexion with the same varieties of tint that are seen among the women of Central Europe.‡

More recent documents, published by Baron H. Aucapitaine, and inserted in the *Revue et Magasin de Zoologie*, give the following information respecting the colouring of the skin among the Negroes of Kabylia:—

“M. d’Abaddie, known by his travels in Abyssinia, has just addressed to M. Quatrefages§ a letter relating to a very curious anthropological fact, viz., the effect of an exclusively animal diet upon the colour of Negroes. The learned French traveller tells us that in the south of Nubia those blacks who live wholly upon meat have a clearer tint than the other tribes whose diet is exclusively vegetable. Reading this remark led me to a similar observation with regard to the Negroes of Kabylia. Meat in Kabylia is very dear; it is a luxury which the Berber does not allow himself every day. But the Negroes, who are all butchers, feed constantly on the remains of animals which they sell in the markets. Their life, like those of whom M. d’Abaddie speaks, is passed amidst blood and fleshy vapours; they have a very clear tint, though preserving, both men and women, the frizzle hair and all the characteristics of the race of Haoussa.”

[“Till now, I had always attributed this fact to the mixed blood of the Kabyles and the cold climate. I happened to be at Tamda-el-Blat, among the Beni-Djennad, when I received the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*; I was able at once to get information among the numerous freed men who reside in this village, and I found that the Negroes only marry among each

\* *Historia Naturalis Quadrupedum*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

† *Voyage au Grand Désert du Sahara*.

‡ *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, 1820.

§ *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1859, vol. xiv., p. 179.

other, although they are looked on in Kabyle society, which is essentially democratic, as fellow-citizens equal to the rest.

Must we attribute this fact to degenerate blood, the result of repeated marriages between members of the same race? I think not. It must be owing then, as M. d'Abaddie says, to their feeding continually on meat, and to the contact with bleeding flesh which they are constantly dragging and moving about. This appears to me to be a very interesting question in an anthropological point of view, and one which deserves close investigation."]\*

The Negro race then may show skins of very different colour; and this fact is observable also in other races.

The Abyssinians, who preserve evident characters of their semitic origin, are both black, brown, and almost white.

The Jews themselves have not preserved everywhere their primitive colour. In the northern countries of Europe they are white; in Germany many of them have red beards; in Portugal they are tawny. In the province of Cochin China, where a number of them have settled, they have black skins, though they do not contract marriages with foreigners. Prichard† says, that there is also at Mattachéri a colony of white Jews, who are called in India Jerusalem Jews. And, lastly, there are black Jews dwelling in Africa, in the kingdom of Haoussa.

Thus great varieties of colour have been produced among this people during eighteen centuries, but no change has occurred in their cast of feature, habits, or ideas. Under a black skin or a white, observes General Daumas, in Soudan, in the Sahara, or the sea-coast towns, everywhere Jews have the same instincts, and the twofold aptitude for languages and commerce.‡

Colour, then, is not a fixed characteristic. It may vary among members of one and the same race, or of one and the same tribe. And this is frequently observable also in domestic animals.

We are all aware that colouring of the skin is due to pigmentary secretion, that it is present in all races, and that though very limited among Europeans, it is plainly seen on the nipple. M. Flourens showed it us very well developed in a French soldier who had lived a long time in Algiers. He has discovered it among whites by means of the microscope. And he has proved that in the fœtus of the Negro, as in that of the white, there is no trace of pigment. In a communication lately made to the Anthropological Society (3rd Nov. 1859), Dr. Gubler reports, that, wishing to compare the brain of a Negro in the service of

\* *Moniteur Universel* du 22 Mars, 1860, note de M. le Baron Aucapitaine, insérée dans la *Revue et Magasin de Zoologie*.

† *Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme*. Paris, 1843.

‡ *Le Grand Désert*, p. 244.



M. Rayer, who died at La Charité, with that of white men, specially with regard to the internal dark colouring so marked in the black race, he placed at intervals on the same table brains procured from fair and dark complexioned subjects. He was then enabled to determine that the substance was paler in the first than in the second, and that the deepest colouring in the latter was of the nature of pigmentary secretion. And in these latter subjects it is not only in the cerebral substance that the colouring matter is deposited. Analogous deposits are sometimes met with in the pia mater surrounding the protuberance. M. Virchow, according to M. Brown-Séquard, has often seen pigmentary colouring under the pia mater of white men, and notably under the medulla oblongata; and it is probable that this matter, kept in reserve, so to speak, may fill some part in the economy. It follows from these facts that colouring matter is not so rare in the European as has been supposed.

Numerous causes have naturally been sought, to account for the production of colour. Climate and heat have been most frequently cited. And truly if we ascend from Norway to the Equator, we see the skin changing gradually; from white becoming sunburnt, then brown, and lastly black, in Soudan. But if the climate is the cause of these variations, the same causes ought to produce everywhere the same effects. But yet in Europe the Laplanders, with their tawny complexion, form an exception; if this depends on cold, why have the Icelanders so white a skin, with blue eyes and light hair?

Besides these, there is an army of facts which prove that the colour of the skin has nothing to do with the heat of the climate. Thus in Asia may be seen brown-skinned Calmucks side by side with Georgians and Circassians, who are so remarkable for the whiteness of their skin. Not far from the inhabitants of Cashmere, who are white or nearly so, and under the same latitude, we find the Nepaulese, who, notwithstanding the great elevation of their mountains and their temperate climate, have a black skin; whereas the neighbouring Bengalese, who live in the plains and more to the south, have a skin only coffee-coloured.

The Portuguese, who have been settlers on the Guinea coast since the fifteenth century, and on the Mozambique coast since the sixteenth, have not lost their original colour.\*

The Arabs, who inhabited these same coasts many centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese, have not taken the Negro colour.

We should have the same observations to make with regard to direct heat, the hygrometric state of the air, &c., for with these

\* Salt: *Voyage en Abyssinie*, trad., vol. i., pp. 72—94.



two conditions we should find facts similar to the foregoing ; so that it is with us an established principle that in analyzing the chief elements of the influence of climate, we arrive at the conclusion that this influence is always secondary.

To what then shall we attribute these varieties in colour presented by the numerous races of man ? In all probability to the same internal causes, still unknown, which produce them in domestic animals, and among which "albinism," "erythrism," and "melanism," play an important part. These three different colours, which are modifications of the pigmentary secretion, are to be observed in a number of animals which enjoy perfect health, and are able to reproduce their species. To quote only one instance, there are in India, white, red, and black elephants. Consequently we believe that M. Isidore Geoffroy St. Hilaire was right in supposing that the absence of pigment, or, according to us, its extreme scarcity (which constitutes albinism), was the normal state of animals naturally white.\* With regard to erythrism and melanism, their existence with health is still less doubtful. The first of these colours, which is also observable in animals, is the normal state of the "Red Skins" of America. It was the colour of the ancient Egyptians. We had in our establishment the wife of a superior officer, of Coptic origin, who recalled in a striking manner the figures on the ancient monuments. Melanism, so common with domestic animals, forming among them permanent races, gives to the skin characters which do not differ from those observed in the cutaneous apparatus of the black man ; so that we may look upon this latter as afflicted with normal melanism.

Melanism, like albinism and erythrism, may be partial and congenital. Thus, with certain white women, the areola of the nipple is entirely black. Blumenbach has described a portion of the skin of the abdomen of a beggar which was as black as the skin of an African. Camper tells of a woman who, whenever she became pregnant, showed a development of pigment which invaded the whole abdomen ; and a similar instance is known, where the melanism extended from the neck to the lower part of the body.

We have then in the internal modifications which the secretion of colouring matter undergoes, whether it disappears or varies in its elements, or whether it sustains an increase more or less considerable, an explanation of the different colourings of the skin. As to the time when they took place, we believe with M. Godron, that it extends back to the origin of different nations : the important thing for us to know is that they may be produced in our

\* *Histoire Générale et Particulière des Anomalies de l'Organisation chez l'Homme et les Animaux*, vol. i., p. 317. Paris, 1832.

race, and that these varieties of colour are not sufficient to constitute a difference of race.

We now come to four other characteristics set down as special ; the frizzled and woolly state of the hair, the obliquity of the eyes, the shape of the skull, and the features of the face ; because, taken separately, there is something decided in them, while they cease to be exceptional when studied in the series of beings.

One important remark which we have to make with regard to the hair of Negroes, is that, as Prichard has shown, it is not different from that of other men, and that it bears no resemblance whatever to wool. Its frizzly disposition has more than one exception. Thus the Danish missionary Isert met on the Gold Coast a small tribe of Negroes, whose hair was a foot and a-half long.\* Barbot relates that the Fentis, the Ashantis, the Aguapins, and the Intas, have frequently curly hair long enough to reach to the shoulders. And lastly, Prichard adds, that the hair of different Negro tribes presents every possible gradation, from the woolly head of hair, to the crisp, and even the wavy.†

The first sight of a Chinaman, with his slanting eyes, gives one a strange impression, and we should be tempted to believe in the idea of a different species of man. But this striking characteristic is not general in China. Thus at Canton, and in the towns in the north of China, this characteristic is even exceptional, especially among the men. We were present one evening at a performance in the Cirque de l'Impératrice, when fourteen foreigners came and sat near us. It was the Siamese Embassy. We examined closely their faces during the whole performance, and found that several of them had not slanting eyes. When Abel Rémusat received at the Bibliothèque the young Chinamen who were to preach the Christian religion, one of them struck us by the regularity of his features and the shape of his face, which approached closely the European type. Nor is the obliquity of the eyes peculiar to the Chinese, Japanese, or Mongols : it is found among the Caribs of South America‡ and the Botocudos of Brazil.§ The resemblance is striking when we meet at Rio a Chinaman and a Botocudo. Livingstone has made known this disposition of the eyelids among the tribes of Southern Africa.—(p. 493.) This obliquity of the eyes is in reality an obliquity only of the eyelids, the external angle of which is more raised. Lastly, we have several times noticed it in a striking degree among Europeans.

The difference in shape of the skull has been thought a strong argument. It is clear that among savage tribes it is not rare to

\* *Voyage en Guinée et dans les Isles caraïbes en Amérique*, p. 176. Paris, 1793.

† Prichard : *Histoire de l'Homme*, Trad. Française, vol. ii., p. 3 et seq.

‡ *Bulletin de la Société Ethnologique*, p. 77. 1846.

§ A. St. Hilaire : *Voyage dans la Province de Rio Janeiro*, vol. iii., p. 230.



find a fixed form of cranium which, through the absence of foreign marriages, becomes almost special to the tribe. Among civilized nations, on the other hand, and especially in large towns, are found skulls of every shape, even the most opposite from what seems to be the regular type. M. A. Geoffroy St. Hilaire collected in the catacombs of Paris a series of heads of old inhabitants of the town, among which were found all the modifications of which the entire human species is susceptible. The same remark has been made by M. Serres with regard to heads collected in the cemetery of the "Tour St. Jacques." The same observation may be made with the bald; and in our establishment we have found the greatest varieties, from the pyramidal head of the Mongol, to the flattened head of some Negroes. The shape of the skull, which is so varied among Europeans, is not less so among Negroes. Thus Weber, Al. d'Orligny, and M. Parchappe\* have come to the conclusion that in no nation does there exist, with respect to the shape of the skull, any fixed characteristic.

One last fact, and with this we conclude our examination of the organic signs supposed to constitute differences between the several races of mankind.

The features have been considered to give a metrical scale of the physiognomy of the different races of man; but careful observation overthrows this obstacle. Blumenbach had already remarked that there are to be found Ethiopians, who, except their colour, have the most handsome features of our species. Prichard has noticed the same regularity in a Negro of Haoussa. This opinion with respect to the beauty of form of certain Negro tribes is also held by Raffanel, Caillé, Claperton, and Barbot. Prichard has in his work a drawing of three heads, one that of a Congo Negro, another that of an American from Louisiana, and the third that of a Chinaman; and there is the closest analogy in shape between the three.

According to Bodwick, the higher class of Ashantees are not only well made, but have features resembling those of the Grecian type: it is a long step from that to the monkey-shaped muzzle usually assigned to the Negro. Livingstone remarks that the Caffre head is as well made as the European. Several of the Bushman tribes, he adds, are on the whole handsome men; and the monuments of the ancient Egyptians show much truer types of the Balondas than any drawings in works on ethnography that have come into my hands.—(Op. cit., p. 194 and 421). This resemblance between the Negro and the Caucasian types tends to confirm the opinion expressed by M. Serres, that each race has in it the germ of the type of other races.

\* Parchappe: *Instruction pour le Peuple—Anatomie et Physiologie de l'Homme*, p. 704 et seq.



With this fine shape of the head and regularity of feature in a large number of Negro tribes, is it necessary to inquire whether the inferior capacity of the cranium of this race is real? The degree of intelligence shown by these people (of which we shall speak shortly) would be sufficient answer; but anatomical proof has been furnished by Dr. Morton, who measured 286 heads of the different varieties of mankind; and he found skulls of white men with a minimum of seventy-five, and skulls of Negroes with a maximum of ninety-four; whence it follows that some Negroes have greater development of brain than some Europeans.

I will not do more than mention the objections which have been based on the defective junction of the great wing of the sphenoid with the anterior inferior angle of the parietal; from the more backward situation of the occipital foramen; from the structure of the pelvis; from the proportion of the limbs; from the shape of the calf or of the heel; from the darker colour of the blood; from the fetid perspiration; because to all these objections unanswerable replies have been made.

We have shown, then, that none of the characteristics by which it has been attempted to separate the Negro from the Caucasian, are so invariable as they have been said to be. Consequently, we think ourselves justified in coming to the conclusion that the physical differences set down are not sufficient to overthrow the theory of the unity of the human race.

The examination of the psychological characteristics, upon which we shall now enter, will give still greater force to this opinion, which is held by a great number of illustrious men.

But, before entering upon this part of the subject, let us discuss an objection which we find reproduced in the very interesting work of M. G. Pouchet, on the plurality of the human species. There are monuments, says this distinguished observer (probably the tomb of Rhamses Meiamoun), which, dating 3000 years back, prove unanswerably that the most decided transformations were accomplished at that time; and the thousand remaining years cannot explain the transformation of a transplanted race, since, at the end of 500 years, we find it as it was before.\* We are not going to enter upon a defence of Bible chronology, but we believe with M. Godron, who has published a book so rich in facts, that the style of living, which changes so powerfully the human species, must have been at work since the origin of different nations; and the changes once acquired being propagated by inheritance, became permanent and uniform through the continuance of the same mode of life and the absence of foreign alliances.

It is, besides, quite undeniable that among domestic animals

\* *De la Pluralité des Races—Essai anthropologique*, p. 124. Paris, 1858.

new races may be formed very rapidly, and sometimes even without the interference of man. Less than a century ago there was born in America a bull without horns, and, without any interference in order to propagate this peculiarity, the bull perpetuated his species, and became the stock of a hornless race, (the mocho ox), and spread itself over entire provinces.\*

In 1791, in Massachusetts, among the English race of sheep, a ram was produced remarkable for the length of its body, the shortness of its legs, and a trunk like that of a terrier. These circumstances rendered it unfit for leaping the enclosures. In this case man intervened, and, by means of cleverly-managed crosses, these sheep have multiplied, and formed the 'loutre' (*ancon*) race.† When we come to speak of crosses which have lately been made between European and savage tribes, we shall establish facts analogous to these. One more objection might still be made. Why, it may be said, if these changes took place in former days, do they no longer show themselves at the present time? There is no reason, for instance, why the colour of the skin should not undergo a fresh change. We are not in a position to give a satisfactory answer to this question. We will only call attention to the fact, that for some years past partial blue and black discolorations of the skin of the face, especially of the eyelids, have been observed in persons who are in good bodily health. On this, consult a paper by Dr. Leroy de Méricourt. Dr. Hardy, who has just published a new instance of it (*Union Médicale*, Mar. 1860), says that there are already seven or eight cases of it in the town of Brest. The person he describes is in good health, menstruates regularly, and belongs to the middle class.

Without denying the value of M. G. Pouchet's objection, these facts are of a nature to diminish its force in a marked degree. However, we will not insist longer upon this point, but pass on to the examination of psychological peculiarities.

Those who are in favour of a plurality of human races, born in the different spots where they are met with to this day, have not only pointed to the difference in physical characters, but have passed in review the amount of intelligence possessed by the numerous nations of the earth; and have sought to establish that, if several among them are richly endowed, others have for their share but a certain amount of ability; and that some even are completely destitute thereof. According to this, those people, placed below animals—and particularly below the human-shaped ape, which forms a link between man and the animal kingdom—would constitute inferior races, and prove the inequality of the human species. Doubtless, there are stationary tribes, degraded

\* Don Felix de Azana: *Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. i., p. 378.

† *Transactions philosophiques*, p. 58. 1813.



by misery, degenerated by being deprived of the gifts of nature, and by deleterious influences ; but does close observation justify the doctrine of the inequality of races, and of the existence of superior and inferior classes of men ? Let us examine this question.

There is a savage race in the south of Africa remarkable for the development posteriorly of a protuberance of fat in the females, and, through a kind of clucking which approximates them to the lower animals, out of the pale of those who speak known languages. Certain travellers and anthropologists have placed this race in the lowest scale of humanity, if they have not classed its members among animals. This is the Bosjesman nation, or rather a tribe of that nation, as we shall see presently. These people lead truly a most precarious and miserable life, but they are not so devoid of intelligence as has been affirmed. Péron tells us that De Genssens, Governor at the Cape, had in his house a young Bosjesman who had acquired Dutch and a little English\* with the greatest ease. But there is yet room for inquiry into the pretended degraded state of this people. Livingstone, whom we are fond of quoting, because he has seen things without any preconceived opinions, speaks as follows concerning the Bushmen (Bosjesmans) :—“They live in the desert from choice. Many of them are of short stature, yet without the deformity of dwarfs. Those who are brought to Europe have been chosen on account of their extreme ugliness. In the suburbs of Zambo, the Bushmen are in general handsome men, well-made, and with an independence of spirit almost absolute”—(p. 194). A conscientious observer, who has studied with the greatest care the comparative anatomy of the brain, has determined that this organ in the Bosjesman, without being so voluminous and complete as that of the European, is in every respect similar to a human brain. He therefore looks upon this people as susceptible of intellectual development. Among small tribes like the Bosjesmans, the convolutions of the brain are but slightly developed ; for instance, the brain of the Hottentot Venus, of which M. Gratiolet has a wax model, presents a degree of simplicity which in white nations corresponds to idiocy. Yet this woman was anything but an idiot.†

The Australian, placed in the same catalogue, ugly, thin, and ill-formed, has also been looked upon as a brute. But the cruel extremities to which they had been reduced were forgotten. Driven by the English from the beautiful districts which the latter have covered with thriving colonies, the natives of New Holland were obliged to take refuge in the interior of Australia. A dry country, vast deserts of sand, thickets where no water and

\* *Voyage aux Terres Australes*, vol. ii., p. 311.

† *Moniteur des Sciences Médicales et Pharmaceutiques*, p. 103. Feb. 1, 1860.



scarcely any game is to be found, and in consequence frightful famine and privations of every kind—is there not in such a combination of circumstances sufficient cause for degeneracy? Yet Prichard tells us that Australian children, who have been adopted at Port Jackson, have learnt to read, write, and draw as well as white children of the same age.\*

The apparent inferiority of these two tribes, the tales told second-hand of several naturalists, who declared they had seen, on the northern coast of New Guinea, trees swarming with natives of both sexes leaping from branch to branch like monkeys, with their weapons slung on their shoulders, gesticulating, shouting, and laughing;† and similar observations said to have been made in the forests of India, ought to strengthen the opinion, they say, that the ape belongs to the order of bipeds. Richard Owen, also, one of the most celebrated anthropologists of our time, has not hesitated to say that the distinction between this animal and man is the stumbling-block of anatomists.‡

The ourang-outang has naturally been held up in opposition to these so-called inferior races by the partisans of the animal kingdom. Its quickness in imitating man, its adroitness in many things, its affections, passions, intelligence, which, not to under-rate it, seemed to want nothing but language, made it an intermediate being between the two. “It is neither a man nor a monkey,” said the crowd that gazed at the chimpanzee in the Jardin des Plantes; and this is the theory held by the celebrated Geoffroy Saint Hilaire. We cannot agree with this opinion, as M. Gratiolet has clearly demonstrated, that the brain of the ape has anatomical characters which entirely separate it from that of man. In the monkey, the middle lobe begins and ends before the frontal lobe; with man, on the other hand, the frontal convolutions appear first, and those of the middle appear subsequently. Consequently the brain of man differs from that of the ape the more in those of recent formation, and an arrest of development can but exaggerate this difference.

But without insisting upon the difference in gait, on the length of the upper limb, the make of the hand, or the absence of speech, there is one characteristic which separates the ape as well as the rest of animals from the human race; and that is, their non-progressive state. During the thousands of years that animals have been in contact with man, they do no more than they did in the first instance, or than what they have been taught to do. The nests built by the beaver or the bee are the same as were described centuries ago. Their sociability and their fitness for education

\* *Hist. Nat.*, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

† Crawford: *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 8. 1852.

‡ *On the Characters of the Class of Mammalia*, p. 20. 1857.

are just what they were at the commencement; while man, placed in the most disadvantageous condition, is susceptible of education and of perfection. This we have just shown, and shall illustrate by instances still more conclusive.

There is one race of mankind which has been specially the object of the most violent attacks, and which polygenists have declared to be incapable of amelioration. You will not be surprised that an American should have written these words: "Show me a single line written by a Negro worth remembering."\* Facts will show how erroneous this opinion is. Look over the documents laid before the English Parliament on the 19th of May, 1829, and you will there find repeated proofs of the immense superiority in intelligence of children born of emancipated Negroes in the colony of Sierra Leone over those born of negroes still in a state of slavery, though living in the same colony. Two years ago, a Mulatto and a Negro carried off high prizes at the general meeting at Paris, and this is not an isolated case. The journal *Le Propagateur de la Foi* announced that twenty black missionaries were preparing to carry religious instruction into savage countries. The *Revue des deux Mondes* gave us, some years back, details full of interest respecting the literature of St. Domingo. The Academy of Science counts among its correspondents M. Lillet Geoffroy, a negro well versed in mathematical science. Livingstone tells us that Negroes learn the alphabet in a few days. He was struck with the knowledge of the Ambakystas, nearly all of whom can read and write with remarkable facility. They learn with eagerness everything they can—history, jurisprudence, &c.—and from their tact for commerce they have got the name of Anglo-Jews. Among the Makololos no individual has the slightest influence if he is not of irreproachable morals, and has not a loyal heart. Every kind of immorality is severely condemned by these idolaters. (p. 543.) My opinion of the Negro race is the more impartial, seeing that my grandfather died at St. Domingo, and his goods were confiscated. The conquest of Africa begins to bear fruit; the Arab tribes, who appeared to be so hostile to European civilization, begin to appreciate the advantages of a home, and houses begin to spring up. In Algiers, Arab children go to school, and are remarkable for their quickness. The commandant De Martimprey lately reviewed the young native sea-boys destined to furnish France with sailors. He was struck with their progress, and expressed his pleasure thereat. This institution, which is perfectly well received by the Arabs, receives a great number of applications for admission from the Arab families.

The same triumphs of civilization are found in America. The

\* Gliddon: *Types of Mankind*, p. 56.



Indians had been proclaimed unteachable outlaws, only fit to be exterminated. How did they answer this cruel description? One of their tribes, the Cherokees, settled some years ago in the north of the Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee States, built houses, worked, and tilled; and these natives, who, at the commencement of their new life, were reduced to 5000, are now reckoned at 15,000 inhabitants, in good circumstances.

The *Moniteur Universel* of the 7th October, 1858, published the following notice of the Veddahs of the island of Ceylon: "This tribe, whose forefathers were the first Buddhists,\* had sunk to a state of thorough debasement. They dwelt in the mountains, living on wild honey and the produce of fishing. Mr. Mackenzie, the governor of the island, in pity made the first overtures in their favour. Two villages were built, and the Veddahs were invited to come and live in them. Some of them did leave the horrible caves and pitiful huts which they had made their dwelling-places. They were persuaded to take to agriculture. Aided by the English Government, the little colony soon grew, and prospered day by day. At the present time the greater part of the Veddahs profess Christianity."

Lastly, there was a short time back a curious article in the *Quarterly Review*, upon the amelioration of the inhabitants of New Zealand. Scarcely a century ago, this colony, situated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, was still looked on as a wretched country, peopled only with savages, who were in the habit of plunging into the debauchery of cannibal feasts, the last of which took place in 1842. By placing these natives under the protection of the law, England raised the level of these races. Civilization, the precepts of Christianity, and material progress exercised upon them the happiest influence. Life and property are at the present day as secure in New Zealand as in the mother country.

Many European villages have attracted into their neighbourhood, or include among their population, a considerable number of Maoris, who are united by the same interests, hold the same faith, and stand in the mutual relation of landlord and tenant. The writer of the article adds that the progress made by the natives in agricultural science and rural economy is truly surprising: and the chances of the harvest form now the chief interest of savages who were once so warlike and so cruel.

If the development of material interest carried to excess has been the subject of well-earned reproach, we must also acknowledge that it has helped to propagate and introduce ideas of amelioration which were unknown to people who were "beyond the circle of

\* Philarète Chasles: *Morale Chrétienne des Boudhistes. Débats*, April 24, 1860.



intellectual progress. Little space would suffice to show the influence which the prolonged stay of our soldiers has had upon other populations.

The few facts which we have gathered together then show that man is susceptible of amelioration, even when he is found in a marked degree of inferiority, in comparison with our own race. However low, therefore, a nation may have fallen, we protest against the opinion of a certain class of economists, who make a sweeping condemnation of certain races which are destined, according to their idea, to disappear from the face of the earth on account of their irremediable inferiority. No, indeed: as Christians and philosophers believing in the unity of the races of mankind we cannot sufficiently condemn such a doctrine. All that is necessary in such a case is to have recourse to all suitable means to raise them from their decay. "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*," wrote an ancient author; such is our motto for all. These thoughts, which occurred to me on seeing the work by M. d'Escayrac de Lauture upon Turkey, are in accordance with the motto of his book, "*Aperire viam gentibus*:" and the curious circumstances of resemblance between the Turks and the Franks which he quotes prove that intercourse only is necessary to multiply them.

If man is distinguished from animals by his psychological characters, which are more or less marked in different races, but in all instances susceptible of development and perfection by ameliorating their physical condition, the moral characters, intercourse, example, and education, play no less a part in drawing the line between the two species. Of these characters, there is one in particular which by its generality, I may say its universality, is the exclusive property of the human race. I mean devotion to one's fellow-beings. Wherever there is a sufferer, be it Australian, Negro, or even animal, there is a score of generous hearts ready to give succour. This feeling is so deeply rooted in man, that in time of pressing danger it will come to the help even of an enemy. In order to be useful to others and help them to share in the general welfare, man will sacrifice his rest, his property, his fortune, even his life. This devotedness on behalf of the masses so long in wretchedness, which spreads more and more among the enlightened classes, is a divine mark of our species, which cannot be explained by causes arising from our organization, and whose origin must consequently be sought for in a principle of another nature. To suppose that the Alpha and Omega of things are inaccessible to us, is to run counter to the very notion of cause, which is foreign to the philosophy of sensation.

We have abstained, in this examination of organic and psychological characteristics, from making any allusion to dogmas

which we respect. But ought we to follow the advice given by a man of feeling and talent, to banish thoughts of equality and fraternity because their interference might be prejudicial to science? That is an opinion which we cannot share, and we think we shall not err in saying that the Society will not share it either. However interesting science may be, we think it is only useful so far as it serves for the benefit of mankind; and as soon as it ceases to have this end, it no longer deserves the labour of students. In this respect, we agree entirely in the opinion expressed by the writer of the article on the *New Theory of Natural History*: "Wherever slavery oppresses a perfectible moral nature, or a free will capable of being guided by conscience and religion, it is a crime and a monstrosity; this is a truth to which every honest mind ought to cling, and which is more durable than all the other doctrines of ethnography and natural history which may be in the ascendant to-day and overthrown to-morrow."\*

While upholding the doctrine of the unity of the human race, we reject, with Al. von Humboldt, as a matter of course the unhappy and unproved distinction made between superior and inferior races. Doubtless there are some more susceptible of culture, more civilized, more enlightened, but none more noble than others. All are made equally for liberty, and the instance of the New Zealand savages, once cannibals, now agriculturists and landlords, is the best of all proofs.

Let us here stay to examine an important objection arising from the study of philology. It cannot be denied that the grammar of a language is its code of rights, and when we cannot logically derive one language from another, nor refer two dialects to a common stock, it seems natural to conclude that the two languages are not of the same family. It is clear that the Indo-European languages spring from one common dialect, now dead. They all have, for instance, the same form of the verb "to be;" the form which is also found in the Sanscrit. On this subject, it will be found interesting to read the lecture given by M. Monlau as his introductory discourse before the Spanish Academy. But in our actual state of knowledge on the subject, can we show parallel resemblances between the Sanscrit, the Semitic languages (Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic), Chinese, and the American idioms? At the commencement of our medical studies, we followed the learned instructions of Professors Abel Rémusat, De Chézy, and Caussin de Perceval: and we confess that the grammatical differences of these languages appeared to us so decided, that in order to find for them a common origin it was necessary to suppose the most extraordinary transformations. It is possible, as

\* *Revue des deux Mondes*, p. 467, April 1, 1860.

M. Revau says, in his remarkable *History of the Semitic languages*, that the Assyrian preserves an intermediate dialect which would form a link between the Sanscrit and the Hebrew. Yet it may well be declared that the unity of human languages is not yet satisfactorily demonstrated.

This objection is a grave one, and we recognise it at once : but is it really worth the stress that has been laid upon it ? For, since it is clear that the dialects of an advanced civilization have been lost in Eastern countries, we do not possess all the elements necessary to the solution of the question : and it only wants a new Anquetil-Duperron, or a second Burnouf, to find the key to the cuneiform hieroglyphics, and so overthrow the whole system. And we know well that in science what does not exist to-day may exist to-morrow.

In the examination which we have just made of the characters of organic life and of intellectual life, we have striven to assign to each of these elements the position which it should occupy. If we admit, in accordance with repeated observation, that the first drop of blood in man contains in an undeveloped state his physical and moral qualities, as well as his ills and vices, we are no less strongly convinced that there is something superior to the drop of blood. Doubtless nations, like individuals, possess different abilities and special powers ; and history compels us to admit that, whatever be the reason, the races of men have not all the same amount of intelligence, the same moral vigour, the same forcible inspiration towards the ideal. The mission of some appears to be war, of others sociability ; and of several, art—

“Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra. . .

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;

Hæ tibi erunt artes.”

While admitting these differences, says M. Gustave de Beaumont, of a secondary nature, we must never lose sight of those grand traits of generosity which are common to all men and to all nations. Just as all human beings experience the same material appetites, which constitute one of the conditions of physical life, so all are endowed with certain immaterial faculties which form part of their moral existence. All possess the instinctive love of liberty and of acquiring property ; of liberty, which is the use of one's body, and of the acquisition of property, which is the expression of one's wants. Some are born by the chance of circumstances in a state of freedom, others in slavery : some with blessings of which others are deprived. The first lose by their vices what the second have the merit of creating : but all are glad to possess, and all suffer by being deprived of these blessings : all equally enjoy, desire, or regret them. Let egotism deceive itself with regard to these truths, and obscure them ; but



let not science intervene, and be called to the aid of errors which she combats and of lies which she disavows.\*

These immaterial faculties which are found in all men are a new argument to be added to those furnished by the study of psychological characters, and they establish, in our opinion, incontestable proof of the unity and speciality of the human race.

We have now arrived at the last portion of our task, which has not been less frequently called in question than the foregoing, but which appears to us as true, and perhaps even better proved, than the other questions; I mean the formation of races and their crosses. The formation of races is a consequence of our nature. As soon as the family increased, the diversity of inclinations, instincts, and passions, the thirst after independence and the necessities of life, brought about a separation. Subject to influences, among which the mode of life and internal causes occupy the chief place, man changed the more quickly in proportion as he was nearer to the original stock; and we must not forget those external influences which act all the more strongly in proportion as man is less civilized. Some have denied the rapidity of these changes; but those which have occurred in our own times justify this view of the case. The Society will remember the rapid appearance of the "Mocho" and "Loutre" races. The same facts are observable in the human race.

The American race, which owes its existence to the English nation, from which it has been separated scarcely a century, presents nevertheless such striking differences in physical, physiological, and psychological relations from the latter, that Dr. Knox thought himself justified in concluding that they are a kind of degenerated type of the mother country. Among the psychological characteristics, there is one which has specially struck me. While the Englishman, shut in his "home," scarcely opens his door to look at a foreigner (which gave rise to Chateaubriand's remark, that an exile may be next door to an Englishman for whole years, and learn nothing of his habits, manners, or mode of life), the American receives all foreigners with open arms, and assimilates them so rapidly to himself, that we have known Englishmen who started with all the prejudices of their country, return in two or three years more Americanized than the Americans themselves.

The dispersion of the human family into an infinitude of fragments, tribes, and societies, produced mixtures and crosses more or less numerous, of which it is important to inquire the result.

Before pointing out the principal results of crosses between different men, it is necessary to explain in a few words the plan

\* Gustave de Beaumont: *La Société Russe et la Société Américaine. Revue des deux Mondes*, p. 1182, March 15, 1854.

adopted by intelligent breeders to modify and reform races of animals. Their first object is to discover with tact characteristics which are susceptible of regular transmission; for, as M. Auguste Laugel observes, it is by regulating attentively the succession of generations, that step by step the required object is attained. And the definite result includes the sum total of all these steps. This procedure is called "selection." In Saxony, the importance of this principle is so well understood with respect to the merino sheep, that selection has there become a trade. The sheep are set upon a table, and studied as a connoisseur studies a picture. This is repeated every month, and each time the sheep are marked and classified; and the best only are definitely chosen for breeding.\* It is partly to this kind of proceeding, says M. Edward Milne, in his *Traité de Zoologie*, that the Arab horses owe their well-earned reputation. The Arabs attach such importance to the purity of their splendid horses, that their pedigree is always authenticated by official documents. They count the family of some of these noble animals backwards two thousand years; and there are a few whose lineage may be shown to extend over a period of four centuries.

We have given these particulars thus detailed, because we wish to establish the superiority of the means commonly employed to preserve cross-breeds among animals; while those among man are the result of chance, and have not yet among common people been made a subject of reflection, or of any particular method.

It is well known that when a cross is made between two animals of the same species, the offspring takes after both parents, but generally inclines to the father; hence a male of the purest breed is employed to ameliorate an indifferent breed. We also know that by breeding with this offspring, and avoiding mixture from other species, a mongrel race is procured, which at last acquires a certain stability and uniformity; but that if the product of the first cross is put to breed with one or other of the original parents, the offspring returns to the original type.

The crosses between races of man, whether between neighbouring or distant people, follow the same law of variety; on the one hand, returning to one of the parent stock, or on the other, producing mixed races according to the nature of the successive crosses. The first result is clearly seen in the offspring of the European with the negress, *e. g.*,

White and black produce the mulatto.	
White and mulatto	„ quadroon.
White and quadroon	„ quinteroon.
White and quinteroon	„ white.

\* Auguste Laugel: *Nouvelle Théorie d'Histoire Naturelle, l'Origine des Espèces. Revue des deux Mondes*, April 1, 1860.

And *vice versâ*,

Black and white produce the mulatto.

Black and mulatto „ griffon and zambo.

Black and griffon „ zambo prieto.

Black and zambo prieto „ black.

It is thus shown that after four generations the mulatto becomes lost in one of his original stock.

These circumstances have been brought about on a large scale. Thus, the first Chinese who came to inhabit Malacca, having brought no women of their own, married Malays. To the present day these families make no alliances except among themselves, or with Chinese who come over from the mother country. The results of the strict observance of this custom has been to produce women exactly resembling those at Fokin or Canton.\*

The production of new species among domestic animals is an undeniable fact; and the opponents of the doctrine of unity have sought to explain it by the demoralizing tendency of a state of servitude. This argument must surprise us when we see the magnificent exhibitions of horses and animals of all kinds which are the delight of connoisseurs. Besides, we might answer by applying the argument to the human species. The adversaries of our doctrine do not confine themselves to this criticism; they deny the existence of a mongrel race of men, and hold that such a race can only be perpetuated by the continued presence of two original types; and they say that, owing to the natural tendency to return to the primitive stock, and the usual barrenness of these half-breeds, the mixed race must be always inferior in quality and number. We will not go far to find a peremptory answer: M. Broca supplies one in the case of the French nation. But before giving it, we must not lose sight of the fact so judiciously pointed out by M. W. Edwards,† that conquering colonists, unless they imitate the Jews or the English in India, become in the end lost in the conquered race. This happened with the Romans and Franks, whose type has almost entirely disappeared in the Gauls: while the types of the Gauls, Gaëls, or Celts, or of the Kimri or Cimbri, who were the former rulers of this country, have been perpetuated, and produced a cross race, which has suffered no loss of fruitfulness, energy, or intelligence; this was shown by Dr. Broca at one of the meetings of the Anthropological Society. The Gauls, better known under the name of Celts, were a race of small men, dark-complexioned, with round head, broad forehead, not prominent nose, rounded face, and hairy body. The Kimri or Cimbri were tall and fair, with a

\* Docteur Yvan: *De la France en Chine*, p. 237. Paris, 1855.

† *Des Caractères Physiques des Races Humaines, considérées dans leurs Rapports avec l'Histoire*, p. 40. Paris, 1829.



long head, high forehead, long, prominent, hooked nose, protruding chin, and short hair. The Kimri occupied the north-east; the Celts the south, centre, and north-west. The Kimri element predominates notably between the Seine and the Rhine; while south of the Loire and in Brittany the Celtic element preponderates.

In the difficulty caused by the numerous mixtures which have resulted from the crossing of these two races, M. Broca had recourse to the distinguishing mark afforded by the difference in height and make, which is valuable, on account of the positive evidence afforded by the conscription. The result of his inquiries is, that the average height is greater in the Cimbric than in the Celtic parts. And he shows that the effect of the cross has been to raise the average height of the Celts and to lessen that of the Kimri, and that the departments where the average height is lowest are those where the Celt has undergone the least amount of crossing.

Another conclusion to be drawn from this study is that these crosses have not had any deleterious influence on the population; for the strength, health, fruitfulness, and longevity are the same in the average, whether the races have been little or much mixed. Here then is an experimental proof—that a cross between two races of the same group produces a perfectly healthy population, which propagates itself without returning to the stock of either of the original races, and in no respect second to them in physical and intellectual qualities. Must we then admit, on the other hand, that crosses between very distant races are unproductive or can only produce half-breeds of diminished fruitfulness? But experience on this point has also been had on a large scale in the European colonies, and the half-breeds who owe their existence to it are now very numerous. In the five States of Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Plata, and Brazil, they form a fifth of the population.\* Omalius d'Hallo estimates the whole number of the population of the globe at 750 millions, and that of the half-breeds which have been formed since the great movement of the 15th century at 10 millions.

After the conquest of America, the Spaniards mixed with the natives, and their children, or bastards, were called Spaniards. These, says Felix de Azara, united, and their descendants form at the present day in Paraguay the greater number of those who are called Spaniards. They seem to have some superiority over the Spaniards of Europe in regard to height, elegance of form, and fairness of skin. These examples of the crosses between different races are not the only ones which solve the important problem of continued fruitfulness.

\* Quatrefages : *Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme*. *Revue des deux Mondes*, 2me période, vol. viii., p. 162.

Wherever correct observations have been made, the half-breeds have shown themselves superior in some respects to the white race itself. In the Philippine Islands the half-breeds are very numerous, and form an active, industrious, and brave class, which has already wrested important and just concessions from the metropolis. It is scarcely necessary to recal what kind of men those were who were so cruelly cut up by civil discord in St. Domingo. In Brazil, the cross-breed between black and white has been enabled, thanks to its intellectual and moral worth, to conquer in a great degree the prejudice of blood; and it is a race peculiarly remarkable for its cultivation of the arts, which are much more developed among them than among the pure whites. In the same empire we find an entire province crossed between Europeans and natives. What is the result? The peculiar features of the Paulistas, their chivalrous character, their bravery and perseverance, have been noticed in good works written by reliable authors.\* A short time back, the *Quarterly Review* quoted a very interesting example of this crossing. The islanders of New Zealand had lived for centuries like true savages. England has made them citizens, and they adopt the customs of the mother country. Marriages have taken place between Europeans and New Zealanders. The produce of this is about 500 individuals whose natural superiority is undeniable.†

M. Gratiolet remarked at the meeting of the 14th of March, that in order to study primitive stocks and races of men, we must as soon as possible study savage tribes which are as yet free from alliance, because cross-breeds were becoming so common that primitive races would soon become extinct. The following remarks which we extract from the *Revue des deux Mondes*, show the rapidity with which practical ideas make their way:—

“The utility of crossing, in order to ameliorate a race, has not escaped the notice of savage nations. The Goajires of New Granada, according to M. Elisée Reclus, are extremely handsome, and are formed with sculptural beauty; their faces are generally round, their colour, which is red in youth, gets darker as they grow older, and, in old age, they are a fine mahogany colour. Among these men, the true aristocracy is that of beauty; riches and power belong to those whom nature has favoured in this respect. If a shipwreck throws foreign sailors on their coast, these Indians, who know the ‘callipedic’ importance of a well-arranged cross, retain those who are tall and vigorous, and make them pay for the hospitality granted them by a few years of forced marriage with two or three handsome ‘Goajires.’ Those unfortunate sailors who happen to be ill-made, are stripped of their clothes, and turned over from tribe to tribe as far as Rio Hacha, hooted and ridiculed.”‡

\* M. Quatrefages, *op. cit.*

† *Monit. Universel*, 11, 14, 23 Jan. 1859.

‡ *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. xxvi. pp. 437, 438, March 15, 1850.

In spite of the vices and defects which they have in common with other barbarous nations, the aboriginal Indians are making evident progress; and there is reason to believe that in the province of Rio Hacha they will form, as the Indians of the interior have formed at Socorro, Velez, and Pamplona, the most important element of social regeneration. Up to the latest times they kept themselves free from all intermixture; but the numerous opportunities for intercourse resulting from commercial relations have lately produced some remarkable families of cross-breeds. Already the commerce between Goajire tribes and foreigners is larger in proportion than that of any other community of the Granada republic. Many Goajires have lately settled here and there on the right bank of the Rio de Hacha, and have cleared the land preparatory to planting mangoes and other fruit-trees. Five or six families, attracted by the hope of gain, have gone a step further. A short distance from the town they have established market gardens in sufficient number to supply the town.

One last trait in the character of the Goajires is the hatred which they, in number about 25,000 or 30,000, cherish against the Spaniards, and the vengeance which they have exacted in course of time. For nearly three centuries these aborigines have waged war against their conquerors, who, besides conquering them, used to behead them, cut them in pieces, feed dogs on their flesh, and reduce them to slavery. The continued war which they have carried on against the descendants of these Spaniards has been so terrible, that the latter have completely disappeared from this part of New Granada, and no Spaniard dare trust himself on the other side of the Rio de Hacha. This is a lesson which ought not to be lost.

M. Elisée Reclus relates another fact respecting the relation of races in New Granada on the Sierra Negra coast, one of the great chains of the Andes. The vast plain of Rio-Caser has as yet on it only a few scattered villages; before long it will resemble our own country. The agents in this change will consist to a great extent of emigrants from Europe and North America. But the Indians of the Sierra, the Tupes, the Arüaques, and the Chimilas, will also play an important part therein. A few years ago the Chimilas were still deadly enemies of the Spaniards and of coloured men. Covering their bodies with bark stripped off the trees, they lived in the grottoes and forests round Cerro-Pontado, and any foreigner who ventured near their retreat was murdered without pity. One day a negro of Herculean strength, named Christoforo Sandoval, instigated by some strangely bold fancy, went and presented himself before the chief of the Chimilas, unarmed, and accompanied only by his young son. By what magic the negro succeeded in charming the Red Skin we



know not, but the effect was instantaneous; the Cacique abdicated, and Cristoforo took his place as chief of the Chimilas. From that day the Indians made peace with the Spaniards, and turned their attention to agriculture.

M. de Rochas, a navy surgeon, who has published an excellent pamphlet on the anthropology of New Caledonia, after observing that the New Caledonians, who belong to the Oceanic Negroes, have a dirty black skin, something of the colour of chocolate, points out an improvement in form of some of the tribes of the eastern coast. He is inclined to attribute it to an intermixture of races resulting from emigration from Polynesia. It is certain that, not long since, emigrants from Ouvéa settled on one of the Loyalty Islands (in New Caledonia), conquered the inhabitants, and imposed on them their own language and the name of their own native place. This is the "Halgan" island of Dumont d'Urville's maps, called by the natives Ouvéa. The race of new inhabitants mixed with the old race, and the result was, a population of much finer men than those of the neighbouring islands, at the expense of the yellow Polynesians who had emigrated from Wallis, (or Ouvéa), and to the advantage of the black natives. These half-breeds, whom we may call new, since they have existed for only five generations, are taller and stronger than the Caledonians; their face is masculine and agreeable; their hair flat, or curled in long ringlets, but never frizzly; their lips comparatively thin and but slightly turned up; prognathism little marked; forehead high and slightly protruding; the nose longer and the cheek-bones much less prominent than their neighbours, and their skin much less deeply marked. These details are very useful, because they show that the Caucasian race is not the only one that has the power of regenerating a species. One observation of M. de Rochas, which has also some bearing upon the question of the amelioration and civilization of races, is that which treats of diet. The necessity for animal food is so decided among the Caledonians, that one hears them say, "We want flesh—we must fight." This terrible but forcible language is the result of the weakness which is the result of scarcity of meat. M. de Rochas appears to us, therefore, to be in the right when he says that "the shepherd who shall teach them to rear flocks of sheep will do more for civilization than all the moralists in the world;" and that "the man who facilitates their means of profiting by keeping sheep will have deserved well of France and of humanity."\*

Lastly, if an anecdote told by a serious newspaper may be allowed in so grave a debate, I can tell you that a merchant at

\* V. de Rochas, Chirurgien de la Marine : *Revue Algérienne et Coloniale, Gazette Médicale, Anthropologie de la Nouvelle Calédoine*, March 31, 1860.

Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope, sold in two weeks a hundred-weight of steel bands among the coloured ladies of the district (descendants of Hottentots and Europeans), among whom crinoline is in high request.

This enumeration of different facts connected with the subject of crossing between different tribes of men, whether of neighbouring or distant classes, has taught us that the progeny is generally superior to the original types; and teaches us also that degeneracy may be combated by this powerful means. The extent of this paper will not allow us to dwell on this important subject, and we will content ourselves with observing that the examples among domestic animals are conclusive. Without going out of France, and keeping to recent experience, we will instance the Charmois sheep and the Boulogne pigs. By means of a well-arranged cross between the races of Berri and Touraine, and then between the offspring of this cross and the merino ram of New Kent, and uniting these with the inferior ewes of Limousin, a breed has been obtained of twice the value of that so sought after in England. With respect to the Boulogne and Montreuil pigs, they come of a local breed which had much degenerated, but was restored by a cross with the Yorkshires and New Leicesters. The stock thus obtained was bred from, and the result was a superior race, which keeps up annually a brisk trade. With regard to the objections that have been made to crossing a breed, it will be sufficient to say that want of success has resulted from inattention to the most elementary laws of physiology; and this happened particularly when an attempt was made to mix the blood of the English horse with all our breeds of horses.

However cautious we may be in drawing comparisons between men and animals, we think the subject is worth consideration; since, on the whole, the physical organization and physiological functions of the two species are very analogous.

The task I have undertaken is finished. In studying the question of the Unity of the Human Race from an anthropological point of view, I have endeavoured to defend by scientific arguments a noble cause, which had been long ago defended religiously and devotedly at every sacrifice.

If I have succeeded, in presence of the sad strife against liberty and in behalf of slavery, in proving, by facts drawn from physical organization and physiology, the legitimacy of the doctrine of the human family, the proof of which exists in the family itself, —if I have placed beyond doubt the principle of equality and reciprocity of the races of mankind, I shall be sufficiently recompensed for my labours, and for the numerous researches which my want of knowledge on these matters has compelled me to make.

M. Lamarche, advocating also the doctrine of unity, has treated the subject with the authority of his talent and of the experience derived from his long course of political, philosophical, and moral studies.\* We cannot follow him upon that ground, which is forbidden to us. Our field is less extensive; but we are both children of that France which has never shrunk from shedding its purest blood in defence of the rights of humanity. Under the flag which she now bears so high aloft, captains and soldiers must close their ranks, and yield each other mutual support, and fight according to their ability. This is what is expressed by Dr. Livingstone, in the following terms, at the end of his work which has been so ably translated by Mdme. Loreau:—"Each one in his place, wittingly or unwittingly, accomplishes the wish of our Father who is in Heaven; the man of science, when he discovers hidden laws whose application draws people to one another, and cements their union; the soldier, when he fights for right against tyranny; the sailor, when he rescues numerous victims from the insatiable greed of soulless traffickers; the merchant, by circulating his country's produce, and teaching nations that they depend on one another:—all working for the amelioration and well-being of their fellow-creatures."

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### ART. III.—THE STATUS OF CRIME IN 1859.

IN the first number of this Journal for 1859,† we recounted briefly the history of Judicial Statistics in this country, and pointed out their great interest to the practical psychologist. At that time the able scheme of statistical registration, proposed by Mr. Samuel Redgrave, had only been partially carried out; now it has been fully achieved, and we design to gather from the last Report‡ of that gentleman, such particulars as may serve to convey a notion of the status of crime in the kingdom, and of the operation of the chief means adopted for its suppression.

\* On the day on which the proof-sheets of this work were sent me, I heard of the death of this excellent man, who had been the promoter of these inquiries. It was, in fact, from hearing him express his opinions respecting the Unity of the Human Race, at the Medical Society at the Pantheon, that I gathered my materials. After my lecture, he expressed to me warmly his intention to make use of my documents in the new edition of his work. I take this opportunity of acknowledging his kindness, and I regret him the more that there is among the press but one opinion concerning the virtues of M. Lamarche.

† See vol. ix., p. 75.

‡ Judicial Statistics, 1859. *Blue Book*, 1860.



1. *Police and Constabulary*.—The total number of police and constabulary in 1859, amounted to 20,597. Of this force, 6904 belonged to the metropolis. The proportion of police to resident population (at the best, Mr. Redgrave remarks, a very imperfect basis of comparing the relative amount of the police forces) averaged, throughout England and Wales, 1 in 870. In cities and towns, the proportion varies from 1 in 210 in the City of London, to 1 in 708 in Sheffield; in counties, from 1 in 1221 in Warwickshire, to 1 in 1602 in Suffolk. The cost of the police in 1859 amounted to 1,485,029*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, of which sum 310,205*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* was contributed from the public revenue. The average expense of each man was 72*l.* 2*s.*—salaries and pay, 53*l.* 13*s.*; clothing and accoutrements, 5*l.* 1*s.* Of the repressive effects of an efficient police force, Mr. Redgrave thus observes:—

“The knowledge which a trained police obtains of all who live by unlawful pursuits—of their habits, associates, and modes of plunder, is of itself an important check; and the co-operation between the different bodies of police, which, though under the control of separate authorities, act upon the same system, and are united in the pursuit of offenders, renders the commission of crimes more hazardous, and the detection and conviction of offenders more certain. The effect of the extension and completion of the police system may be recognised in many of the results which appear in this (the first) part of the statistics; and the greater development and improvement which will arise from the experience of a large body of trained officers, must tend to the gradual repression of known habitual depredators. It will also prove a great check to professional mendicancy, particularly where the police are employed as relieving officers for vagrants, on the principle first adopted in the county of Essex, and since extended to many other districts—a due protection on the refusal of relief being found in the report of all cases to the Board of Guardians and the Court of Quarter Sessions.” (p. v.)

2. *The Criminal Classes*.—In 1858, the police was instructed to ascertain and report the number of thieves, prostitutes, and suspected persons of all classes at large in England, and “for the first time their numbers were given as an ascertained fact, in opposition to the many estimates, chiefly of an exaggerated nature, which had from time to time been made.” A like inquiry was instituted in 1859, and Mr. Redgrave observes that “it is a strong corroboration of the accuracy of the information possessed by the police, that, though very great differences appear on a comparison of the returns of the two years in the separate districts, as might be anticipated with regard to a body so largely migratory, yet the general total corresponds with peculiar exactness, as is shown by the following table:”—

*Numbers of the Criminal Class.*

Classes.	1859.			1858.		
	Males.	Females	Total.	Males.	Females	Total.
Known Thieves and Depredators :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	4,382	1,546	5,928	4,773	1,608	6,381
16 years and above ... ..	26,478	7,132	33,610	26,772	6,879	33,651
Receivers of Stolen Goods :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	85	28	113	119	29	148
16 years and above ... ..	3,450	844	4,294	3,410	787	4,197
Prostitutes :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	—	2,037	2,037	—	1,647	1,647
16 years and above ... ..	—	28,743	28,743	—	27,113	27,113
Suspected persons :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	3,878	1,370	5,248	3,912	1,512	5,424
16 years and above ... ..	26,706	5,734	32,440	28,028	5,774	33,802
Vagrants and Tramps :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	3,279	2,167	5,446	3,265	1,942	5,207
16 years and above ... ..	11,811	6,096	17,907	11,890	5,962	17,852
Total :						
Under 16 years of age... ..	11,624	7,148	18,772	12,069	6,738	18,807
16 years and above ... ..	68,445	48,549	116,994	69,600	46,515	116,115

From this table we learn that there was, in 1859 (1), a general decrease of the males of every class, with the exception of vagrants; and (2) an increase of the female thieves, except those under 16 years of age; but with regard to prostitutes, an increase both of the juvenile and the adult, making together 7·0 per cent.; yet the gross total does not vary more than is represented by an increase of 0·7 per cent. (p. vii.)

The *proportion of the criminal classes in the chief districts* is attempted to be shown by calculations based upon population, and with the following results—the districts being arranged in the order of criminality, commencing with the highest, and progressing to the lowest:—

		Criminal Classes.
1. <i>Seats of the Hardware Manufacture.</i> —Birmingham, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton	}	7,685, or 1 in 54·4
2. <i>Towns depending upon Agricultural Districts.</i> —Ipswich, Exeter, Reading, Shrewsbury, Lincoln, Winchester, Hereford, and Bridgewater		1,854, or 1 in 86·6
3. <i>Pleasure Towns.</i> —Brighton, Bath, Dover, Leamington, Gravesend, Scarborough, and Ramsgate	}	2,265, or 1 in 87·4
4. <i>Commercial Ports.</i> —Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kingston-on-Hull, Sunderland, Southampton, Swansea, Yarmouth, Tynemouth, and South Shields		9,389, or 1 in 96·4
5. <i>The Rural Districts.</i>	}	— 1 in 110·4
<i>Eastern Counties.</i> —Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln		10,407, or 1 in 122·0

## Criminal Classes.

<i>South and South-Western Counties.</i> —	} 9,644, or 1 in 106·7
Southmptn, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset	
<i>Midland Counties.</i> —Cambridge, Bedford, Northmptn, Hertford, Oxford, Bucks, Berks . . . . .	} 8,966, or 1 in 102·5
6. <i>Seats of the small and mixed Textile Fabrics.</i> —	} 2,208, or 1 in 119·4
—Norwich, Nottingham, Derby, Macclesfield, Coventry, Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Congleton . . . . .	
7. <i>Seats of the Cotton and Linen Manufacture.</i> —	} 6,090, or 1 in 124·6
—Manchester, Preston, Salford, Bolton, Stockport, Oldham, Blackburn, Wigan, Staleybridge, and Ashton-under-Lyne . . . . .	
8. <i>Seats of the Woollen and Worsted Manufacture.</i> —Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Rochdale, Huddersfield, and Kidderminster . . . . .	} 2,779, or 1 in 137·0
9. <i>The Metropolis.</i> —Including an average radius of 15 miles round Charing Cross, and comprising the district of the Metropolitan and the City of London Police . . . . .	} 13,120, or 1 in 194

These results correspond with those obtained from the returns of the previous year, with one exception. In 1858, the pleasure towns ranked after, not as in 1859 before, the commercial ports, in order of criminality. It is to be remarked also that, contrary to the usually received opinion, the metropolitan districts are in a marked degree least infested with the criminal classes. But, it is not to be forgotten that, as Mr. Redgrave remarks, “In the agricultural districts, the bad characters would be more readily known and traced by the police than when hidden in the population of towns, and their relative number is high, especially if the prostitutes, who congregate chiefly in the towns, are omitted from the calculation.”

The distribution of prostitutes in the different districts is as follows, those only being included in this class who notoriously and obviously belong to it:—

	Prostitutes,
1. <i>Commercial Ports</i> . . . . .	5,221, or 1 in 173·4
2. <i>Pleasure Towns</i> . . . . .	943, or 1 in 209·9
3. <i>Towns depending upon Agricultural Districts</i> . . . . .	} 666, or 1 in 241·0
4. <i>Seats of the small and mixed Textile Fabrics</i> . . . . .	
5. <i>The Metropolis</i> . . . . .	6,849, or 1 in 371·6
6. <i>Seats of the Hardware Manufacture</i> . . . . .	922, or 1 in 453·5
7. <i>Seats of the Cotton and Linen Manufacture</i> . . . . .	} 1,616, or 1 in 469·7
8. <i>Seats of the Woollen and Worsted Manufacture</i> . . . . .	
	681, or 1 in 559·2



9. <i>The Rural Districts</i> . . . . .	Prostitutes.
Eastern Counties . . . . .	1 in 1109·3
South and South-Western Counties . . . . .	1·104, or 1 in 1150·2
Midland Counties . . . . .	1,394, or 1 in 738·7
	639, or 1 in 1439·0

The returns of *houses of bad character* show an increase of 4·6 per cent. upon the numbers of the preceding year. This was due chiefly to a larger number of public houses and beer shops of bad resort, but this may have arisen rather from the improved observation of the police than from any actual increase in the number of houses. The total numbers were:—

Houses of receivers of stolen goods . . . . .	3,041
Houses the resort of thieves and prostitutes, viz.:—	
Public houses . . . . .	2,811
Beer shops . . . . .	2,765
Coffee shops . . . . .	428
Other suspected houses . . . . .	1,946
	7,950
Brothels and houses of ill-fame . . . . .	7,991
Tramps' lodging-houses . . . . .	7,294
	26,276
Total houses of bad character . . . . .	

3. *Crimes committed and Apprehensions*.—Under this head, Mr. Redgrave remarks:—

"The crimes known and recorded by the police are of the class which are proceeded against in the criminal courts to the exclusion of the lesser offences; and if it could be assumed that all such crimes are included in these returns, their numbers, when compared with the apprehensions which ensue, would be a successful proof of police vigilance. But though it may be concluded that crimes which from their atrocity or magnitude cause alarm, and hue and cry, will not fail to be known and recorded by the police, it cannot be supposed that the large amount of petty depredation which must result from the number of the criminal class already enumerated can be fairly represented by the 36,262 cases which appear in the returns under the wide definition of *Larceny*. Such a statement must rather be taken as a proof of how little accurate information is possessed of the extent of the pilfering and depredation which all the evidence in the returns tends to show must be successfully committed." (p. ix.)

Crime, it would appear, prevails chiefly in the long nights of the winter season, when there is also the greatest dearth of employment. The apprehensions amount to 52·1 per cent. of the crimes, and are proportionably 2·0 per cent. higher in the summer than winter season. The distribution of crime in the different seasons was as follows:—

	Crimes committed.	Persons Apprehended.
October, November, and December . . .	14,278	7,366
January, February, and March . . .	13,999	7,113
April, May, and June . . .	11,903	6,368
July, August, and September . . .	11,838	6,272
	<hr/> 52,018	<hr/> 27,119

The returns represent the state of crime in the different police districts, but, looking only to some of the graver offences, we find that, of 95 murders, 12 were committed in the metropolitan police district; 19 in Lancashire; and 12 in Yorkshire. Concealing the birth of infants, with which infanticide is so closely allied, prevails in the rural districts; cases of rape and attempts to ravish were mostly in the same districts. Burglary and house-breaking are commonest in the country districts; robbery on the person chiefly occurs in the country districts, the metropolitan police district, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. (p. x.)

The persons apprehended by the police were disposed of by the magistrates in the following manner:—"37·5 per cent. were at once liberated after a detention of probably only a few hours; 4·7 per cent. were discharged on finding bail to appear and take their trial; and 56·4 per cent. were committed to prison to await trial at the next sessions."

Of the pursuit of criminals the subsequent interesting and important results are stated:—

"In the offences against the person, 2579 crimes are recorded, out of which arose 2768 apprehensions, more than one person being frequently implicated in such offences, and 1908 commitments for trial, so that 73·9 per cent. of the cases were successfully pursued by the police, a very satisfactory proportion, making every allowance for the cases where more than one commitment ensues. In the violent offences against property, 4433 crimes are followed by 2204 apprehensions, and 1609 commitments for trial, or 36·3 per cent., and probably of these two classes of crimes the great proportion are known to the police and included in these returns. Next follow the ordinary cases of theft, embezzlement, fraud, offences unaccompanied by violence; these, as I have already stated, appear very inadequately represented by the 41,370 cases reported. They moreover led to only 18,738 apprehensions and 11,437 commitments for trial, not more than 27·6 per cent. of the offences recorded, which confirms the opinion that up to this time there exists a great impunity and long career in petty thefts, when unaccompanied by such acts of violence as create alarm and stimulate prompt information to the police to be followed by active pursuit."

4. *Summary Convictions*.—"The proceedings under the summary jurisdiction of justices are by information (except where persons

are in the custody of the police, and the justices determine to deal with the charges summarily), and the accused appears on a summons obtained against him; if in such cases the justice does not convict, or if on conviction a fine is imposed and paid, the accused is not detained, and has never in fact been in custody, imprisonment therefore in all summary cases only ensues after conviction." In 1859, charges against 392,800 persons (310,690 males and 82,120 females) were determined summarily, of whom 257,810 (213,494 males and 44,316 females) were convicted. "It is remarkable," Mr. Redgrave states, "that throughout the criminal statistics the females, from no other apparent cause than greater leniency towards the sex, bear a much smaller proportion in the convictions than the males. On the above convictions this difference is nearly 15 per cent., the proportion being of the males 68·7, of the females 53·9." (p. xi.)

Of the number convicted, 57,284 were imprisoned (780 in reformatory schools, 37,366 under one month, and the remainder, with the exception of 71, under six months); 57,284 were fined; 162,204 whipped; and the rest were subjected to other punishments, delivered up to the army or navy, or ordered to find sureties or to enter into recognizance.

Of the offences determined summarily 37,339 are classed under the head of *stealing and attempts to steal*; 3650 were *malicious offences of damage and trespass*; 84,033 *assaults*; 8188 *offences against the Game Laws*; and of the remainder, we may note 89,903 *drunkenness and disorderly conduct*; 25,757 under the *Vagrant Laws*; 12,944 under the *Licensed Victuallers and Beer Acts*; 6341 under the *Weights and Measures Acts*; and 4553 *nuisances and offences against health*.

The number of persons proceeded against in 1859 shows a decrease of 2·7 per cent. upon the total proceeded against in the previous year, the convictions being 0·9 per cent. less.

5. *Character of the Accused*.—The class and character of the persons apprehended by the police, both those proceeded against on indictment and summarily, were as follows:—

Characters.	Proceeded against on Indictment.		Proceeded against Summarily.		Total proceeded against.		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.
Known Thieves ... ..	4,207	1,207	13,213	3,397	17,420	4,604	22,024
Prostitutes... ..	—	2,064	—	20,691	—	22,755	22,755
Vagrants, Tramps, and others without visible means of subsistence ... ..	529	151	11,695	4,026	12,224	4,177	16,401
Suspicious characters ... ..	5,378	1,261	33,374	6,550	43,752	7,811	51,563
Habitual Drunkards (not under above heads) ... ..	353	98	18,087	5,205	18,440	5,303	23,743
Previous good Character... ..	3,931	886	113,770	14,772	117,701	15,658	133,359
Character unknown ... ..	5,522	1,532	116,551	27,479	121,073	29,011	150,084
Total ... ..	19,920	7,199	310,690	82,120	330,610	89,319	419,929



Upon this table Mr. Redgrave remarks:—

“Comparing the number of the above classes proceeded against with the numbers reported to be at large, the police are shown to have pursued during the year 22,024 known thieves and depredators against 39,538 stated to be at large, or 55·7 per cent., and 22,755 prostitutes against 30,780 at large, no less than 73·8 per cent. This may be taken as a proof of the active agency of the police in the repression of the criminal classes.” (p. xiii.)

This repressive agency of the police is shown more conspicuously by a statement of the commitments of known thieves in the town and country districts already referred to.

6. *Coroners' Returns*.—The inquests held in 1859 exceed in number those of 1858 (3·4 per cent.) and 1857, and they presented one noticeable fact, to wit, “the great increase of the number of females murdered”—exceeding by one-third the average of the three previous years. The number of inquests held last year, and the verdicts, are thus stated:—

Verdict.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Murder . . . . .	89	115	204
Manslaughter . . . . .	140	58	198
Justifiable homicide . . . . .	17	6	23
Suicide or self-murder . . . . .	910	330	1,240
Accidental death . . . . .	7,081	2,160	9,241
Injuries, causes unknown . . . . .	223	127	350
Found dead . . . . .	1,873	1,044	2,917
Natural death:—			
From excessive drinking . . . . .	206	100	306
Disease aggravated by neglect . . . . .	40	53	93
Want, cold, exposure, &c. . . . .	106	56	162
Other causes . . . . .	3,409	2,388	5,797
Total . . . . .	14,094	6,437	20,531

Of the subjects of the foregoing inquests 52·5 per cent. were adults, and nearly one-third (31·3) per cent. females. Infants of 7 years of age and under were the subjects of 5605 inquests, and children under 16 and above 7 years, of 1784.

The total cost of the inquests in 1859 was 60,920*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, the average expense of each inquest being 2*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

7. *Present State of Crime*.—A comparative view of the numbers of commitments over a series of years (furnished by the records of trials and punishments in the “Criminal Tables” since 1810) indicates an arrest in the onward progress of crime, and “affords the hope of a permanent improvement.” In the past year the commitments were 6·6 per cent. less than in 1858, and 17·7 per cent. less than in 1857. This decrease was very general, reaching all the English counties except Bedford, Cornwall, Durham,

Middlesex, Northampton, Rutland, Southampton, Westmoreland, and in each of these counties the commitments were still less than in 1857. There was a decrease of 5·8 per cent. in the commitments for *offences against the person*, although murder and attempts to murder, concealing the births of infants, and bigamy formed an exception to the rest of this class, showing an increase, but only in an unimportant degree. Stabbing, manslaughter, unnatural offences, and rape and attempts to ravish, had diminished, the latter considerably. In 1858, there was a large decrease of commitments for *offences against the person*. Last year a further decrease of 15·8 per cent. occurred, including the chief crimes of burglary, house-breaking, and robbery. A greater or less decrease of the commitments in the remaining classes of offences also occurred, with the exception of malicious ones against property, in which there was a slight increase.

But the present state of crime will be better seen by a further retrospect with which Mr. Redgrave furnishes us, first observing that:—

“There are distinctly two classes of offences, one of which springs from the state of the general community, and is of singularly uniform recurrence; the other from a separate criminal class, from time to time increased or diminished in number by external circumstances, as the price of food, the state of employment, and again more directly by changes in the police and the criminal laws, by which the class is repressed. It has also been found that in those years when the tendency to petty thefts and frauds is lessened by abundant employment for labour and cheap food, assaults and other minor offences against the person are stimulated, probably by the increased means of obtaining intoxicating liquors, which such periods afford.” (p. xv.)

Mr. Redgrave then goes on to state:—

“The data exist for an accurate comparison of the state of crime on the commitments of the last thirty years, and selecting those crimes for which no disturbing changes have been made in the law, except so far as refers to a great amelioration of the punishments, the following results are obtained. First, with regard to those crimes which may be held largely to mark the character of the community.

Commitments in each five Years. 1859-55. 1854-50. 1849-45. 1844-40. 1839-35. 1834-30.

Murder . . . . .	345	348	365	347	315	326
Stabbing, wounding, &c. with intent to murder or do bodily harm . . .	1505	1249	1173	1157	739	605
Manslaughter . . . .	1144	1144	980	1050	1024	912
Rape and attempts to ravish . . . . .	1239	1395	1263	1221	973	837
Bigamy . . . . .	449	404	399	354	215	186

“In the thirty years over which this comparison extends, the population cannot be estimated to have increased less than forty per cent.

(which would account for a corresponding increase of crime), and property probably in a much greater ratio. It is satisfactory, therefore, to point out that there has been no increase during that period in the commitments for murder; but in the attempts to murder, stabbing, wounding, &c., there has been a progressive increase, which showed itself in a marked degree in 1837, on the extensive abolition of capital punishments which was then effected. In manslaughter the increase has been small, not amounting to one-half the rate of increase of the population. The commitments for rape and attempts to ravish, which on the abolition of the capital punishment in 1841 at once attained a higher rate, and have since been without important change, increased in the last period of fifteen years 28·5 per cent., and in bigamy a large progressive increase marks each quinquennial period. These crimes are chiefly those in which the detective agency of the increased police establishments would be brought to bear rather than their powers of prevention, and there can be no doubt that the increase described may in some considerable degree be attributed to the greater ratio of detection." (p. xvi.)

On a comparison for the same period of the crimes which may be attributed to the existence of a criminal class, the results are by no means unfavourable.

"Taking the worst offences which arise from the criminal class, and are chiefly committed by the old offenders, it is shown that for the last fifteen years the commitments for burglary and house-breaking have been without any sensible variation, and that for robbery on the person the increase, comparing the first with the last fifteen years, has not exceeded 13·7 per cent.; but for horse, sheep, and cattle stealing in the same period, there has been an absolute *decrease* in the commitments, which has been continuous, and reaches 31·0 per cent. These are all crimes in which the agency of the police would be immediately felt, and particularly in the repression of horse, sheep, and cattle stealing. The whole tendency of crime has been, for some years, to the diminution of offences of violence, and the increase of offences of planned theft and fraud—skill in crime has succeeded violence. This is apparent in the above commitments, the increase of all the latter class is most marked. It is gratifying again to notice the entire absence of all offences of a seditious or treasonable character for above ten years." (p. xvi.)

8. *Results of Trials*.—Of the 16,674 persons committed in 1859, 4175 were acquitted and discharged; 15 were acquitted on the ground of insanity, and 14 found insane, making a total of 29 detained as insane; 52 were sentenced to death; 2170 to penal servitude; 10,060 to imprisonment; and 188 to whipping, fine, &c., forming a total of 12,470 convicted.

A comparison of the sentences pronounced during the last ten years, shows that "the decrease of commitments has been concurrent with a diminished severity of the punishments." Transportation as a sentence has ceased, but the power to remove convicts to the penal colonies is reserved by the abolishing



statute (20 and 21 Vict.) Capital convictions do not average 55 yearly; and under 75 will probably be the average sentenced to penal servitude for life.

"In above 80 per cent. of the convictions the sentence is one of imprisonment, and rarely for a term exceeding one year." Last year, 52 persons were sentenced to death, and 9 executed; of the remainder, 41 were subjected to penal servitude, the majority for long periods and 13 for life, 1 was sent to a reformatory for five years, and 1 received a free pardon. In 1829, 1385 were sentenced to death and 74 executed, "51 of whom were convicted of crimes not now capital."

The costs of prosecutions for the year terminating the 30th June, 1858 (the last return), amounted to 166,229*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*

9. *Crime in France and England.*—A brief comparison of the status of crime in France and England, based upon the latest official returns of both countries, leads to one or two highly interesting conclusions. It would appear that the most serious offences against the person are nearly twice as prevalent in France as in England, the relative population being considered, whereas it is probable that crimes against property are slightly in excess, and simple thefts and frauds markedly in excess in England.

A comparison of the number of offences proceeded against in the different courts of the two kingdoms is slightly in favour of England. Thus the total number of persons proceeded against in France, in 1857, amounted to 771,374 = 213·7 in every 10,000 population; in England, in 1859, the total number was 409,484 = 209·5 in every 10,000 population.\*

Assuming that the total amount of crime in both countries, relative to population, is about the same, the greater tendency to the graver offences in the one country is a fact of weighty interest to the practical psychologist. The importance of the fact will be best understood by quoting Mr. Redgrave's comparative statement of the crimes murder and rape in the two countries:—

FRANCE, 1857.		ENGLAND, 1859.	
Meurtre . . . . .	59	Murder . . . . .	70
Tentative de . . . . .	49	Attempts to murder, attended with	
Assassinat . . . . .	155	dangerous bodily injuries . . .	22
Tentative d' . . . . .	88	Attempts to murder, not attended	
Parricide et tentative de . . .	15	with dangerous bodily injuries .	11
Infanticide et tentative d' . .	246		
Empoisonnement . . . . .	24		
Tentative d' . . . . .	23		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total murder and attempts to		Total murder and attempts to	
murder . . . . .	659	murder . . . . .	103

\* Estimated population of France in 1857, 36,090,911; census of 1856, population 36,039,364. Estimated population of England, 1859, 19,542,785; census of 1851, population 17,927,609.

## FRANCE, 1857.

Attentat à la pudeur avec violences sur des adultes, sans circonstances aggravantes . . . .	73
Viol et attentat à la pudeur avec circonstances aggravantes sur des adultes . . . . .	130
Attentat sans violences sur des enfans au-dessous de onze ans, sans circonstances aggravantes.	300
Viol et attentat à la pudeur avec violences sur des enfans de moins de 15 ans, ou sans violences, mais avec d'autres circonstances aggravantes . . . . .	332
Attentat à la pudeur par un individu de moins de 16 ans (délit)	55

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Total rape and attempts to ravish . . . . . 890

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Avortement et tentatives de . . 104

## ENGLAND, 1859.

Rape, and carnally abusing girls under the age of ten years . .	132
Assaults with intent to ravish and carnally abuse . . . . .	131
Carnally abusing girls between the age of 10 and 12 years . .	11

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Total rape and attempts to ravish . . . . . 274

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Attempts to procure miscarriage. 7

The frequency of parricide and infanticide, as well as the excess of the grossest offences against morality, in the French records is very remarkable. A further comparison cannot well be instituted between the graver offences against the person in the two countries. The manslaughter and malicious stabbing of our law do not precisely correspond with the homicide and *blesures et coups* of the French code. The latter, however, so greatly exceed the seemingly-like class of cases in England, that it is probable the French terms include cases which in this country would be proceeded against as assaults only.

10. *Commitments to Prison.*—*Prisons and Prisoners.*—The commitments to prison, in 1859, were 9·0 per cent. less than in 1858 (the commitments of that year being 1·7 per cent. less than in 1857), and there was, for the first time, a marked decrease in the female commitments. "These," Mr. Redgrave states, "had increased from year to year till 1857, when they reached their maximum, having added 35·8 per cent. to their numbers since 1847. Separating, however, the more strictly criminal commitments, those for trial and on summary conviction, it is shown, on a comparison of the two last periods of five years, that this class of the commitments decreased 2·9 per cent., while the total commitments increased 4·9 per cent." (p. xxiii.)

The fact of a progressive decrease in the number of commitments to prison "in face of the large body of police lately added to existing establishments, and the concurrent almost complete abandonment of transportation to the colonies must be taken as a conclusive proof of the decrease of crime." (p. xxiii.)

The *recommitments* (38,428) last year were 3152 less than in

1858 (41,580), their proportion being to the total commitments 27·5 per cent. This proportion was 29·8 per cent. in 1858, and 29·7 per cent. in 1857. These figures, however, cannot be regarded as representing the full amount of recommittals; neither, on the other hand, is it to be supposed that all those, who, after being discharged from prison, are lost sight of by the police, are reformed. If, on enlargement, a *quondam* criminal seeks new haunts and recommences there a course of crime, should he again come within the grasp of the law, which sooner or later is pretty certain to happen, his previous committal often cannot be recorded against him, his former history being generally unknown to the police of the locality.

The proportion of *juvenile commitments*, that is to say, those under 16 years of age, reached its maximum in 1856, and was then 12·3 per cent. on the total commitments. In 1857, the proportion was 10·0 per cent.; in 1858, 8·7 per cent.; and in 1859, 8·8 per cent. The number of commitments, last year, under 12 years of age, was 1378 (1176 males and 202 females); aged 12 and under 16 years, 7535 (6406 males and 1129 females).

Of the total number of individuals committed to prison in 1859, 77·9 per cent. were *born* in England; 2·6 in Wales; 2·1 Scotland; 14·2 Ireland; 0·5 the Colonies and East Indies; and 1·6 foreign countries; 1·1 per cent. not being ascertained.

The *state of instruction* of the committed was as follows:— 35·7 per cent. could not either read or write; 58·8 per cent. could read, or read and write imperfectly; 4·3 per cent. could read and write well; 0·3 per cent. had inferior instruction; and of 0·9 per cent. the instruction was not ascertained. These figures, on being compared with those of previous years, show a tendency to an increase of prisoners who are able to read and write imperfectly.

The *occupations* of the committed may be thus summed up:— 19·4 per cent. had no occupation; 4·1 were domestic servants; 42·4 are classed as labourers, charwomen, and needle-women; 4·5 were factory workers; 19·6 were mechanics and skilled labourers; 0·1 foremen and overlookers of labour; 1·1 shopmen, shopwomen, clerks, &c.; 3·1 shopkeepers and dealers; 0·3 professional employments; 4·4 sailors, mariners, and soldiers; 1·0 occupations not ascertained. This return, as compared with the similar one of the previous year, shows a decrease in the total number of prisoners recorded as of “no occupation,” although, it is to be remarked, that there was an increase of females, probably prostitutes, under this head.

At the commencement of 1859, the number of prisoners confined in county and borough gaols amounted to 17,920. During the year, 126,861 persons were committed, and the removals between local prisons numbered 3514, giving 148,295 as the total amount of prisoners in 1859. Of these, 8991 were removed to



Government and other prisons, 936 (766 males and 170 females) to reformatory schools, and 124 (96 males and 28 females) to lunatic asylums; 163 were discharged on pardon or commutation of sentence, 6 on ticket-of-leave, and 122,316 on the termination of sentence or commitment, 6 escaped, 9 committed suicide, 160 died, and 10 were executed—15,574 remaining in prison at the end of the year.

The decrease of commitments, as previously stated, was, in 1859, 9·0 per cent.; but the decrease in the number remaining in prison at the end of the year was 13·0 per cent.; a difference to be accounted for by the lesser duration of the sentences, added to some increase in the proportion removed and discharged.

Our prisons are constructed to contain 25,858 prisoners (20,659 males and 5199 females); the greatest number confined at any one time last year was 20,693 (16,034 males and 4659 females); while the daily average was 16,709 (12,998 males and 3711 females). Many of our prisons, notwithstanding the large margin apparent in the summary, are still inadequate to their average commitments.

There is a tendency to an increase of *sickness* in the prisons, chiefly manifested in cases of slight indisposition. The infirmary cases and death-rate keeps pace, however, with the decrease of commitments. The cases of insanity among prisoners amounted, in 1859, to 129 (98 males and 31 females); the average annual number of cases in the five years, 1849-53, being 106; and in 1854-59, 132.

The returns of *prison punishments* show a greater decrease than the amount of prison population, and chiefly in the severer punishments inflicted by order of the magistrates. "The offences which the keepers of prisons may punish are defined, and the punishments are restricted to close confinement in a solitary or refractory cell, with bread and water only, for a term not exceeding three days." In 1859, whipping was had recourse to in 108 instances: irons or handcuffs, in 88; solitary or dark cells, in 11,002; stoppage of diet, in 35,065; and other punishments, in 1441—punishment being thus inflicted in 47,704 instances, the distribution being to the male prisoners, 39,172; to the female, 8532. Whipping was confined solely to the male prisoners.

The cost of the county and borough prisons in 1859 amounted to 493,747*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, the average annual cost of each prisoner being 29*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*, or, excluding the extraordinary charges for building and fittings, 24*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* The profit arising from prisoners' labour was 25,410*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*; vagrants' money applied to maintenance, and other small contingent receipts, raised the prison receipts to 25,513*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* The remainder of the funds were supplied from the following sources: Local rates and funds, 364,816*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; public revenues, 99,417*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*

The *convict prisons*, which are entirely appropriated to prisoners sentenced to penal servitude, and which have superseded the hulks, are—*Pentonville* and *Millbank*, for prisoners undergoing the first stage of discipline in separate confinement, both males and females; *Portsmouth*, *Portland*, and *Chatham*, for male prisoners undergoing the second stage of discipline and industrial training on public works; *Dartmoor*, for male invalids capable only of light labour on the land; *Lewes*, temporarily used for confirmed invalid male prisoners, and to be given up on the completion of the new invalid prisons now erecting at Woking; *Parkhurst*, Isle of Wight, the reformatory for convicted boys; *Brixton*, exclusively for female prisoners under the second stage of discipline; and the *Fulham Refuge*, also exclusively for female prisoners under instruction, and employed in laundry and other useful domestic work.

These prisons are under the control of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and their management is superintended by the Chairman and Directors of Convict Prisons. Additional accommodation for convicts is also provided, at the charge of Government, in two county prisons.

At the commencement of 1859, 7628 convicts were undergoing punishment; and 2755 were received from county and borough prisons during the year, making a total of 10,383 (8922 males, and 1461 females). Of these, 360 were removed to the colonies (224 to Western Australia, and 140 to Gibraltar), 1 was removed to a county gaol, 1 to a reformatory, and 38 were sent to lunatic asylums; 1747 were discharged on termination of sentence, 252 on tickets-of-leave, 24 on commutation of sentence, and 13 on pardon; 87 died, 1 committed suicide, and 3 escaped, while 7852 remained in prison at the end of the year—the daily average of convict prisoners during the year having been 7749.

The increased number of convicts at the termination, as compared with the commencement of the year, arose chiefly from the greater number of females under detention. The daily average shows a decrease of 14·1 per cent. on the preceding year; and the number of convicts sent to the colonies, as compared with two preceding years was greatly diminished. Thus, in 1857, 1032 were sent abroad; in 1858, 1390; in 1859, 364 only.

On *transportation*, and particularly on the transportation of female convicts, also on *tickets-of-leave*, Mr. Redgrave makes the following remarks:—

“It is probable that owing to the greater difficulties and restrictions which now attend transportation, diminished numbers will for the future be removed to a penal colony. There has been for some time no suitable means of providing for the transportation of *female* convicts, which, added to the increase of the offenders of that sex, and the admitted greater difficulty of their reformation, will sufficiently account for the

increased numbers in the convict prisons, as well as in the county and borough prisons, where the unusually large proportion of the repeated recommittals of females show that no proper discipline has yet been found for the lost characters of this class.

"The conditions have nearly disappeared which on the sudden restriction of the means of transportation to a penal colony necessitated a large discharge of convicts at home and led to the adoption of the licence or ticket-of-leave system. It is probable that in the limited number of such discharges now granted the licence will prove an additional safeguard to the public and a wholesome restraint to the discharged convict. These discharges were, in 1856, 2892; in 1857, 922; in 1858, 312; and in 1859, 252 only." (p. xxxi.)

The *sickness* among the convicts needs no remark, except that the females suffered much less than the males, 350 cases of serious illness being recorded among the former, while 6663 occurred among the latter: the cases of insanity, 31 males, 9 females. The *punishments* barely averaged one a-day, and were chiefly of the same character as those noted in the county and borough prisons. The instances to which whipping was had recourse, were less than half the average number.

The total cost of the convict prisons amounted to 247,716*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; the average cost of each convict, 31*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* This return is exclusive of gratuities paid to convicts on discharge, with allowance for their clothing and travelling, which average about 20,000*l.* additional. The monetary value of convict labour, although it must largely reduce the costs involved in their restraint, cannot readily be estimated.

The prisoners in the *reformatory schools* during 1859, amounted to 3014 (2488 males, and 526 females), of whom 922 had been committed during the year, 472 of these cases having been previously under restraint. The number of prisoners discharged in 1859 was 441, and there remained under detention, at the end of the year, 2426.

It is most gratifying to find, and at the same time it is a most hopeful indication of the good and permanent effect of these schools, that the decrease of crime in 1859 was contemporaneous with an increase of the numbers discharged from them.

"It seemed reasonable," writes Mr. Redgrave, "on a first experience to impute the decreased proportion of recommittals to the large numbers who were undergoing an unusually lengthened detention under the new reformatory discipline. But it is the more satisfactory now to show that the previous commitments, instead of increasing with the numbers discharged, have actually largely diminished, thus:—

"Discharged, 1859 . . . 441		Previously committed, 1859 . . . 472
" 1858 . . . 299		" " 1858 . . . 496
" 1857 . . . 108		" " 1857 . . . 663"

(p. xxxiv).



The total cost of the reformatory schools (defrayed from the public revenues at the rate of 7s. each prisoner) was, last year, 38,853*l.* 1s. 3*d.* The total sum received from the parents in diminution of this charge, 1594*l.* 0s. 8*d.*

Of the *industrial schools* (19 in number, 11 being in the metropolis) to which children under 14 years of age can be directly committed, without any intervening imprisonment in gaol, little can yet be said, the Act governing them having hitherto been comparatively inoperative.

11. *Criminal Lunatics*.—A return of the criminal lunatics under detention completes Mr. Redgrave's Report on Police, Criminal Proceedings, and Prisons.

The number of criminal lunatics under detention at the commencement of 1859, was 684 (527 males and 157 females). During the year there were committed, 200 (162 males and 38 females), and received from other asylums 17 (14 males and 3 females), making a total of 901 lunatics under detention in the year. Of these, 43 died, 1 committed suicide, 4 escaped, 54 (36 males and 18 females) were discharged on becoming sane, 16 were removed sane, for trial or punishment, and 54 were removed to other asylums, leaving 729 (569 males and 160 females) under detention at the termination of the year.

"The numbers remaining under detention," Mr. Redgrave remarks, "form a further increase in 1859, the numbers in the former years having been, in 1858, 686; in 1857, 618; in 1856, 597; the increase being probably more owing to the greater vigilance exercised by the increased police forces, in providing for the safe detention of insane persons, than to their increase; but as their detention has no limit, the tendency must be to increased numbers." (p. xxxvi.)

The offences for which the foregoing lunatics were placed in custody (correctness of definition, however, not being always practicable) were as follows:—

OFFENCES.	Males.	Females.	Total.	OFFENCES.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Murder ... ..	95	44	139	Larceny and petty thefts ...	150	65	215
Attempts to murder, maim, stabbing, &c. ... ..	81	8	89	Frauds and embezzlements ...	5	—	5
Concealing birth and infan- ticide ... ..	—	2	2	Receiving stolen goods ... ..	2	2	4
Manslaughter ... ..	4	2	6	Arson and malicious burning	35	5	40
Rape ... ..	4	—	4	Wilful damage, and other ma- licious offences ... ..	10	8	18
Assault, with intent to ravish	7	—	7	Forgery ... ..	2	—	2
Unnatural offences ... ..	10	—	10	Uttering counterfeit coin ...	7	1	8
Treasonable and seditious practices ... ..	2	—	2	Riot and breach of the peace ...	33	7	40
Assaults ... ..	43	4	47	Under the vagrant laws ...	34	14	48
Indecent exposure of the per- son ... ..	6	—	6	Dangerous persons at large ...	2	—	2
Burglary and housebreaking ...	41	2	43	Insane, wandering abroad without control ... ..	1	—	1
Robbery on the highway, &c. ...	10	—	10	Deserters from the army and navy ... ..	6	—	6
Sheep-stealing ... ..	9	—	9	Other offences ... ..	79	24	103
Horse-stealing ... ..	8	—	8				
				Total... ..	686	188	874

The period of detention to which these lunatics had been subjected at the time of the return, is thus recorded:—

One year and under . . .	219
Two years and above one . . .	123
Three years and above two . . .	116
Five years and above three . . .	116
Ten years and above five . . .	118
Fifteen years and above ten . . .	60
Twenty years and above fifteen . . .	40
Above twenty . . . . .	32

Of the 132 lunatics who have been detained upwards of ten years, 53 are under custody for murder and attempts to murder, maiming, or stabbing. Nearly one-third (247) of the total number of criminal lunatics, according to the table of offences, have been placed in confinement for grave offences against the person.

The total charge for the detention of criminal lunatics in 1859 was 23,376*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*; of which 1657*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* came from private funds.

From Mr. Redgrave's report on the proceedings of the civil courts, we shall only note the apparent *causes of bankruptcy* in 1859, adding also the summary of these causes for 1858:—

	1859.	1858.
Reckless and unsound speculations, excessive trading . . . . .	295 cases.	457 cases.
Interest, discounts, accommodation bills, suretyship . . . . .	124 „	145 „
Incompetence, neglect, personal extravagance . . . . .	323 „	432 „
Unavoidable misfortunes . . . . .	145 „	197 „

In terminating this outline of the Status of Crime in 1859, we have to record that, with the present number of *The Judicial Statistics*, Mr. Redgrave's duties as the compiler of that work terminate. It is not, however, solely as the compiler of these important returns that Mr. Redgrave's relation to them is to be regarded. He has, indeed, a claim to much higher regard upon our part; for to his efforts, voluntarily undertaken and voluntarily carried out, we are chiefly indebted for the elaborate scheme of which we are now beginning to reap the first fruits. It is impossible, without an examination of the different returns upon which Mr. Redgrave's reports are based, to form a right idea of their comprehensiveness, and of the labour involved in securing the co-operation necessary to obtain the careful registration and periodical report of the facts upon which those returns are founded. It was only by long-continued and arduous efforts that Mr. Redgrave ultimately succeeded in overcoming the many disheartening difficulties which lay in his way; and now that his

statistical scheme has been matured, and everything put in right train for its future working, we hope that no petty and mistaken economy on the part of Government will interfere with its being permanently carried out. The value of such a scheme of Judicial Statistics to the Legislature has been sufficiently insisted upon by Lord Brougham;\* to the political and social economist its importance can hardly be questioned for a moment; to the philanthropist, the moralist, or the psychologist, *per se*, it offers a sound basis for the practical study of the general, as contradistinguished from the individual, phenomena of crime, the advantages of which cannot be exaggerated; to all persons these statistics must possess that high interest which is inseparable from an accurate knowledge of the amount and character of the overt villany which corrodes the nation, and of the influence of those means which are especially put in force for its repression.

For ourselves, while deeply regretting that Mr. Redgrave should find it requisite to retire from the active control of the Judicial Statistics, we would express our admiration of, and tender our thanks for, the great work he has effected for the nation—a work which, to his honour and our advantage, we trust will from henceforth have a permanent place among the annual records of Government.

#### ART. IV.—THE MODERN DRAMA:

##### A CONTRIBUTION TO MENTAL DIETETICS.†

IF a new Jeremy Collier were now to arise, his picture of the “profaneness and immorality” of the English stage would necessarily be much more subdued in tone than that which aroused so much anger and indignation among our poets and players at the close of the seventeenth century. He could not charge our theatre with gross immodesty and indecency, or bring forward the works of Terence, Plautus, Seneca, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, to prove that the Pagan Greeks and Romans displayed greater purity in their writings than Christian Englishmen. He could not charge our dramatists with a fondness for profanity, or with recognising cursing and swearing, coupled with abuse of religion, as the distinguishing evidences of wit and good breeding. He could not accuse them of systematic and scurrilous ridicule of the

\* “Full and minute statistical details are to the lawgiver, as the chart, the compass, and the lead to the navigator.”—*Speech, House of Lords, March, 1856.*

† *The Eighth Commandment.* By Charles Reade. London: Trübner and Co. 1860.



clergy, or find any play of modern date in which a minister of religion is spoken of, like Dominick in *The Spanish Friar*, as "a parcel of holy guts and garbage," with "room in his belly for his church steeple." He could not allege that, in the dramatic works of the present day, all the principal characters are represented as worthless and vicious, and yet receive no punishment at the end; and if, in support of his censures against the stage, he cited the high authority of Theophilus Antiochenus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Minutius Foelix, St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, St. Hierom, or St. Augustine, readers would be apt to smile at these hallowed names, and to question the propriety of bringing forward the Fathers of the Church as authorities upon the subject of the English theatre and the English drama of our own time.

Has our stage grown so pure, then, it may be asked, in this the middle of the nineteenth century, that it needs no castigation at the hands of a modern censor? Have we no Drydens, no Congreves, no D'Urfeys, giving vice a modish, agreeable air, rendering ribaldry fashionable, impure actions patterns for imitation, and filthy witticisms standards of polite conversation? In our dramatic literature are there no reproductions of *Love for Love*, *The Mock Astrologer*, *The Provoked Wife*, or *The Old Bachelor*? Have we quite cleared out the Augean stables and kept them so carefully attended to ever since, that no fresh impurities have been allowed to accumulate there?

Undoubtedly, the English stage of the present day is free from all the more glaring and obvious vices which prevailed when the great nonjuring divine wrote his famous essay. We do not now habitually make light of the marriage tie in our theatre. Adultery is not now systematically elevated into a virtue it behoves all dashing fellows of spirit to practise. If we wish to gain favour for the fallen we take good care to throw around them, first of all, a veil of sentiment and pathos. Our poets do not now put indecent verses into the mouths of women and young girls, or indulge in equivocations and inuendo worthy only of prostitution and the stews. The gallants of our stage do not, like the wits and fine gentlemen described by Macaulay, unceasingly utter ribaldry of which a porter would be ashamed, or call upon their Maker every five minutes "to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, and damn them."

No! our theatre has at least learnt good manners since the glorious days of the Restoration, and is no longer a rendezvous of profligacy or a recruiting ground for the brothel and the bear-garden.

Yet we think it would not be difficult to show that the stage is still far from reaching the high intellectual standard it ought

to attain ; that it by no means exercises all the ethical or æsthetical influence it ought to exercise ; and that its shortcomings, innocent as they may be when compared with its former vices, reflect no great credit upon our literary reputation as a nation. We had almost said that they cast a distinctive reproach upon it.

What should be the object of dramatic entertainment ? Are plays merely meant to gratify the senses, to please the eye with dazzling colours, to divert the ear with amusing dialogues, to tickle the fancy with ingenious stage combinations ? Many, doubtless, will be ready to reply with an unhesitating affirmative to these questions. They will say—"We go to the theatre to be amused, not to be sermonized ; we go there as a relief from the cares, the occupation, and the anxieties of daily life : if we want to gain instruction, we can apply for it in our books ; and if our consciences ever grow uneasy, the pulpit will restore them to calmness. Let the theatre, therefore, be dedicated to our amusement, and to our amusement only."

Now we are not writing in the interests of cant, still less with a view of slyly insinuating ourselves into the good graces of Exeter Hall ; let us, therefore, admit that the theatre is a place of recreation, that it is a place where we go to seek distraction amid the troubles and the labours of life, and furthermore let us admit that in our opinion any attempt to make it too closely resemble the conventicle or the lecture hall would be ill-judged and absurd. Nothing, probably, would be more wearying and insupportable than dramatic entertainments distinctly put forth with an exclusive moral and "improving" object. Assuredly they would not improve upon acquaintance. We had our mysteries and moralities in other days, but even they were relieved by an admixture of lighter matter. "It was a pretty part in the old church plays," says Bishop Harsenet, "when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a Jack-an-Apes into the Devil's necke, and ride the Devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so vice-haunted." It was the "licentious pleasantries," as Warton calls them, of these productions, together with the extraordinary and romantic incidents with which they were allied, that rendered *The Fall of Lucifer*, *The Creation*, *The Deluge*, *The Killing of Innocents*, and similar entertainments, so popular with the spectators who witnessed them. But then, as now, dramatic productions written with the special intent of enforcing moral precepts, or of inculcating religious truths, must almost inevitably have failed in that object, from the dulness inherent in all such anomalous and artificial compositions.

We see this in certain works of fiction occasionally published in our own day. Written, not to depict human nature, to portray

manners, or to reproduce with vivid colouring the events of an historic past, but simply to illustrate a theory, to propound a dogma, or to solve a problem, of social or political import, the intent out of which they spring obtrudes itself so conspicuously in every page, that the writer stands a very fair chance of ultimately wearying rather than convincing—of losing disciples already made rather than of gaining new converts. It was the great artistic defect of Jerrold as a novelist, that the *purpose* with which he wrote occupied his attention to the exclusion of almost all other considerations, so that the characters of his fictions, and often indeed of his plays, utter the author's thoughts rather than their own.

If the stage is to prosper, then, and fulfil any mission at all, let it eschew dramas written upon a roundhand text, and turn its back upon all productions which are mere sermons in disguise. That the moral should spring out of the play, well and good: but we shall generally have a dreary prospect before us if the play springs out of the moral. Morality cut to pattern is sure to be a misfit.

We may heartily join our voices, therefore, with those who claim the theatre as a place of amusement, and who ask for entertainment within its walls. But this, after all, does not bind us to the whole of their views. For amusement is of various kinds, and according to its nature may be healthy or morbid, elevated or degrading, useful or pernicious. Cock-fighting is an amusement, and when the Whitehall pit basked under kingly favour, it was considered a most fashionable and delightful pastime. Bull-baiting is an amusement, and Paris Garden in its day numbered patrons among the high-born and cultivated, as well as among the plebeian and uninstructed. Rat worrying is also an amusement, and to this day the sporting newspapers will tell us in what direction to bend our steps if we wish to see some vivacious terrier dispatch a certain number of subjects in a certain number of minutes. Pugilistic encounters constitute an amusement, favoured, too, as we saw on a recent occasion, not only by the lower classes, but by the best-bred people in the land, and mentioned with tenderness by the most important organ of public opinion we possess in this country. Amusement has ever been, in fact, and must ever be, of the most diversified nature, as different in its characteristics and organization as in its manifestations and tendencies.

It is impossible, therefore, to place all amusement on the same level, moral or intellectual. Does it make no difference whether we pass an afternoon in gazing around the Salon Carré, or spend it in witnessing a trial of physical prowess between Mr. Sayers and Mr. Heenan? Is the diversion the same whether



we obtain it by pulling an oar or by impaling blue-bottles? If one man finds recreation in a visit to South Kensington, and another in sitting over his beer amid the drunken tap-room frequenters of the Dog and Bottle, are both their amusements entitled to take rank in the same category? Is one as commendable as the other, or as worthy of being followed?

Now, what sort of amusement ought we to have in our theatre? Should it be elevating or degrading? Should it refine or brutalize? Should it teach us good manners, or corrupt us with evil counsel? or, lastly, should it exercise a purely neutral influence, and, like the quack doctor's elixir, do us neither harm nor good? Certainly it would be better for the stage to operate thus passively rather than with an actively pernicious effect. But ought we in the interests of art to be satisfied with this poor and pitiful result? If we merely wish to be diverted, let us call in Jack Pudding from the street, pay him a shilling to swallow a string of sausages, or to stand on his head, or to twist his mouth from ear to ear, and surely we may laugh and roar to satiety without stage or theatre at all. But if the drama is an art—and that it is no one will deny—let us cultivate it like any other art, like painting, like sculpture, like music, and strive our utmost to develop it to the utmost. We may not even then reach our ideal; but if we only distantly approach it we shall have made more progress than is possible by simply standing still.

Once admit this principle, that the drama should be cultivated with the loving perseverance and artistic sympathy bestowed upon other arts, and we shall have no difficulty in seeing that it cannot, when thus cultivated, exercise a purely negative influence. It must, by the powerful agencies at its command, be something more than a neutral agent. It must do something more than raise a smile or fill up an hour of leisure. What it should do we need not be long in determining. Jeremy Collier showed himself possessed of no common amount of dramatic insight when he defined the true object and purpose of stage representations—

"The Business of Plays," says he, in his quaint but forcible phraseology, "is to recommend Virtue and discountenance Vice. To show the Uncertainty of Human greatness, the suddain Turns of Fate, and the unhappy Conclusions of Violence and Injustice. 'Tis to expose the singularities of Pride and Fancy, to make Folly and Falsehood contemptible, and to bring everything that is Ill under Infamy and Neglect. This design has been odly pursued by the English Stage. Our Poets write with another View, and are gone into another Interest. 'Tis true were their Intentions fair they might be Serviceable to this Purpose. They have in a great measure the Springs of Thought and Inclination in their power. Show, Musick, Action, and Rhetorick,

are moving Entertainments, and rightly employed would be very significant."

Now, the great fault of the drama in our own day is its almost negative character. It certainly does not lay itself open to the censures of Jeremy Collier; but then how far it is from coming up to the requirements of Jeremy Collier! It has no active vices, perhaps, but its passive virtues are almost as reprehensible in these days of moral and intellectual advancement. It is tame, flat, conventional; it has no invention, no ingenuity, no intellectual elevation, no independence, no vital energy. It scarcely takes rank as an art. We are proud of our pictures, we are not ashamed of our sculpture, we hold our general literature in high esteem; but of our drama we make no mention. In a comparatively few metropolitan circles, some interest is still felt in the stage, and here and there the masterly acting of Mr. Webster in *Janet Pride*, the life-like embodiment of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant by Mr. Phelps, or the success of Mr. Robson in his latest character, constitute subjects upon which conversation and colloquial criticism grow animated. But how narrow is the world in which this occurs! The whole of the reading public will have something to say about *Adam Bede*, or *What will he do with It?* but directly you have passed beyond certain metropolitan boundaries, you may inquire in vain after the *Overland Route*, the *Willow Copse*, or *Daddy Hardacre*.

And it is not merely among those who entertain objections to the stage on religious grounds that our theatre is held in such small account. The upper classes, as a body, have almost utterly deserted it. Their amusement they find in the opera—not as some have hastily supposed, because the opera is fashionable, but simply because upon the lyric stage there is a completeness, an affluence of resources, an evidence of managerial taste, and a display of artistic excellence, such as are not to be met with in any establishment where English plays are represented. If Drury-lane could produce *Macbeth* or the *School for Scandal* as Covent-garden can produce the *Prophète* or the *Barbieri*, its programme might be stereotyped for weeks, and not a private box would be obtainable for love or money until the requirements of Belgravia had been fully satisfied.

Nothing indeed can be more pitiable and crestfallen than the stage under its present aspect. It once was full of life and energy, revelling in a powerful influence, which it certainly abused, but which nevertheless showed of what things it was capable. Now the furious beast which Puritanism hunted and struggled with, and which it momentarily overcame, walks abroad unfear'd, unheeded, in the public way. The lion has had its claws cut, its teeth have been extracted, even its roar has been tempered to a

whisper, and the formidable animal has become as harmless as a lap-dog, and is held in much about the same estimation. The stage has lost all confidence in itself, all courage, all capacity. The broken-down merchant who becomes a messenger in the establishment of which he was once the chief, is not more humble in tone, or more obsequious in manner, than the theatre of the present day. There is scarcely a subject lying out of the beaten dramatic track which it dares to handle. It is afraid to meddle with politics; it shuns all allusion to the great questions which may be agitating the public mind; it shrinks from religion as a poor man shrinks from the elegant and well-furnished church, which he foolishly imagines he is not worthy to enter; it rarely touches upon history, except with timid nervousness; even the manners of the day, the passing follies of the hour, the airy trifles floating in the social atmosphere, and against which the polished shaft of wit and ridicule have ever been directed—even these fail to arouse its slumbering energies. It goes on at a jog-trot pace, the embodiment of a commonplace respectability, which, in its eagerness to offend no susceptibilities, to awaken no antagonism, to pass beyond no established formula of thought and speech, becomes pre-eminently tame, servile, humdrum, harmless, and contemptible.

True, the stage, as though still in its teens, has a guardian, a strange anomalous protector, called a censor, whose mission it is to look after the little boy, and see that he does not use any bad language, throw stones, get into evil company, or read Tom Paine; and this fact, doubtless, accounts to some extent for the timidity and tameness to which we have made allusion. But how is it such an absurd officer is allowed to exist a day in free England? Why! if the stage lad had any spirit, he would turn round upon the protector by whom he is followed, hit out at that well-dressed inculcator of propriety, and serve the official Mentor exactly as Tom Brown served Slogger Williams. After a little sparring, and very few rounds, we should hear no more of the dramatic censor, depend upon it.

Fully nine-tenths of the works now brought out upon the English stage are utterly colourless and conventional. They reproduce conventional characters, they employ conventional phraseology, they embody conventional ideas, they depend for the interest they excite upon conventional incidents, developed through the agency of conventional plots. Time advances, but the stage stands still, and in this way it happens that the pictures of life represented at the theatre apply neither to the past nor to the present, nor, indeed, to any day. To paraphrase the eulogy bestowed upon Shakespeare's masterpieces, they are not of an age, but of no time.



Taking all these circumstances into account, it is strange to find many people of by no means illiberal or narrow-minded views, still shunning the theatre on principle ; shunning it in no bigoted, sectarian spirit, but on the broad ground of morality and Christian decorum ; believing it the same pest-house of iniquity it is held to be in Puritan traditions ; regarding it as Satan's own playground, and feeling quite ready to disinherit son or daughter of theirs, who should enter into its unhallowed precincts. Now, we have no wish to treat such views with levity, or to throw any ridicule upon convictions which we know are entertained in full sincerity. Still we cannot help expressing the opinion that those views and convictions rightly belong to another period, and are not justified by the present condition of our stage.

Doubtless, there is to many minds a fascination in the theatre, which, if unduly yielded to, would lead to no good result. But may not the same be said of all amusements, even those which we find ministers of religion openly and zealously advocating in the present day ? Cricket, for instance, is a very exhilarating, beneficial, and manly pastime, but if Master Bob or young Mr. William were to give up all their time to it, neglect school studies for it, and plainly show that their whole thoughts were absorbed in the game, their father would assuredly be justified in pulling up the wickets, burning the bats, and pitching the balls into a horse-pond. Again, there is a fascination in the society of women, more especially perhaps if they be young, pretty, intelligent, accomplished, well-bred, amiable, and free from affectation. But are we therefore to set it up as a rule of our lives, that we must never enter the presence of these syrens, lest, once drawn across the charmed circle, we find ourselves without power to return ? The theatre, as an amusement, must of course be followed like any other, with reason and in moderation, and when thus followed, its results will assuredly not be of a kind to excite alarm.

But do the opponents of the stage really know what sort of an amusement it is which they hold in such deep abhorrence ? Let them enter with us just for once into a good metropolitan theatre. If they don't like the approaches to Wych-street, we will pass by the Olympic, and go up the Strand to the Adelphi ; and when at that house, we can easily run along to the Haymarket, or take a cab to the distant Princess's. It is immaterial which, so we will enter the first we reach.

We look around, and see an audience as decorous and well behaved as that which assembles in Exeter Hall. Hush ! Even as we enter they call upon us not to break in upon the earnest attention with which they are listening to what is passing upon the stage. Our companions are evidently impressed, but not yet quite at ease. They gaze in every direction, sweeping boxes, pit,

and gallery alike with looks of mistrust and suspicion. Don't be alarmed, gentlemen, the painted syren you expected to see is not here; she has long since received her *congé*, long since has ceased to have the run of the house. If she wants to ensnare youth and innocence, she has no greater opportunities afforded her here, than in your own churches and chapels. If she be here at all, it is only by conforming to the same rules of decorum and good behaviour, under favour of which she would at any time obtain a free seat in your temples, or if nicely and unobtrusively dressed, be ushered into a well hassocked pew. Cease your scrutiny, therefore, gentlemen, and note what is passing upon the stage.

You heard that burst of satisfaction, followed by that long and hearty round of applause. You wonder what occasioned it. Some witticism in favour of profligate habits, or some ridicule bestowed upon virtuous manners, you doubtless imagine. Not at all. That poor man upon the stage, who you can see is in terrible misery has been offered a large sum by a rich banker, not a member of the bloated aristocracy, if he will perjure himself. The tempted has but replied to the tempter: "No, sir, the pangs of poverty are hard to bear, but the wealth purchased by crime would bring with it even deeper agony;" and the audience have expressed their approval with that extravagance of gratification which wakes up so many slumbering echoes. A very scandalous and vice-loving audience, it is evident.

Another burst of applause. Surely that must have been occasioned by some objectionable incident, or some improper speech. No; the heroine hears the character of her father falsely stigmatised, and is defending it with filial zeal. "'Tis false. I am his child," are all the words she has uttered, and yet the pit is shedding tears of sympathy, and in the gallery there is not a dry eye, or a pocket handkerchief free from dampness.

And now another manifestation of delight is expressed by peals upon peals of laughter. This time something ribald or profane must assuredly have been uttered, or the entire audience would not thus give vent to its mirth. Once more, No! The comic man has merely knocked down a free-and-easy fine gentleman, who was persecuting an innocent young maid with his amorous impertinence, and the spectators whom you thought utterly won over to the wrong cause, and devoid of all sympathy with aught save evil cannot contain themselves for joy. Have you seen enough, gentlemen, or will you stay longer? If you do, you will witness nothing but entertainments of much the same character; and though in time you may get somewhat weary of them, as we are, you will scarcely be able to charge them with any graver blemish than their monotony and prosiness.

Whatever may be the faults of the stage, immorality cannot be

said to form one of them. Run over the lists of pieces produced in London during the last ten years. Here and there we shall find one containing incidents which betray too decidedly their French origin; but, as a general rule, the works are utterly free from noxious matter. It is the first occupation, indeed, of the English playwright in adapting the dramas of France to our own stage, to expunge from them all objectionable passages. He knows that an English audience has no sympathy, for instance, with adultery, under whatever cover of sentimentality it may be introduced. Out, therefore, goes the luckless hero or heroine, whose engaging frailties have seduced away the tears of the *Ambigu* or the *Vaudeville*. By the time hero or heroine appear before British audiences, the driven snow is not fairer than their innocence and purity. When the stage offends against any of the moral laws, it would seem to do so from mere poverty of invention and dulness of judgment—not from any love of viciousness, or any desire to corrupt. Its greatest sins are blunders, and these, it is only justice to say, are committed but seldom.

Here, perhaps, we shall be met by the question, If the stage is thus pure and innocent, what more can you ask of it? Jeremy Collier merely expects it to recommend virtue, and discountenance vice; are you to be more exacting than he? And if it already fulfils these conditions, how can it be looked upon as falling short of the requirements of its religious critic? Our answer to these objections is soon expressed. The purity and innocence of the drama we look upon as simply negative merits. We expect these qualities, as a matter of course, in the present day—as a result, indeed, of the general tone of society, and the prevailing healthiness of our literature. When our novelists and poets are distinguished by the delicacy and elevation of their sentiments, it would be strange, indeed, if the stage were so far behind the age as to be corrupt and vicious, intent only upon contaminating the public mind. We claim from it, therefore, decency of expression and soundness of purpose, as something we have an absolute right to look for.

But have we not a right to look for something more? Are we satisfied with a novel simply because it is full of excellent sentiments and impregnated with the most amiable piety? Does a poem take up the post of honour upon our bookshelves because the author despises meanness, has a horror of guilt, and expresses these laudable feelings in metrical slipshod? Does the essay, or even the sermon, pass muster, unless it contains something more edifying than common-place views clumsily expressed and badly arranged? Assuredly not. In the novel, the poem, the essay, even in the sermon, we look for literary merit, for originality, for force, for energy, for all the various qualities indeed



which go to make up excellence in a work of art. And why should we not look for the same in a tragedy, comedy, farce, burlesque, or domestic drama?

This, then, is our complaint against the stage—not that it is immoral, but that it is tame, commonplace, and conventional. The sermon is perfectly sound in doctrine, it inculcates nothing but excellent precepts, it contains not an opinion from which we can dissent, and yet its effect is sedative and unsatisfactory. The similes limp with age, the sentences move awkwardly, the arguments totter under the ever-increasing burden of words they are compelled to bear. Not a bad sort of sermon, if listened to for the first time, but coming rather flatly after being heard with a few variations every Sunday from January to December.

It may fairly be said that every department of literature shows signs of intellectual activity and of vital force, except that of the stage. In history, biography, political economy, philosophy, theology, the sciences, we have writers who labour with rare earnestness and perseverance, and who bring to their work highly-cultivated minds, besides talents of the first order. In fiction, we have a host of authors whose works occupy no insignificant position in our literature—Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Muloch, George Eliot, Charles Reade, Kingsley, Antony Trollope, Wilkie Collins, Lever, besides the three great masters of their art—Bulwer, Dickens, and Thackeray. But on the stage there is no mental activity, no signs of intellectual life. A few years ago we might have claimed Jerrold, Bulwer, Knowles, Talfourd, Lovell, Marston, as writers who reflected honour upon our theatre; now the list must dwindle down into a single name, and in Tom Taylor we are compelled to acknowledge we have almost the only distinguished representative of our dramatic literature. *Totus mundus agit histrionem*, says Petronius, but where are we to find the dramatists?

In the preceding remarks, we have spoken of the drama with special reference to the works represented in what are called the West-end theatres, and which taken collectively may fairly be said to constitute the English stage. But we should leave the subject incompletely developed, did we not allude to another class of dramatic productions which form the staple amusement at another class of theatres. For in these latter works we meet with a fresh subject, the literature, such as it is, of the minor stage.

When Charles Mathews published his witty but somewhat flippant pamphlet upon the copyright treaty between France and England, he gave in it a vivid description of one of our minor theatres.

“The Victoria,” says he, in his rattling, farcical manner, “is a

model house, the type of a school to which it gives its name. It is the incarnation of the English domestic drama, or rather of the drama of English domestics. There you will always find the truest picture of virtue in rags and vice in fine linen. There flourish the choicest specimens of all the crimes which make life hideous—robbery, rape, murder, suicide. It is a country abounding in grand combats of four—a region peopled with angelic maid-servants, comic housebreakers, heroic sailors, tyrannical masters, poetical clodhoppers, and diabolical barons. The lower orders rush there in mobs, and in shirt sleeves, applaud frantically, drink ginger beer, munch apples, crack nuts, call the actors by their Christian names, and throw them orange-peel and apples by way of bouquets." Allowing for a little satirical colouring, this is on the whole a by no means overcharged picture, and with a few unimportant modifications, it might be accepted as applying to the whole of our minor theatres. But there is one point in the description upon which special emphasis must be laid. It is the fondness of the minor stage for evil deeds. Not that crime is applauded, or held up as a pattern to be imitated. On the contrary, it is, as a rule, held up to detestation and loathing. In the secondary theatres of the metropolis, as in the theatres of superior rank, virtue generally meets with its due reward, and vice receives condign punishment. Pieces like *Jack Sheppard*, in which the hero is a sentimental rogue, carrying with him the sympathies of the audience, may fairly be set down as exceptional. In almost every instance, the really bad characters are painted in the deepest black, and the really good appear under an aspect of moral excellence utterly spotless in its purity. Thus it becomes almost impossible for the sympathies of the audience to flow in a wrong direction when they flow at all. The virtuous peasant and servant girl proclaim their virtue in every speech they utter, and in every action of their dramatic lives; while the usurping baron and unscrupulous assassin never open their lips without acknowledging their rascality, and letting the spectators into the secret of all their evil deeds.

This, to a great extent, may be considered as the saving merit of the minor drama. If it sentimentalized immorality, represented crime under an æsthetical aspect, and appealed thus to the morbid rather than to the healthy sympathies of its patrons, the effect could not fail to be highly pernicious. In France, where unwholesome popular literature is the rule instead of the exception, it is impossible not to believe that novelists and playwrights count for something among the causes which lead to the diseased tone of social sentiment, and ultimately to the development of crime. We find, at all events, that those offences which indicate strong morbid tendencies on the part of the perpetrators, flourish

to a much greater extent among our neighbours than among ourselves; and we know that those tendencies must be encouraged and strengthened by the novels and plays most generally admired. Some serious crimes are, indeed, really common in France, while in England they are comparatively rare. Parricide and infanticide, for instance, occupy a very prominent place upon the French criminal records, while upon our own they are completely in the background. Serious crimes, too, against the person—such as murder and attempts to murder—are committed in France, to fully twice the extent they are committed in England. The same results are exhibited in another and not less terrible class of offences, viz., rape and attempts at rape. We do not put forward these statistics in any dogmatic spirit of inference, or attach too much importance to the support they may appear to give to our views. Still the contrast supplied by a comparison of the criminal balance-sheets of the two countries is at least worthy of mention here, and its value is not diminished when we find that it is only in the minor crimes—such as petty thefts, which do not carry with them evidence of highly morbid tendencies, but rather of want and hunger, or laziness—that England is conspicuously in excess of France.

To say truth, the minor stage is too ignorant, stupid, bungling, and unimaginative to do much harm. It long ago came to the conclusion that its patrons delighted in bloodshed, and it has done nothing but act upon that conclusion ever since. But it is only in the hands of genius that a single theme can be manipulated for any length of time without taking awkward and abnormal shapes. At first, there was no doubt a terrible truthfulness and startling literality in the more painful and exciting incidents of the minor stage, but ordinary minds could not for ever arrange new combinations of horror, or always draw from the deep well of crime without exhausting the supply at the bottom. Murder, suicide, burglary, abduction, were so frequently made use of, that they grew at last threadbare subjects. Even when patched up with a supernatural lining they were found scarcely fit for service. From bad to worse was thenceforth a natural transition. When horror of ordinary quality lost its influence, horror above proof was resorted to. The usual effect of exaggeration has followed. In the present day the melo-dramatic horrors of the minor stage are merely melo-dramatic absurdities. They scarcely interest the most uneducated audience, while to the educated they are simply ridiculous. No greater diversion can be imagined for those who love a hearty laugh than is offered by a genuine Victoria or Surrey melo-drama, for both productions are on about the same intellectual footing, when represented by a company accustomed to the work. The whole piece is a mass of sanguinary puerility. The characters are not human



beings, they are mere stage abstractions. They do not talk or declaim, they rant and bawl. They come and go, they laugh and scowl, they bless and anathematize, they poison and stab, they shoot and garotte, they die and live; but whatever they do carries with it a sense of falseness, of unreality, of right down absurdity. The whole drama is a jumble, incoherent and meaningless. There is no plan anywhere visible. Murders are committed, virtuous deeds are performed, but they have no motive, no significance—all is pell-mell or chaos. The drama of the minor stage is, in fine, mere bloodthirsty balderdash, with scarce a glimmering of real wit, humour, pathos, or invention, and, as an intellectual emanation, would almost reflect disgrace even upon a metropolis of Hottentots or Feejee Islanders—to say nothing of civilized Englishmen.

Mr. Charles Reade, in the curious work he has lately published under the title of *The Eighth Commandment*, indicates what he regards as the cause of our theatrical degradation, and points out the remedy. According to this writer we have ceased to have a drama worthy of the name, simply because we have ceased to pay for it. What we used once to buy we now steal, and the French stage is the affluent storehouse in which we commit our depredations. The English dramatist has thus been driven out of the field, and the English dramatic pirate or vampire hack has taken his place. No man of education and ability can now afford to write for the theatre, his productions being at once placed in unfair competition with those which have cost a merely nominal amount of time and mental labour. The whole question is thus one of money. Offer a fair pecuniary inducement to good authors, and the stage will soon give evidence of the intellectual vitality observable in other departments of literature. To show into what a state of decay and discredit the art of the dramatist has fallen, Mr. Reade gives a few figures of convincing significance, and the accuracy of which cannot be questioned. Thus a recent trial disclosed to us that the average price of a new play in many flourishing London theatres is 4*l.*, but we also hear of five pieces being sold for 3*l.*, and of three separate lists of plays being offered to a manager for thirty shillings and twenty shillings per annum. These, of course, were works by mere hacks, and were intended only for the minor stage. But if we rise in the scale of merit, the rate of remuneration does not mount to a very high level. *Black-eyed Susan*, for instance, brought its author only 60*l.*, though the actor who played the leading character realized 4000*l.* by the impersonation; for *Masks and Faces*, Messrs. Tom Taylor and Charles Reade received 150*l.*, and for *Two Loves and a Life*, 100*l.*; while for the most successful play of modern times, *The Lady of Lyons*, only 500*l.* was paid.

In contrast with these figures may be placed the prices paid to English dramatists in another generation of playgoers. Thus, for Dr. Johnson's dull play of *Irene*, 300*l.* was given; for *The Good-natured Man*, 500*l.*; for *She Stoops to Conquer*, 800*l.*; for Holcroft's *Follies of a Day*, 600*l.*, and 300*l.* for the copyright; for *The Road to Ruin*, 900*l.*, with 400*l.* additional for the copyright; for Colman's *John Bull*, 1000*l.*; for *The Brothers*, by Dr. Young, 1000*l.*; and for *Marianne*, by Elijah Fenton, 1000*l.* We need not adduce further evidence upon this point. Enough, we think, has been brought forward to show that, if properly cultivated, the stage might become a powerful engine of mental culture, though evidently it must begin by growing honest if it would exert all the influence of which it is capable.

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#### ART. V.—BRAIDISM.\*

A HOPE has long been indulged by enthusiastic experimenters, that artificially induced somnambulism might be applied to some good purpose in the treatment of disease. When, in this country, Mr. Braid, by his ingenious researches, first threw a clear light upon the etiology of artificial somnambulism, he did not overlook the possible therapeutic value of the experimental method which he had adopted in his analysis of the facts of so-called "animal magnetism,"—a method which led to the discovery of that series of somnambulic phenomena which were designated by him, and which have since been understood by the term, *hypnotism*. He carefully put hypnotism to the test as a therapeutic and anæsthetic agent, but the results of his experiments, although of unusual interest, were such as to lead both himself and those who were familiar with them to the conclusion, that the use of hypnotism in the practice of physic could only be very restricted. While, therefore, Mr. Braid's researches yielded, on the one hand, a solid and most important addition to our physiological knowledge, on the other, they appeared to mark out so clearly the degree of utility and comparatively slight value of artificial somnambulism as a remedial or anæsthetic agent, that recourse has very rarely been

\* *Cours Théorique et Pratique de Braidisme, ou Hypnotisme Nerveux, considéré dans ses rapports avec la Psychologie, la Physiologie, et la Pathologie, et dans ses Applications à la Médecine, à la Chirurgie, à la Physiologie Expérimentale, à la Médecine Légale, et l'Éducation.* Par le Dr. J. P. Philips. Paris: Baillière, 1860.

*Recherches sur l'Hypnotisme, ou Sommeil Nerveux, comprenant une Série d'Expériences Instituéés à la Maison Municipale de Santé.* Par MM. les Docteurs Demarquay et Giraud-Teulon. Paris: Baillière, 1860.

had to it by the English physician, and the whole question of its therapeutic value has fallen into abeyance.

In France, notwithstanding that the remedial properties of artificial somnambulism induced by *mesmerism* had oftentimes been discussed, the healing virtues of somnambulism brought about by *hypnotism* appears to have attracted little notice; indeed, the whole question of hypnotism does not seem to have excited much attention there until the termination of last year, when the subject, in its bearing upon anæsthesia, was brought before the Academy of Sciences, by MM. Velpeau and Broca, *apropos* of an experiment (the opening of an anal abscess during hypnotic insensibility in a female aged forty years), performed by Drs. Broca and Follin, at the hospital at Necker. Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon appear next to have taken up the question in the *Gazette Médicale de Paris* (December, 1859, and January, 1860), and about the same time Dr. Azam, the assistant-physician at the lunatic asylum of Bordeaux, sought to verify Mr. Braid's researches, and made known the results of his inquiry in the *Archives Générales de Médecine* (January, 1860).

A few days after the communication of Drs. Broca and Follin's case to the Academy, Dr. Guérineau, of Poitiers, transmitted to the same learned body an account of an amputation of the thigh, which he had performed while the patient was in the hypnotic state. "After the operation, which endured a minute and a-half," writes M. Guérineau, "I addressed the patient, and asked him how he felt. He replied that *he was in paradise*, and seizing hold of my hand, carried it to his lips to kiss it. He said also to a student, 'I felt (although without pain) what was done, because the thigh was cut off at the moment when you asked me if I suffered any pain.'"\*

The question of hypnotism had now been fairly broached in France, and the circumstances seemed favourable for the further study of the biological and medical questions linked to artificial somnambulism. So thought Dr. Philips, an old and enthusiastic worker in the mesmeric and hypnotic field. He was fully acquainted with the importance and significance of Mr. Braid's researches, and regarding them as the clue to a vast, uncultivated field of observation, had long worked to gain for them at least the same degree of attention in France that they had received in England, but in vain. It was in an interval of this labour, partly caused by failing health, that the first communication on hypnotism was made to the Academy; but Dr. Philips shall tell his own story.

"Sundry circumstances, among others, defective health, had pre-

\* *Gaz. des Hôpitaux*, Dec. 29, 1859. Quoted by Dr. Philips.



vented me pursuing this work. But a few words uttered before the Institute of France by a celebrated surgeon have realized in a few days that which the long and laborious efforts of an obscure man had failed to accomplish. I had undertaken to interest the medical world in questions which up to that time it had looked upon with prejudice and repugnance; the illustrious introducer of *hypnotism* to the Academy had conquered by his patronage the attention and interest of the entire world. A longing to place my experience at the service of the eminent men who had taken the cause in hand to which for so many years I had devoted myself, at once took me from my asylum in the fields. But a painful surprise awaited me at Paris; I was there given to understand that the champions of hypnotism had scarcely appeared when they wheeled about, and retired precipitately to their tents." (p. x.)

Such indeed was the case. "Cooled," say Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon, "by an exaggerated deception which might have been easily avoided, and regretting their prompt enthusiasm, the promoters of hypnotism hastened to bury an idol that they had eagerly sought to elevate upon an altar."

Notwithstanding, however, this serious defection, the question was not destined to rest here and prove entirely abortive. The impulse generated within the walls of the Academy had gone forth, and of the more immediate extra-academical results the works of Dr. Philips and Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon are examples.

Nothing could well be conceived to differ more the one from the other, short of entire dissidence, than the writings of these gentlemen. Dr. Philips, full of enthusiasm, stands on tip-toe upon the results of Mr. Braid's experiments, which he conceives to have been amply verified by his own researches and those of others, and he endeavours to peer far beyond the bounds of a distant horizon: Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon, full of scepticism, seek to restrict the horizon within the ken of an extremely myopic vision. Neither a too great enthusiasm nor a too great scepticism can, however, destroy the peculiar interest which belongs to hypnotism, and we shall endeavour to cull the chief facts, asserted or testified to, recounted by our authors. Once and for all, we shall not suffer ourselves to be tempted by them into the pleasant and illimitable field of theory or hypothesis. If Dr. Philips thinks that hypnotism is yet but in a rudimentary state, and that when perfected it is destined to effect eminent good in surgery, therapeutics, physiology, psychology, education, and morals, nay, even may prove the key to unlock the mysteries of the soul, the law which governs the moral and physical worlds, and make apparent the intermediate agent by means of which the two poles of life are linked together, we shall not quarrel with these truly "gigantic hopes." If it be Dr. Philips's

intention to attempt to justify these hopes, we would but throw out the caution that the loftier the aim the greater the necessity for securing firmly under foot every, even the slightest step, towards its attainment. We must even put aside Dr. Philips's theoretical exposition of the phenomena of hypnotism, notwithstanding its ingenuity, and this from no disrespect to him, but from a feeling (it may be a perverse one; certainly it is an obstinate one) that hypnotism requires cultivating experimentally much more than speculatively.

If we disregard the theoretical waifs of Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Toulon, it is because they are utterly disproportionate in magnitude with the experimental observations upon which they are based—these observations, while of interest in themselves, having no value as tests of experiments performed under entirely different conditions.

Dr. Philips objects to the term *hypnotism*. This, like the term *animal magnetism* applied to the great collateral method of inducing artificial somnambulism, he considers to be inexact. The last designation implies a disputed theory; the first conveys the erroneous idea that "the essential and constant character of the phenomena it represents is sleep." He would substitute, therefore, the word BRAIDISM for hypnotism, as (which is, indeed, now chiefly done in this country) MESMERISM for animal magnetism, "according to a rule already consecrated in the classical words *galvanism*, *voltalism*, *faradism*."

Notwithstanding the somewhat uneuphonious character of the word *Braidism*, its adoption would certainly possess the advantage set forth by Dr. Philips, and is not inconsistent with the canons of nomenclature and terminology. Moreover, we are inclined to have recourse to it as a tribute to the memory of Mr. Braid, whose loss\* we have so recently had to regret. A sufficiency of euphony may even be secured for English ears, if the word be written with a diæresis, thus, *Braidism*, and pronounced accordingly. This is the course that we shall adopt in the subsequent portion of this article.

The chief phenomena of Braidism are summed up by Dr. Philips in the following categories:—

1. Resolution of the voluntary muscles extended throughout the whole system, or localized in an isolated portion; catalepsy, tetanic contractions, clonic contractions and uncontrollable co-ordinated movements, and considerable augmentation of the muscular power.

2. Hyper-excitation or annihilation of the general sensibility. Both the hyperæsthesia and anæsthesia may extend over the whole

\* Died on the 25th March last.

body, or may be circumscribed, as may be required, to a more or less restricted portion; for example, a single member, an arm, a thigh, or even to a single phalanx of the fingers. Exaltation, suppression, and perturbation of the special sensibility; illusions of the senses, the impressions received from exterior agents giving place to a sensation foreign to their properties. Thus water may be mistaken for wine, and an object of the same temperature as the air, placed in contact with the skin, may produce the sensation of red-hot iron. Finally, objective perceptions appear to take place in the sensorium, without participation of the external organs of sensation.

3. The energy of the intellectual and moral faculties are stimulated or enfeebled, and their habitual activity increased in an indeterminate degree. The taste for music, for example, the sentiment of time and tune, acquire an exquisite delicacy in the least musical organization; the most feeble memory becomes endowed all at once with an almost infallible strength, or else it is completely disordered, or it suffers from a special or partial lesion, certain names, certain letters, or certain dates being forgotten. Habitudes of thought may also become changed in a greater or less degree, from which it follows that their relative action is susceptible of change, and that consequently the type of character can undergo a veritable transformation. Thus the choleric may become placid, the humble arrogant, and the timid and pusillanimous proud and courageous.

4. The involuntary muscles are affected in a manner analogous to the voluntary; the circulation may be hurried or impeded; the activity of the secretory functions increased or diminished; in a word, all the operations of vegetative life may be more or less modified.

The Braïdic state may be induced, almost indifferently, by any means calculated to obtain fixity of attention on the part of the subject. Mr. Braid made use either of a brilliant object, held a short distance in front of the patient's eyes, or a prominent object fixed upon the forehead, or he directed the subject's attention to some point in the room, or he made use of the ordinary mesmeric method. Now, according to Dr. Philips, the Braïdic operation has two distinct stages. In the first, the object is to "develop a preparatory modification of vitality, a modification which is often latent, and of which the effect is to fit the organization to undergo the determining and specific action which constitutes the second stage. This preliminary modification he designates the *hypotaxic state* (*état hypotaxique*), and the act of producing it he terms *hypotaxis* (*hypotaxie*,—ὑπόταξις preparation, to undergo). In the second stage of Braïdisation, the special functional modifications are sought to be developed. "The impression employed for



this end is a *mental impression*, that is to say, a suggested idea. And as this idea becomes thus the determining agent of the functional modifications to be provoked, the general application of the proceedings which constitute the second period of the *Braïdic* operation ought to bear the name *ideoplastic* (ideoplasticie).

Dr. Philips estimates that about one out of every thirty-five or forty individuals met with will be found predisposed to succumb to Braïdisation. The persons who are thus liable are generally of a nervous temperament; but instances are met with of individuals who appear to have enjoyed habitually good health, and never to have suffered from any nervous disorder. Outside this category of persons who are highly susceptible, the aptitude to submit to the action of Braïdism varies considerably in degree. This aptitude, moreover, is liable to vary in the same individual at different times; and even those who have exhibited the least disposition to yield to the operation have acquired the aptitude after a course of daily Braïdisations.

The bilio-nervous temperament, Dr. Philips thinks, seems to predispose more than any other to Braïdism. But the conclusion may be illusory, for he remarks that, if the majority of the individuals found liable to the hypotaxic state manifest signs of a bilio-nervous temperament, persons of this temperament take the most interest in his demonstrations, show the greatest desire to submit themselves to experiment, and form invariably the greater portion of his experimental *personnel*.

The conditions of *character* would appear, however, according to the same authority, to be clearer and more determined than those of *temperament*.

"The predominance of elevated mental emotions above the grosser or personal instincts, a serious humour, and especially a disposition to confidence and faith, are favourable moral conditions; egotistic penchants, an exaggerated tendency to scepticism and criticism, and lightness of spirit, constitute refractory dispositions.

"He who, either from the mobility of an over-excited imagination, or from the invincible energy of his reflexion, or from debility of his intellectual faculties, or from want of a sufficient command over the operations of his mind, is incapable of fixing his thought for a given time upon an object, and holding it concentrated on a simple and limited circle of ideas, is eminently unfitted for the hypotaxic state. In virtue of the law of contact of extremes, idiots and the most robust and active understandings are found united in this category of incompatibility.

"We have again and again observed that persons habitually impressionable, and even those who were so in the highest degree, ceased to be so when they were dominated by a vivid prepossession." (p. 42.)

From ten to twenty-five or thirty years is the somewhat wide period, according to Dr. Philips, when the aptitude to the hypotaxic state attains its apogee; but as to the liability of sex, his obser-

vations do not permit him to pronounce positively, he having chiefly experimented on males. A full stomach has a fatal influence upon the induction of the hypotaxic state.

One of the least satisfactory portions of Dr. Philips's work is that devoted to the illustration of the presumed therapeutical value of Braidism. To make this manifest, he has recourse chiefly to the recorded experience of other writers. This is most scanty at the best, and we should have been better pleased to have seen a careful account of Dr. Philips's own observations on the therapeutic virtues of the hypotaxic state. The want is all the more apparent considering that his treatise arose out of a discussion in which the medical rather than the physiological properties of hypnotism were in question. If it were not for this defect, and for the dubious theoretical matter it contains, Dr. Philips's work would have proved a most welcome addition to medico-psychological literature ; but as it is, the book must be characterized as a useful and interesting manual of hypnotism or Braidism.

Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon put hypnotism to the test upon eighteen subjects, in the Maison Municipale de Santé. Fifteen of the subjects were women, and three men ; and eleven of the former were invalids. Of these, eight were suffering from serious affections of the reproductive organs (*affections graves de l'appareil genital*). The males, the four healthy females, and one of the patients suffering from uterine cancer, were not affected in the least degree by the hypnotic process adopted ; the remaining subjects were affected in different degrees. The number of experiments made amounted to forty ; the method in which they were made was as follows :—

In the earlier experiments the mirror of an ophthalmoscope, and in the latter ones a small bright metal sphere, was placed in such a position as to induce slight straining and convergence of the eyes when they were both fixed upon the object. Further, looking upon Mr. Braid's observations as a "somewhat crude *mélange* of the psychical and purely physiological element," Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon sought to set aside even the suspicion of a foreign psychical or moral influence disturbing their experiments, hence, "placing their subjects in exclusive relation with the sphere or the mirror, the object of their regard, shunning to attract their attention, leaving them, for the most part, in ignorance of the end essayed, we," they assert, "freed ourselves from all action which was not exclusively physiological and anti-biological" (p. 15) ; that is to say, these gentlemen reduced the psychical element of the experiment to the lowest degree possible. Indeed, they conceived that they had so completely effected this, that they came to the ultimate conclusion that the key to all verified hypnotic phenomena, and sequentially

to the most marvellous of the superstitions of the Middle Ages was, the *fixity of regard* bestowed by the subjects of experiment upon the small bright object set before them. "*Fixity of regard!*" write these experimentalists, in their section concerning "Hypnotism dans les Temps Historiques; demonomania, possessions diabolique," &c., "that is the secret common to all these processes, differing solely in its value and efficacy, developing more or less rapidly the anticipated effects (effects attendu), according to the time employed and the subjects submitted to experiment. Possession, demonomania, magnetism, cataleptic ecstasy, somnambulism, hypnotism, are one and the same state, manifesting more or less religious enthusiasm (l'exaltation mentale religieuse) with the series of special disorders which may follow these monomanias. Such is the scientific tableau traced by modern experiment upon the canvas bequeathed by history" (p. 44). Such is the magnificent culmination of the train of argument which Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon develop out of their experiments, and yet they hold up Mr. Braid to animadversion for having mixed up the psychical element with his experiments, assert this to have been an unpardonable error against the rules of physiological experiment, and reject as improbable and wanting in verification the whole of what may be termed the higher phenomena of hypnotism deduced by him!

Now, let us endeavour to ascertain the actual value of Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon's opinion upon a question of experimental physiology. Their sensitive subjects were all invalids, and with one exception suffering from serious diseases; Mr. Braid's were healthy individuals, chiefly selected at random from mixed audiences, or picked up incidentally. Dr. Philips's description of the temperament and character of his subjects will apply also to Mr. Braid's subjects. Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon eschewed all psychical influence; Mr. Braid attributed the results of hypnotism chiefly to psychical influence, and it was this opinion, accurately reasoned upon, that led him to institute those experiments by which he was enabled to develop and show the nature of the extraordinary phenomena depending upon exaltation of the smell and of the muscular sense, and upon suggestions derived from the last-named sense and from auditive impressions. The same reasoning also gave him the clue to the so-called odyllic phenomena, and led him at once to demonstrate experimentally their true character. In short, it was by his skill in playing upon the mind of his subjects that Mr. Braid induced the higher phenomena of artificial somnambulism, and those equally interesting phenomena which may be evoked in certain individuals not hypnotized, and which led Baron Reichenbach astray.

Thus it is apparent that neither in the class of subjects submitted to observation, nor in the method of conducting the obser-



vations were the experiments of Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon and those of Mr. Braid at all similar ; therefore, in endeavouring to test the value of Mr. Braid's experiments by their own, Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon have sinned against the merest rudiments of experimental observation ; and their conclusions are of no value whatever in their bearing upon Mr. Braid's experiments, except in so far as the experiments of the former gentleman approximate in character to those of the latter gentleman, in which case the results tally to a nicety.

The observations of Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon betray a very imperfect acquaintance with Mr. Braid's writings, and it is to this alone that we can attribute the singular errors committed by these gentlemen in their criticisms upon the last-named gentleman's experiments. Moreover, Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon seem to be ignorant of the fact, that the chief of Mr. Braid's experiments had been verified by no less distinguished a physiologist than Dr. Carpenter.

It might at least have been expected that Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon would have tested the value of their own theory, that to "*fixity of regard*" solely was to be attributed the hypnotic phenomena they observed. Had they instructed their subjects to fix their eyes upon the glittering object placed in the required position, and contrived to direct their attention without disturbing the visual organs, we fancy they would quickly have found that a *fixity of attention* as well as a *fixity of regard* upon the object was required to mature the experiment ; that, in short, a psychical element was always present in the experiment, and was essential to its success.

Be this as it may, however, the positive results which Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon derived from their experiments are not without interest. These were, (1) an oscillatory state of the pupils during the production of hypnotism, although this was not constantly observed ; (2) anæsthesia, occasionally marked, most frequently feeble, often absent ; (3) lowering of the pulse, but less regularly than diminution of the respiratory rhythm ; (4) general hyperæsthesia in one instance.

Of the anæsthetic influence of the hypnotic state upon patients actually suffering pain, Drs. Demarquay and Giraud-Teulon write :—

"Nearly all the patients in whom we have succeeded in inducing the nervous sleep suffered from grave affections of the genital apparatus : we do not say all. Now in all these cases it is a fact which has been reproduced whenever hypnotism has been determined, that very acute uterine pains, which tormented these unfortunates day and night, and of which they complained bitterly before the nervous sleep, were checked and suspended during this particular state of their nervous

system, and long afterwards; twenty hours of perfect comfort being the mean duration of the solacement; and it was so real, so incontestable, so patent, that the patients demanded to be hypnotized immediately upon being visited. One young demoiselle who suffered cruelly from neuralgic pains in the pelvis (the consequence of a violent contusion with fracture) and which had not been relieved either by opium, or by chloroform used throughout an entire night, was calmed as by enchantment, and for a period of twenty hours, by hypnotism; and this two days in succession.

"These facts were reproduced with sufficient constancy to fix the attention and merit notice. They may give rise to new indications for the employment of this singular process, and open out a new path for the treatment of neuralgic affections. It is to be understood, however, as far as we are concerned, that this aptitude is limited to the special circumstances in which we have observed it, that is to say, neuralgic affections bound to certain special states of the organism allied to hysteria." (p. 20.)

These results, it will be seen, add nothing to what had already been made manifest by Mr. Braid, and the recent interest exhibited for hypnotism in France has not yielded hitherto one new fact, physiological or therapeutical, in hypnotic science. Mr. Braid's researches opened out a wide and highly interesting field of experimental research, which doubtless admits of further and very profitable cultivation. In the meantime, the question raised by Dr. Phillips awaits decision, whether in future the term BRAIDISM shall be substituted for HYPNOTISM?

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#### ART. VI.—THE STATE OF LUNACY IN ENGLAND.

THE Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, although not lacking in interest, does not, from the multiplicity of its details, readily admit of a satisfactory analysis. The Commissioners first describe the additions made in 1859 to the amount of public accommodation in asylums for pauper lunatics, and the chief improvements effected therein. The new asylum for the united counties of Beds, Herts, Hants, and the borough of Bedford, it is stated, would be opened in the course of the year; and it is to be presumed that the asylum is now in use. The asylum is placed upon the most elevated portion of an estate, consisting of 260 acres; and from the building, which is a cheerful-looking and handsome structure of white brick relieved with red, extensive views are obtained in every direction. The general plan is spoken of as good, and the arrangement of the various wards

convenient. The asylum is built for 500 patients, at an estimated cost of 65,000*l*.

Certain additions which have been made to the Chester Asylum during the past year receive special attention from the Commissioners. They express the opinion that the plans adopted (copies of which, together with a detailed description, &c., are given in the Appendix to the Report) will "afford valuable assistance, in the way of suggestion, to committees of visitors and their architects, upon whom the duty may hereafter devolve, or be now under consideration, of providing additional accommodation in asylums for the pauper lunatics of counties and boroughs."

The alterations and additions proposed or suggested in other of the older asylums are also reported.

An account is, moreover, given of the new asylum for the county of Northumberland, opened for the reception of patients in March, 1859. The following are a few of the particulars:—

"The asylum is designed to accommodate 210 patients, exclusive of twenty-two beds in the infirmaries, and is erected upon an elevated site, commanding an extensive view, situate at Cottingwood, about three-quarters of a mile distant from the town of Morpeth. The site is reduced to a perfectly level surface, and the subsoil, which is chiefly gravel, sand, and clay, is thoroughly drained by rubble and tile drains. The entire estate contains ninety-nine acres of land.

"The building is of brick, with stone dressings; the foundations are of rubble, masonry and concrete; the external walls are built with a two-inch void, to prevent the transmission of warmth and damp; pressed bricks are used, which give sufficiently smooth surfaces to the walls, as to require no plastering to the interior of the wards.

"The staircases in the wards are all constructed of stone in short flights, and Fox and Barrett's patent fire-proof principle, combined with brick arching, is adopted throughout the ground-floor story in all the wards. The floors are all boarded, and the ground-floor is protected from cold and damp by pugging placed beneath the floor-boards.

"The window-sashes of the single sleeping-rooms and associated dormitories on the ground-floor are of cast iron, made to slide upon brass sheaves, leaving unglazed spaces of one pane in breadth when open; those of the associated dormitories on the first floor are of wood, with iron sash-bars moulded to match; the whole of the windows are made to open to a safe point only, and are secured by key latches. . . . .

"The whole of the wards are warmed by open fires only. The ventilation is effected by two foul-air shafts in the towers, placed at the convergence of the three wards on each side of the building, with which the single sleeping-rooms, associated dormitories, and all other rooms and water-closets, communicate by large trunks in the roofs, flues formed in the walls, and apertures near the ceilings; all the flues and trunks are regulated by dampers or valves, the warm fresh air is



admitted to the rooms, &c., near the floor; the shafts are provided with boilers and hot-water cisterns which serve to supply the baths, slop-rooms, &c., with hot water, as well as to promote the extraction of the foul air. . . .

"The asylum consists of a main building, two stories in height, and two other wards of one story high detached from, but communicating with the main building by covered passages; the work-shops, laundry, offices, &c., are contained in two separate blocks. The medical superintendent's residence, surgery, and chapel are situated at the centre of the main building on its south front; and on the north side of the centre, the principal road of approach being on that side, are the residence and office of the clerk and steward, the matron, servants' rooms, general stores, and offices, and the general kitchen, which communicates with the several wards separately by covered ways; and at each extremity of the main building are the infirmaries.

"The wards in the main building extend east and west from the centre, and are occupied by the male and female patients respectively; each side is divided into three wards for different classes of patients.

"The ground floors of the wards contain ambulatories, single sleeping rooms, associated dormitories, attendants' rooms, day or dining rooms, &c. The first floors, which are occupied only at night, contain associated dormitories (facing the south), attendants' rooms, lavatories, &c.

"Each side of the building is provided with bath-rooms, containing warm and shower baths, which are conveniently situated to and common to the several wards." (p. 5.)

The Sussex Asylum, after considerable delay, occasioned by unexpected engineering difficulties encountered in procuring water, was opened in July, 1859. A description of this asylum is not given, but it is stated that the land belonging to it is about 120 acres in extent, twelve acres being under cultivation as kitchen-garden. The estimated number of patients for whom accommodation is provided is 425—viz., 212 males, and 213 females.

The vexed question of an asylum for the city of London would appear to be at length satisfactorily settled. The Commissioners state that they are glad to report that there is every prospect of an asylum being erected, without further delay, near Dartford, for 300 patients.

Two lunatic hospitals were opened in the course of 1859—one at Gloucester, and the other at Nottingham.

The Gloucester hospital (Barnwood House, formerly a gentleman's residence, now considerably altered and enlarged to meet the requirements of a hospital) affords accommodation for about 35 patients of each sex. The land attached to the house amounts to 48 acres, and is well covered with timber, a considerable portion adjoining the buildings being laid out as gardens and shrubberies.

The arrangements are very satisfactory, and on the property there are several cottages, the largest of which will be appropriated to the use of one or two ladies.

The Nottingham Hospital is an entirely new structure, built and furnished at a cost of about 18,500*l*. The site is elevated, and distant about two miles from the city, and about 17 acres of land are attached to the building. The following extracts from the architect's description will be found of interest:—

“The building consists of a centre block, containing the residence of the officials in the front and the recreation-room and kitchens at the back, with the wings for the patients towards the east and west, the whole presenting a frontage to the south of 270 feet. The galleries, which run east and west, open to the private rooms on the north, and the associated rooms on the south. The latter being arranged into four blocks, projecting at intervals from the galleries, are enabled to have windows on two or more sides of the rooms, while sufficient space is left for windows in the south wall of the galleries.

“The large associated day-rooms and dormitories are built with detached chimney stacks running up in the centre of the rooms, forming blocks of about six feet by five feet, but pierced in the centre with arched openings, ten feet high and three feet wide. In each of the large day-rooms the lower part of this aperture is filled by two open fire-grates placed back to back, the open space between them forming a warm-air chamber, the whole being covered down with an iron slab, faced with ornamental tiles, and at a height of three feet from the floor. Ranging with the smoke-flues on either side the fire-grates are flues for fresh and foul air, communicating with inlet and outlet apertures, and by means of these and the warm-air chamber before named, an effective system of ventilation is established in both day-rooms and dormitories, and a stream of warm air is supplied to the latter. The outer half-brick walls of these flues are built with Rufford's white glazed bricks, and present a clean, bright surface.

“The patients being enabled, as it were, to form a double circle round the fire, and to see each other through the arched opening above the fire-grates, it renders this arrangement of the places more conducive to the cheerfulness of the apartment, and in regard to heat, it certainly is more economical than if they were placed, as they otherwise must be, against the outer wall.” (p. 16.)

This combined system of warming and ventilation is applied, though in a different manner, to the rest of the building. The amount of accommodation for patients is not stated.

The Commissioners illustrate the progress of improvement in the management of lunatic hospitals and licensed houses by a detailed account of the changes made from time to time during the past ten years, in the management and care of patients in St. Luke's Hospital and Hoxton House. The particulars form an

interesting contribution to the history of the amelioration of the condition of the insane in this country.

The Commissioners announce that, as respects the metropolitan district, they have practically come to the resolution "not to add to the number of licensed houses, unless for special reasons applicable to the particular case." For example: "In the event of a medical man or other person of high character and qualifications, and possessing adequate pecuniary resources, applying for a licence to receive private patients in a suitable house, we should be disposed to make an exception, but should in that case generally, if not invariably, limit the licence to patients of one sex."

The Commissioners further write:—

"The licensed houses within our immediate jurisdiction, judging from the actual numbers of patients resident therein, appear fully to meet, not merely the requirements of the special locality (which would be comparatively unimportant, inasmuch as private patients are, for the most part, sent to asylums not in the neighbourhood of their homes), but in general the wants of the community. We have also to observe, that, in consequence of the now rapid withdrawal of the pauper patients from the five large metropolitan houses at present licensed to receive that class of the insane, extensive provision will shortly be made for the accommodation of patients of the middle and poorer classes, for whom it is hoped that ultimately adequate means of care and treatment will be afforded in public hospitals." (p. 19.)

The reception of pauper patients into private asylums is discouraged by the Commissioners as much as possible; and from the recent opening of several new county asylums, and the enlargement of others, they have been enabled to prohibit generally the reception, in the metropolitan houses, of pauper patients from distant localities; moreover, they have "lately made the licences of these houses subject to the condition that, unless upon special grounds, and with our written permission, no pauper patients shall be admitted, excepting from the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, or from places within seven miles of London."

The Commissioners next glance at the evils connected with the transfer of licences, and then proceed to a detailed report of the condition of the different private asylums in the Metropolitan district. These will be read with no small interest by those who have been affected by the recent popular, and indeed official, outcry against private asylums. Of the five large metropolitan licensed houses in which pauper lunatics are received, the Commissioners sum up their account by stating, "that as respects treatment and general comfort, they are now approximating to a very satisfactory condition." Of the houses for the reception of private patients only, the accounts are so entirely inconsistent, perhaps with one doubtful exception, with the sweeping official



assertions made derogatory of private asylums before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1858, that we can only marvel. However, we shall merely refer to the report of the Commissioners, and add, that notwithstanding the carefully recounted items of suggested further improvements in the arrangements of several of the houses, the accounts of the Commissioners entirely bear out the favourable opinions we have been accustomed to express of the general character and management of our private asylums.

The recalcitrant licensed houses in the country, seven in number, are next noted, and the state of the lunatic hospital, Fort Pitt, Chatham, passed under review; and the instances in which insane soldiers have been set at large in the streets, in order to "raise the question as to the legal liability of the parish authorities to take charge of lunatic soldiers who might be now free in the parish in which Fort Pitt is situated," are animadverted upon. The question at issue is not yet definitively settled.

The condition of single private patients is largely entered upon by the Commissioners, and several painful illustrations are given to show the necessity which exists for a more effective supervision of these cases. The Commissioners report that—

"The general result of our experience of the system of treating the insane as single patients, strongly convinces us of the necessity for exercising, in all cases, the most careful supervision over them, both legislative and otherwise. Although in some instances there may be urgent reasons for giving this mode of treatment a trial, more especially in cases likely to be of short duration, it should ever be remembered that these are the cases in which medical and moral treatment are of the utmost importance, and that, if improvement does not take place within a limited period, much mischief may result from persevering in it. As a general rule, indeed, patients of this class are usually under much less advantageous circumstances, so far as the chances of recovery are concerned, than if placed in a well-conducted Asylum." (p. 69.)

The allowances of these patients are discussed, and the necessity of the Commissioners "ascertaining the amount of property to which insane patients are entitled, and the proper application of it to their use," is insisted upon.

The state of Single Pauper Patients is also discussed, and the Commissioners suggest:—

"1. That the Relieving Officer should be directed to regard such cases, not merely as paupers needing parochial relief, but as patients requiring medical treatment; that he should be instructed to give immediate notice of every new case to the Medical Officers; and that he should be made sensible of the necessity of affording a sufficient liberal allowance to all the insane and idiotic detained in the district, to whom also he should pay frequent visits and ascertain the nature of the accom-

modation and treatment, and whether the money granted is duly applied.

"2. That the Medical Officer should be desired when making his visits to give a larger amount of consideration to the wants of his charge, and not to rest satisfied with a mere examination into the personal condition of the patient when visited; that his inquiries should extend to the kind of accommodation provided, especially the sleeping room and bedding, the supervision and treatment, restraint, diet, and clothing, and whether the payment made by the relieving officer is sufficient.

"That his quarterly list should not contain merely an account of the patients visited at the end of the quarter, but should embrace all seen during the past three months.

"That he should more strictly comply with the statutory injunction in attesting that a patient is 'properly taken care of, and may properly remain out of an asylum.'

"3. That the clerk to the Board of Guardians be called upon to perform the duties required of him with punctuality and accuracy, both as respects the annual and quarterly returns." (p. 88.)

It is further suggested that "every Visitor of an Asylum, resident in an Union, and consequently an *ex-officio* Guardian, may, as such, be a most useful agent towards amending the condition of Pauper Patients boarded or sent to a Workhouse." His visits to the County Asylum would give him an amount of experience which might be most beneficially applied in the improvement of the state of pauper lunatics, and, the Commissioners say, "it seems to us that if any means could be adopted of introducing into each Union a member of the Committee of Visitors of the County Asylum, many advantages would arise out of the combination thus formed. To effect this object it would simply be necessary to add a certain number of names to the list of each Committee of Visitors. In many counties the addition would be of small amount; for instance, in Bucks seven, Cambridge nine, Derby nine, Chester ten, Dorset twelve." The advantages which the Commissioners conceive would arise from this arrangement are thus stated:—

"Such an arrangement would, we think, be followed by the best results, especially if in addition to it the Medical Officer of the district were entrusted with a larger amount of authority. It is not difficult to conceive that if a resident Magistrate were, as a member of the Committee of Visitors, to act in concert with the Medical Officer of the district, much substantial benefit and protection would be extended to this class of patients. The home treatment would be improved; removal whenever necessary would be more readily effected; and the information contained in the order and certificates would be more accurate; the highly objectionable practice of taking a patient for examination to a police court would be discontinued; and it is probable

also that the obstacle raised to the transmission of a patient to an asylum owing to the payment of fees exacted by clerks to magistrates for drawing up the orders for admission, would be abolished." (p. 89.)

The particulars connected with the discharge from private asylums of the two lunatic murderers, James Moore and Dr. Pownall, are recorded, and in both instances the conduct of the medical superintendents of the asylums, in permitting these patients to go at large, is strongly condemned by the Commissioners.

Finally, the site and arrangements of the State Asylum for criminal lunatics, now in course of erection, are briefly described.

This asylum is situated at Broadmoor, on Bagshot Heath, distant about thirty-three miles from London. The land for the use of the asylum comprises about 290 acres, and is of undulating character, falling towards the south, and varying in elevation from 100 to 200 feet above the level of the sea. "The estate is bounded by plantations, principally of Scotch fir, and from the buildings fine and extensive views are commanded." The supply of water is abundant, and the natural facilities for land and house drainage good.

"The Asylum consists of a main building, and four separate blocks towards the north-east, north-west, south-east, and south-west, respectively, for Male Patients; and a detached building to the east for Females. The buildings are of three stories, and the style and elevations of a simple and pleasing character. The residence of the Medical Superintendent is conveniently situated midway between the Male and Female divisions."

It has been deemed sufficient for the present to provide accommodation for 400 males and 100 females. The buildings will readily admit of extension.

It is proposed that—

"The two wings of the main building should be appropriated each to 100 Male Patients of the ordinary class. Those of the better class as respects station of life and conduct will occupy the South-Western Block, the North-Western being assigned to working patients. The South-Eastern Block is intended to be used as the Male Infirmary, and the North-Eastern will be appropriated to the worst and most refractory cases of Male Patients. Each of the four Blocks is calculated to accommodate 50 patients. The Female Building for 100 patients will, as to kitchen, offices, and otherwise, be a separate Establishment. The Chapel for the Patients of both sexes is in the centre of the main building. The second-floors, throughout, are appropriated to sleeping accommodation."

On the 1st of January, 1860, the number of criminal lunatics amounted, according to the text of the report and a special table



## NO. XX.—NEW SERIES.

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## N N

Included in Total Lunatics.

in the appendix, to 731—viz., 571 males and 160 females. According to the statistical summary the number was 737—viz., 576 males and 161 females, They were thus distributed :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Asylums, County and Borough, including	269	96	365
Northampton Hospital . . . .	113	15	128
Northern Hospital . . . . .	20	3	23
Metropolitan Licensed Houses . .	154	4	158
Fisherton House . . . . .	20	4	24
Other Provincial Licensed Houses .			

The appendix contains the statistical tables showing the movement and cost of patients in asylums, and sundry papers relative to licences and changes of proprietorship, the Chester Asylum, St. Luke's Hospital, Single Pauper Patients, and Criminal Lunatics.

In the statistical tables the two columns under which were entered deaths from "accidents or violence" have been omitted, "as all cases terminating fatally from accidents of every description entered under these heads, and unaccompanied by the necessary particulars in explanation, were calculated to produce erroneous impressions."

On the preceding page we give the statistical summary for 1859 of the movement of patients in asylums.

## ART. VII.—MODERN DEVELOPMENTS OF THE MARVELLOUS.\*

THE pretensions of the persons who call themselves spiritualists, and who have been commonly known heretofore by the less dignified title of "spirit-rappers," have lately been advanced with a boldness, and pushed with a pertinacity, that seem to demand some examination from the press. As long as the performances at a spiritual *séance* were considered esoteric, and the delusions of the unfortunate mediomaniacs were displayed only within the charmed circle of their deranged disciples, it was possible to cherish a hope that this trans-Atlantic folly might gain no permanent footing upon our shores, and to believe that a total disregard of its existence would best promote the great blessing of its final consumma-

\* *Histoire du Merveilleux, dans les Temps Modernes.* Par Louis Figuier. Paris, 1860.

*The Spiritual Magazine.* London, 1860.

*The Arcana of Christianity, and various Sermons.* By the Rev. T. L. Harris.

tion. The time for these opinions has gone by. Finding a congenial soil in the presumptuous ignorance of the half-educated classes, aided in its spread by the wonderful facilities for the dissemination of opinion that our day affords, appealing to desires and passions always powerful in the human breast, and actively promoted as the source of a profitable calling by many whose barefaced knaveries can be ascribed neither to credulity nor disease, spiritualism bids fair to become one of the institutions of the time. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to devote a portion of our space to an inquiry into the origin and tendencies of this growing evil; and while our admirable friend *Punch*, ever watchful and right-minded, brings down his terrible baton upon the ridiculous aspects of the question, we, on our part, must strive to range the phenomena of modern spiritualism under their appropriate psychical laws, and to show the precise analogy between this and former epidemics of a kindred nature.

A somewhat similar task has been undertaken by M. Louis Figuier, in the work the title of which appears at the head of this article, and the scope and objects of which are thus described by the author.

"After casting a rapid glance (we translate freely from the preface) at the marvellous as exhibited in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—a necessary preparation for its study in modern times—the first volume contains the history of the demoniacs of Loudun, and of the Jansenist convulsionaries, showing the marvellous again reigning supreme in the domain of theology.

"In the second volume the history of the Protestant prophets presents the characteristic type of those epidemics of delirium, excited by religious exaltation, of which the history of medicine affords so many examples; and the account of the divining rod exhibits to us one of the most singular developments of the marvellous, and one for which it was most difficult to find a philosophical explanation.

"The two other volumes designed to complete the work will contain the history of animal magnetism, of table-turning, and of spirit-rapping.

"We intend that each of these recitals should be followed or accompanied by that natural explanation which can now be given of the pretended prodigies described. In most cases the lights afforded by physiology and medicine are sufficient for this purpose.

"We believe that these discussions will produce in the mind of the reader a perfect conviction of the non-existence of supernatural agents, and a certainty that all the marvels which at various times have excited the surprise or the admiration of mankind can be explained by a knowledge of our physiological organization.

"A denial of the marvellous is therefore the philosophical conclusion to be drawn from this work, which might indeed be called *the marvellous explained*. And if we succeed in carrying our readers with us to this end, we shall think that we render a very real service to society—both to those who enshroud themselves voluntarily in the



dangerous shadow of the mysticism so unfortunately resuscitated in our time, and to those who halt between two opinions, wanting the evidence necessary to confirm them in convictions or to guide them in conduct."

Of these volumes the first three are already published; and in them the subject of animal magnetism is concluded, leaving only table-turning and spirit-rapping to be discussed. A brief abstract of M. Figuiet's completed labours will be advantageous as an introduction to the statements of modern spiritualists; and we will therefore endeavour to place before our readers some account of the general scope and tenor of his work. The special narratives are ushered in by a general introduction, which commences as follows:—

"The phenomena of table-turning have been the signal, in both hemispheres, for the appearance of wonders which recall to mind, or, with little variation, even reproduce, the most surprising acts recorded in the histories of the magicians of antiquity. A study of the supernatural manifestations which have furnished matters of dispute during so many years ought to aid in the comprehension of many remarkable facts recorded in history; and which, received with many reservations, or even totally rejected by the criticism of the two last centuries, should now possess for us their interest and their value. But this value will be greatly enhanced if the study, well pursued, brings us to the conclusion that contemporary marvels, like the ancient ones they so much resemble, are all connected by a natural link; and that, being all referrible to the same cause, they may be explained the one by the other; or, in other words, that a single marvel, thoroughly comprehended, will furnish a key to all the rest. Such a conclusion as this, removing every idea of supernatural agency, would be a victory gained by science over the spirit of superstition, to the great advancement of human reason and dignity.

"We purpose to enter upon this study from the double point of view of the critic and the historian. We shall endeavour to prove that the pretended supernatural manifestations by which the present century has been, and is now again disturbed, are only the consequences, the continuation, the necessary and inevitable developments of the phenomena of the same kind which have been displayed in the centuries preceding our own; and that all of them find their explanation in the nature of the human mind.

"The marvellous is, however, an aliment so necessary to humanity, that among all nations and in all times mankind have exhibited the same desire to believe in the wonderful and to admit the supernatural. The imagination of the masses can only sympathize with that which is astonishing. The harmony of the phenomena of the world around the order of nature, the undeviating regularity with which her laws work out their own fulfilment, or, in a word, all that is truly admirable and wonderful in the universe, is unable to satisfy that passion for marvels which distinguishes the vulgar, and which Horace condemns as unphi-

losophical—finding in the maxim ‘wonder not’ the foundation of true wisdom.”

M. Figuier passes on, concisely enough, but still at too great length for precise translation, to glance at the time, long gone by, when the personal intervention of Deity, either actually, or according to popular belief, governed the acts of the more primitive human societies: an intervention recorded in Scripture, and dimly indicated through the dense clouds of mythology. As this intervention was actually, or was supposed to be, withdrawn, the priesthood gradually succeeded to some share of the authority once exercised by the Divinity—and were expected to exhibit, in some unmistakeable manner, signs of a Divine influence operating through them. Hence arose a demand on the part of the public—a necessity as regarded the priesthood—for some supernatural countersign in favour of every marked change of polity or laws, and such countersigns, according to differences of time and place, were called signs, miracles, or prodigies; and were renewed from time to time, either to subvert, or to support, the systems they had aided to establish.

The priests of Egypt, the Llamas, the Brahmins, the followers of Zoroaster, the Gnostics, the Pythagoreans, and the priestesses of the Delphian oracle, are enumerated as having among them practised all the arts, and taught all the essential doctrines of modern mediumship. To them we shall return hereafter.

Proceeding to the early Christian period, M. Figuier relates how the general inquietude of mind resulting from the conflict which raged between old and new opinions was especially favourable to manifestations of the marvellous; and how, moreover, these manifestations, which, for the most part, had formerly been limited to certain times and places, and fenced about by various mystic ordinances, then emancipated themselves from such restrictions. The temples and caves sacred to the pagan oracles became mute as the public faith departed from them—the sibyls deserted their ancient sanctuaries for an eternal exile—but oracles and sibyls found their successors in so-called magicians, whose performances were held beneath the open sky, and before the gaping crowds of towns and villages.

In the apostolic age there flourished two so-called magicians, Simon Magus and Apollonius Tyanaeus, whose skill and pretensions created no small discussion among the early Christians. “Many fathers of the Church,” writes M. Figuier, “St. Justin among others, were not restrained from considering Simon as a god. The great magician had so mastered the faith both of Christians and of Pagans, that neither one nor the other dreamed of disputing the reality of his prodigies, but sought only to make the most of them. The Pagans regarded him as an emissary

from the ancient gods, sent to manifest their power and to restore their waning influence. The Christians regarded him as operating by the immediate aid of demons, but still with the permission of their own true God. In all eyes, therefore, the performances of Simon were miraculous. When he made statues endued with powers of locomotion, that walked in the presence of the astonished and affrighted mob,—when he remained unhurt among the flames of a blazing pile,—when he changed stones to bread—all were miracles! and when, having raised himself from the ground in a chariot of fire by the aid of two demons, he fell, after a few seconds of elevation—a miracle again. For the Emperor Nero pronounced that this downfall ought not to be attributed to any natural cause, but to the victory of the God of the Christians; and the people, eagerly embracing the opinion that Cæsar had delivered as from certain knowledge, and still further imposed upon by his authority, declared with one voice that the fall of Simon was due to the prayer of St. Peter, which had destroyed the power of the demons of the magician.

In a note M. Figuier adds—

“The followers of Simon, whom the populace and even the senate of Rome worshipped as a god, raised a statue to him upon an island in the Tiber, with this inscription: *Simoni deo sancto*. Many fathers of the Church who read this inscription fully acknowledged the authenticity of Simon’s miracles, and only protested against the attribute of *holiness* added to the divinity of the great magician. Others were not equally favourable to him, and alleged that he had sought to obtain from the apostles the gift of working miracles, and that he had formed an alliance with demons when his offers were repulsed.”

For the first part of this statement there is the distinct authority of Justin Martyr, who, in his *Prima Apologia*, describes the statue with minuteness, and cites the inscription. But M. Figuier does not mention that, so lately as 1662, the following inscription existed in the island of the Tiber—SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO SACRUM; and that this has given rise to the supposition that Justin mistook a statue to Semo Sancus, the Sabine Deus Fidius, for one to his contemporary the magician.

Among the acts of Simon that have been recorded for the instruction of posterity, there is one that may be recommended to the notice of modern mediums. He did not turn tables, or cause furniture to dance, but he ordered a scythe to work by itself, and it performed an allotted task in a manner not to be surpassed by the most dexterous mower.

Of Apollonius it is said that he was able to transport himself instantaneously from one end of the earth to another, to change at pleasure into a bird, a stone, or a tree, to predict future events, and to evoke the spirits of the departed.



Besides Simon and Apollonius, the Roman dominions swarmed with less distinguished professors of the magic art; and the writings both of heathen philosophers and of Christian fathers contain numerous descriptions of their practices. M. Figuiet quotes *Tertullian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* to show that prophetic chairs and tables, circles of people, and divining perdules, were among the machinery employed, and then passes on to glance at the Alexandrian philosophy, which, after the suppression of the schools, became the heritage of so-called sorcerers. From this retrospect he draws the following conclusions:—

“What, then, were the means employed for the accomplishment of the various miracles to which we have so briefly referred? and how, among the ancients, did sorcerers proceed to work upon the rich mines of human weakness and credulity? This question, like all others which arise from facts dimly shadowed in the farthest distances of history, and having their origin in the most remote antiquity, cannot be resolved by any positive or documentary evidence. In default of such proofs there are, however, data which enable us to arrive, by induction, at probabilities that are little less than certain.

“An attentive examination of the chief marvels related in the histories of paganism, and of the earlier portion of the Christian era, shows that all these marvels might have been accomplished by a knowledge of certain physical principles and physical phenomena. This has been extremely well proved by a very ingenious and learned writer, who has devoted a part of his laborious life to historical researches into occult science. Eusèbe Salverte has shown, by a profound study of facts, and by inductive conclusions from them, that, in whatever time and place the occurrence of such prodigies has been recorded, there existed certain classes of philosophers who possessed scientific knowledge to a greater or less extent. In the skilful application of such rudimentary science, the priesthood found means to astonish, to alarm, and consequently to govern the vulgar.

“‘Putting aside,’ says Eusèbe Salverte, ‘that which belongs to trickery, to imposture, or to hallucination, there are no ancient miracles which a man versed in modern science cannot reproduce, either immediately, or after applying himself to penetrate the mystery; and the same science gives facilities to work various other miracles, neither less brilliant nor less numerous than those which fill the pages of history. The example of what the moderns could effect in magic is sufficient to explain the magic of the ancients.’

“It is certain that modern physical science gives us the means of repeating the miracles of the ancients. To affirm, therefore, that knowledge of such science was required for their first performance is to advance more than a conjecture,—it is to form an induction that has almost the force of an inevitable conclusion.”

M. Figuiet proceeds to describe the gradual dispersion of the pagan priesthood and their neophytes before the advance of Christianity, and to assign to this cause the diffusion over the

whole Roman empire of persons and practices once confined to the temples and holy places of mythology. Among the Druids, especially, the professors of the magic art found a refuge and a welcome; and when Christianity penetrated into Gaul, the Druid priesthood were discovered to be in the habit of commanding spirits and of exorcising demons. The like gifts claimed by the Christians furnished an occasion of bitter rivalry between the two religions, and the Christians, for the more effectual destruction of their adversaries, revived that argument which the founder of Christianity had condemned in the mouths of the pharisees. A demon expelled by a Christian priest, they said, was expelled by the mighty power of God; and the expulsion was a miracle. A demon expelled by a heathen priest was expelled by the aid of demons; and the expulsion was a sorcery. By virtue of this distinction the heathen priesthood were ranked with sorcerers and magicians, and under such denominations they were exiled, drowned, or burnt.

The very miracles which the Church had employed for the destruction of rival creeds without, were found useful, in the next place, for the settlement of doctrinal points within her bosom; and the same prodigies which, by their occurrence among the heathen, condemned those heathens as allies and servants of the devil, were held to be ranged upon the side of truth in all disputes between the Church and her own children. In case of schism, therefore, or of division into two religious parties, miracles were freely appealed to as the apostolic sign and the seal of tradition; and the Church, torn by many such divisions, and continually struggling against heresies, had constant necessity that such miracles should be worked. In order that the power of her priests over the devil should not be diminished by want of exercise, she had an equal necessity for demoniacs, and she found no lack of them. The Church distinguished—it is useless to inquire how—but she distinguished, between the persons who, by virtue of an agreement with the devil, had placed themselves voluntarily under his dominion, in consideration of being gifted by him with certain powers of infernal magic; and those whom the devil had seized upon by violence, or who were possessed through the intermediate agency of sorcerers. In all times, the first class of demoniacs were found to be extremely numerous; and it is impossible to say how many thousands of these unfortunates perished in the flames. Such was the rage to exorcise and to burn, that the monks discovered demoniacs wherever they had need of miracles, either to display the omnipotence of God, or to supply the tables of their convents. Unhappy, indeed, was he who was attacked by any malady. The most trivial indisposition might often be the cause of a horrible death,

thanks to the zeal of the spiritual physicians who were eager for its cure.

From this time forwards, until the eighteenth century, the prevailing belief in the marvellous took the form of demonomania; and Figuier's pages contain little more than a catalogue of judicial murders. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a belief in the power of sorcerers was universal throughout Europe. The presence and the action of the devil in the human body was regarded as a familiar fact, altogether beyond dispute. When an individual was said to be possessed, no discussion was likely to arise about the actual fact of possession, but only as to whether it was brought about by the direct action of the devil or by the intermediate agency of a magician. Every sick person, for whose symptoms or sufferings the science of that time could neither assign a cause nor discover a remedy, was said to be possessed, and this convenient doctrine relieved the physicians and the moralists of the period from difficulty and embarrassing researches. An invalid suffering from convulsions, from any nervous disease, from any of the various hysterical or hypochondriacal affections, or from others which were imperfectly understood, was considered, by the mass of the people as well as by the educated classes, to be possessed by the devil.

It was the custom to refer to the devil himself, that is to say to the individual possessed, for information as to the manner in which the possession had been produced. This practice was extremely dangerous to many persons, inasmuch as the individual designated by the energumene as the author of the calamity could not be saved by any human agency; but, even if of the highest rank, or if an ecclesiastic, would nevertheless be proceeded against with the utmost rigour.

The Catholic Church provided a ritual for exorcisms, in which the following were enumerated as the signs or proofs of possession:—

1. Power to discover the unexpressed thoughts of the exorcised.
2. Knowledge by the possessed of foreign languages which he had not learned; and power to speak them.
3. Knowledge of future events.
4. Knowledge of events occurring at distant places, or beyond the reach of ordinary vision.
5. Sudden exaltation of the intellectual powers.
6. A development of physical strength greater than would properly belong to the age or sex of the possessed.
7. Suspension of the body of the possessed in the air during a considerable time.

The method in which these tests were applied in practice appears to have been somewhat similar to the manner in which the



pretensions of a modern clairvoyant, or medium, are examined by a circle of enthusiasts. The curious love for the marvellous and the horrible, which is so marked a characteristic of the human mind, was sufficient to overpower anything like judicial impartiality, and to render the very judges themselves accomplices in pious frauds, intended to prove either the reality of the possession, or the guilt of the accused. In all cases, the confessions of the accused were accepted as sufficient and damning evidence against them, however they might be without corroboration, however much opposed to known facts, however plainly the offspring of frenzy or insane delusion. The practice of judging the so-called witches and sorcerers seems, indeed, to have developed an insanity all its own; and to have been the source of a delusion to the effect that the mass of mankind were in league with the devil. M. Figuiet quotes from a personage whom he calls "*le fameux Boguet*," Chief Justice of the territory of St. Claude, who wrote in the reign of Henri IV. :—

"I hold," writes Boguet, "that the sorcerers could form an army equal to that of Xerxes, notwithstanding that it consisted of eighteen hundred thousand men. For *Trois Echelles*, one of the best inquirers into their affairs, declared, in the reign of Charles IX., that there were three hundred thousand in France alone; and how shall we calculate the number to be found in the remaining countries of the world? Shall we not believe that from them at least as many more might be collected? For my own part, I make no doubt that, if we glance only at our neighbours, we shall find them all alike, swarming with these miserable and accursed vermin. Germany can attend to nothing but the preparation of fires; Switzerland, for this cause, has depopulated many of her villages; Lorraine shows to travellers thousands upon thousands of stakes to which sorcerers have been bound; and for ourselves (we being no more exempt than others) we see the frequent executions that take place in many districts. Savoy sends us daily an infinite number of persons possessed by demons, who, being conjured, say that they were placed in the bodies of these poor creatures by sorcerers, and that most of those whom we have burned, here in Burgundy, came originally from thence. And what opinion shall we form regarding France? It is difficult, indeed, to believe that she can be cleansed, considering the number that she contained in the time of *Trois Echelles*; and, without taking more distant regions into account, the sorcerers walk about by thousands, multiplying on the earth like the caterpillars in our gardens. I would have them to know that, if I had my pleasure, the world would be cleansed thoroughly; for I should desire that they might all be united in one body—so as to be burned at one time in a single fire."

The benevolent intentions of this mediæval hero, although not absolutely accomplished, were not absolutely thwarted. For some twenty pages, the work of M. Figuiet consists of nothing

but a catalogue of judicial murders committed, not upon individuals, but upon masses of people. It is recorded that a single official, Nicolas Rémy, who exercised judicial authority in Lorraine towards the end of the sixteenth century, sent nine hundred reputed sorcerers, within fifteen years, to the stake or the gallows; and, nearly a hundred years later, the Parliament of Rouen addressed a solemn remonstrance to Louis XIV., who had designed to exert his prerogative of mercy in favour of some wretches sentenced to the stake, and had commuted their punishment to perpetual exile. The Parliament, composed of the most distinguished men in the province, commenced their memorial by reciting that the crime of sorcery had always been punished by death, in accordance with Scripture and with the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, by all the kings in Christendom. They proceeded to cite instances showing that successive Parliaments had invariably assigned the same penalty to the offence; and they appealed to the piety of the monarch for the maintenance of the customary rigour. "In 1675," writes M. Figuier, "when the Parliament of Normandy unanimously signed this remonstrance to the King, the *Misanthrope* and *Tartuffe* had already appeared upon the stage, and more than thirty years had elapsed since the foundation of the French Academy!"

The introductory and more general portion of the History of the Marvellous embraces a glance at the progress and effects of the belief in demoniacal possession from the death of Joan of Arc to the end of the seventeenth century. In order more minutely to describe the methods of procedure in cases of presumed sorcery, M. Figuier then enters upon a detailed narrative of the so-called possession of the Ursuline nuns at Loudun, in 1632, and the following years, and of the trial, condemnation, and execution of Urban Grandier, charged with having bewitched them. The history is one that cannot be profitably condensed, and that space does not permit us to extract; but it may be studied with advantage by those who would learn what kind of hysterical excitement was then believed to indicate possession, and what kinds of testimony were then (as now) accepted in proof of the various matters alleged. The next division of M. Figuier's work, under the title of *Les Convulsionnaires Jansénistes*, contains an account of the life and death of François de Paris, of the so-called miracles worked at his tomb in the cemetery of St. Medard, and of the various flagellations, crucifixions, and other torture, undergone by the fanatic devotees whose minds were excited upon the subject of his sanctity. This episode brings down the History of the Marvellous to the year 1787.

The second volume contains the Divining Rod and the Protestant Prophets.

M. Figuier traces the history of the divining rod in its three chief applications—for the detection of thieves, of minerals, and of springs of water—from the earliest period down to the researches of M. Chevreul, in 1812. M. Chevreul, by a series of careful experiments upon the suspended ring—the analogue of the divining rod—showed clearly that the movements of all such agents were produced by unconscious muscular action on the part of the persons holding them; the muscular action, in its turn, being governed by *expectant attention*, or an idea of the results likely to be produced. M. Chevreul's experiments and conclusions are detailed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for May, 1833; and it is unnecessary, in this place, to recapitulate matter that is, in its principles, so familiar to every physiologist. M. Figuier does not, however, mention (although the fact curiously illustrates the vitality of all such delusions) the resuscitation of the pendulum in late years, under the name of Rütter's magnetoscope, as a test of the veritable presence, in homœopathic globules, of the medicaments professedly contained in them; nor the experiments of Dr. Madden, of Torquay, who, following in the steps of M. Chevreul, showed that the oscillations of the magnetoscope were entirely governed by the mind of the operator, and corresponded with his own belief in the nature of the globules under examination. It is melancholy to reflect that these experiments should have been required after the publication of those by M. Chevreul, and at a time when the pretensions of the magnetoscope ought not to have excited a moment's attention on the part of persons ordinarily well informed.

The Protestant prophets, or Camisards, have been claimed as allies by some spiritualists of the present day. About 1668, the Protestants of France, maddened by the sanguinary persecutions that followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, deprived of their property, their civil rights, and often of their lives by the gibbet or the stake; unable to marry or to legitimize their offspring; inadmissible as witnesses; precluded from holding any office, or from following any professional or commercial calling, were driven into a frenzy bordering upon despair. Forced by persecution to fly from France, the pastors had said to their flocks—"Fear nothing; although we are forced to leave you, the Spirit of the Lord will not forsake you, but will be always present in your assemblies, and will speak to you through the mouths of women and children."

Understood literally, these comforting words had disordered the imagination of many of the unfortunates who were detained by poverty in their native country. Their churches being de-



stroyed, and their worship forbidden, they assembled among woods and rocks for secret prayer. For these persecuted religionists, the mountains and deserts were peopled with phantoms, and filled with the voices of revelation. In a profound silence, the slightest sound was regarded as the word of the Holy Ghost ; and, if we may believe Catholic writers, certain artifices were used to exhibit miraculous visions to the more simple—visions, which, in the opinion of the chiefs of the party, were likely to attract adherents to their cause. The armed insurrection that followed, and that continued, with various success, until its final suppression in 1705, was accompanied in its whole course by phenomena of ecstacy and of pretended inspiration. The prophets ruled the camp, and were chosen as military leaders on account of their spiritual gifts.

From M. Figuiér's details, and copious extracts from contemporary documents, we gather that the supernatural manifestations among the Camisards were remarkably uniform in their character. With exceptions, and especially with exceptions in the case of those men whose talents and ambition gave them the desire and the capacity to rule their fellows, and in whom the means necessary to that end may pardonably be regarded with suspicion, the great majority of the inspired were women and young children, likely subjects for hysterical somnambulism. After the sermon of some desert preacher, or any other circumstance that had strongly fixed the thoughts upon religious ideas and upon the sufferings of the Church, the individual about to be inspired would remain for a time absorbed in his own reflections, and, wrapped in profound reverie, would become the subject of intense cerebral exaltation. After a longer or shorter duration of this phase, he would suddenly fall, deprived of feeling ; and, stretched at length, would be attacked by epileptiform convulsions. By-and-bye, the scene gradually changed. The convulsions diminished and finally disappeared, quiet and serenity took the place of trembling and of pain. At length, the individual would rise apparently restored to himself, and would commence an eloquent discourse, preaching the truths of the Calvinist faith, denouncing the idolatry of the Papists, and prophesying future events, among which were always the destruction of the modern Babylon (Rome), and the restoration of the ruined churches. These discourses, which lasted sometimes for hours, were always in French, although the *Langue d'Oc* alone was spoken in all the provinces of the south. The first words were invariably these :—"I tell you, my child, I assure you, my child." It was the Holy Ghost who spoke thus by the mouth of the inspired. The oration being concluded, gradually, and by a scarcely appreciable transition, the prophet returned to his natural state and his ordinary language ; not re-

membering, or remembering but confusedly, the words which he had spoken during the strange and temporary exaltation of his intellectual faculties.

Sometimes the ecstasy was provoked by the breathing of a prophet. In the religious meetings, the preacher, having concluded his discourse, would approach the neophytes considered worthy to receive the prophetic gift, and, breathing into the mouths of one or two, would say, "Receive the Holy Ghost." Soon after the newly elect would fall, would undergo tremblings and convulsions, would presently arise, and speak as if inspired. Having finished, he would in his turn breathe upon some other candidate for the like gifts, who, after his own period of excitement, would render the same service to others.

Moreover, a whole congregation, composed of perhaps a thousand persons, would sometimes fall into convulsions at the mere command of the preacher. Having finished his sermon, the prophet would exclaim, "*Mercy!*" loudly and repeatedly, and would order his flock to fall upon the ground. The greater number of the faithful would be obedient to this command.

The foregoing paragraphs (slightly condensed in translation), if stripped of a few unimportant particulars relating to time, place, and the accident of persecution, might serve for a description of much that occurred during the late revival at Belfast. They might serve also, M. Figuiet remarks, to describe a similar movement in Sweden, in 1846; and all the phenomena appear to be purely, and in the truest sense, hysterical. The use of the French language is rendered less surprising by the sameness of the discourses; and the ignorance and stupidity of those who became eloquent when "inspired" is only an additional illustration of a very familiar fact. We have so lately discussed the Belfast revival, that this subject need not detain us longer.

The third volume of the History is devoted to "animal magnetism," from the first appearance of Mesmer before the public, to the latest applications of hypnotism; and may be divided into two portions, the first, a very graphic and entertaining narrative of events, the second, their physiological explanation. Under the latter head, M. Figuiet disposes in succession of the various hypotheses that have been advanced by the ignorant and the credulous; and claims for hypnotism the power to explain all the phenomena of cataleptic trance, ecstasy, or somnambulism, and all the events that have supported, either in ancient or modern times, a belief in possession or in inspiration (excepting, of course, the inspiration made known to us by the evidence of Scripture). He admits, and regrets, that in the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to go much farther than this, or to state the essential changes in which hypnotism or nervous sleep consists.



We know only that it can be readily produced by expectant attention, and that such attention can be most easily commanded by the aid of some object on which to fix the senses and the thoughts. *How* the act of attention modifies the condition of the nervous system we have yet to learn; but we are certain that the influence is only self-contained, and independent of any external agency—whether of “spirit” or “fluid.” That our knowledge extends no farther is due to two causes; first, to the discovery of anæsthesia, produced by chemical agents, a discovery that destroyed at once the surgical interest attaching to mesmerism; and, secondly, to the character of the persons by whom mesmerism was chiefly practised, and of the performances in which its effects were displayed. Respectable and intelligent practitioners were unwilling to investigate a pursuit that afforded notoriety to the most credulous of the profession, and gain to the most ignorant and fraudulent of tricksters. Now that the popular enthusiasm with regard to mesmerism has died away, now that clairvoyance and phreno-mesmerism are forgotten delusions—succeeded by the “spiritualism” of the day, there is a prospect of scientific inquiry into the basis of reality underlying all these things, and into the essential nature of the agencies concerned in producing them.

In the meanwhile, the phenomena which can be referred to hypnotism, or nervous sleep, may be stated as follows:—

1. Bodily insensibility, ranging in degree from that of natural sleep to the most complete unconsciousness of pain, or other external impressions.

2. Somnambulism, or a state of general unconsciousness, accompanied by an exaltation of sensibility with regard to impressions of a particular class. These may be indebted for their power, either to their nature or their source; that is to say, they may appeal to the sensorium by reason of being in harmony with the dominant idea, or by reason of emanating from a particular person; the attention being fixed subjectively upon an idea, in the first class, and objectively, upon an individual, in the second. The former condition may be illustrated by ecstasy and mesmeric clairvoyance, the latter by electro-biology; and in each there will be complete subjection of the belief and the will to the impressions conveyed through the senses. Thus, in ordinary mesmeric sleep-waking, or in the ecstasy of religious revivals, or during the exorcisms recorded by M. Figuier, the “subjects” were most acutely alive to every breath of suggestion from without that had reference to the matter actually in hand, hearing the faintest whispers, catching at the slightest hints; but neglecting, or even absolutely deaf and blind to, any irrelevant speech or action. The “electro-biologized” person, too, has his whole



attention engrossed by the speech of the operator; and his powers of comparison, judgment, and volition paralysed—not by any agency from without, but because his nervous force is concentrated upon a single object. To these varieties of somnambulism, distinct or blended, differing in degree and duration under different circumstances, the greater portion of the phenomena called supernatural may be referred.

3. Catalepsy, or rigidity of the limbs in a position not determined by gravity, is, when universal, of comparatively rare occurrence. In a partial form, it probably is more common, plays its part in the maintenance of the attitudes of faquirism, and is familiar to the *habitués* of the mesmeric *séance*.

4. Convulsions and tremblings are ordinary forerunners of the complete development of any of the former states.

5. Muscular movements, involuntary and unconscious, are very frequent in cases of partial hypnotism, and are brought about by a degree of attention that would be insufficient to produce any of the former classes of phenomena. They are exemplified in table-turning, in the movements of the divining rod, the exploratory pendule, and the magnetoscope.

For all these there are at least two distinct sources; one, the contemplation of an emotion, or state of feeling, as instanced in all the varieties of ordinary hysteria; the other, the contemplation of an object, as in all the varieties of artificial hypnotism. In both, the operation of the state of attention upon the body is not limited to the muscular and nervous systems; but may extend, under certain circumstances, to every function of organic life.

We proceed now to the consideration of the matter that most immediately concerns us; that is to say, the relation borne by modern spiritualism to these by-gone marvels. We may remark, in the first place, that a popular belief in the agency of spirits as the active causes of supernatural phenomena, has alternated with a belief in the agency of *fluids*, variously described as electric, magnetic, or odyllic. While, therefore, we are not entitled to speak of spiritualism as being, in its essential characters, a new doctrine, still we cannot but recognise the existence of novel elements in its modern phases; and we think it will be found that for these novel elements, for everything that is distinctive in its characteristics or teaching, it is, in a great degree, indebted to the impulse given to human thought by the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg.

Into the theological and doctrinal teaching of Swedenborg it is not our purpose to enter; but it is necessary to say a few words concerning his account of the eternal world or state, for the information of readers who may not be conversant with his views.

He held, then, that the soul, or spiritual existence, rather than the material body, constituted the essential and actual man; and that this soul, although not palpable or visible by material organs, was just as really a substance as the earthly body itself. He held that the spirit, when liberated from the body by the death of the latter, passed at once into an intermediate state of existence, the Hades of the Greek Scriptures, where it was prepared for its final destination, in heaven or in hell; and further, that, at certain epochs of the world's history, Hades had been cleared of its tenants by the operation of general judgments. Of these he taught that the final one, the last judgment predicted in the New Testament, occurred in or about the year 1757; and that, from that date for ever, individual judgments will do away with the occasion for general ones; each departed spirit going to his own place speedily. The last general judgment but one, according to this writer, took place during our Lord's ministry upon earth: so that for 1700 years or thereabouts, Hades had been continually receiving the spirits of those who departed this life, and of whom there were many completely assimilated to the state of the infernals, and ready to enter into Gehenna. He believed, also, that the spirits in Hades were able to communicate with men in this world, by suggesting thoughts to them—thoughts good or evil; and that they were actually and continually so employed; and he traced much of the profligacy and misery of the time in which he lived to the number of wicked spirits who were by this kind of suggestion constantly influencing the thoughts and actions of the human race; then, as at all former times, too ready to fall before temptation. As the immediate result of the last general judgment, and the removal, consequent upon it, of spirits confirmed in evil from Hades to Gehenna, he predicted a great amelioration in the condition of the human race; who, no longer brutalized by overpowering demoniac influences, were to make prodigious advances both in knowledge and in conduct. Moreover, these advances were to be permanent: because the individual judgments to be recorded for the future, and the more speedy transmission of souls in consequence of them through Hades to their final destination, would forbid any accumulation of demoniac influence in a state able to operate upon mankind.

Swedenborg taught, farther, that the spiritual world was around us on every side, and only concealed from our view by the veil of fleshly consciousness—a veil capable of being raised, prior to dissolution, whenever it so pleased Omnipotence. Its being thus raised was, he held, the means by which various persons described in Scripture—*e.g.*, Balaam and Elijah's servant—were enabled to behold spiritual existences formerly invisible to them; and he ascribed his own visions, into the nature of which

we do not intend to enter, to a similar interposition of the Divine.

Now an absolute belief in Swedenborg's doctrines of Christian faith and duty, and a belief, more or less modified, in his visions, and his views of the eternal world and state, have for many years been very widely diffused among Protestant Christians, especially in the United States. The small and most sectarian sect called Swedenborgians, represent only a minute fraction of the followers of their master ; and hence there were, when spirit-rapping was first heard of, thousands of people perfectly familiar with the idea of the nearness of the spirit world, and who believed that an alteration in their own state would, even in this life, allow them to hold actual and conscious communion with the souls of the departed.

It may here be observed, however, that while regarding spiritualism as in one sense a result of Swedenborg's doctrines, we do not wish to be understood as implying that it is their corollary. For these doctrines may be assented to by those who, nevertheless, feel that intercourse with the spirit world is something entirely abnormal ; possible, it is true, and perhaps occasionally permitted ; but that, nevertheless, the barriers between the natural and the spiritual states are not of a nature to be removed by any power short of Omnipotence, or to be suspended for the fulfilment of any purposes short of those of universal wisdom. The doctrine of the eternal spiritual existence of the human race is so completely in unison with human hopes and aspirations, is so agreeable to our reason, and so abundantly confirmed by revelation, that Swedenborg can add nothing to the evidence in its favour. His works should rather be regarded as a natural and necessary reaction against that Protestantism which, desiring to overthrow the Romish scheme of purgatory, had, in fact, utterly ignored the spiritual life of Hades, and had been gradually developed into a belief in the suspended animation of human souls, from the dissolution of the body to some period still in the future. Under this teaching, the soul or spirit, destined only to be resuscitated after the lapse of ages, ceased to be regarded with the interest properly attaching to it, and, instead of being considered the essential man, was looked upon as a vague and shadowy something of which it was impossible to give any precise account. The most enlightened Protestants of the eighteenth century, as a rule, would hold about the soul opinions only to be described as a fasciculus of negations ; and would look forward to its reunion with the material body as a condition essential to its active life. The writings of Swedenborg, to minds thus instructed, would possess all the charm and interest of absolute and most attractive novelty ; and, instead of only modifying erroneous



opinions with regard to the state and condition of the soul after death, would in many cases present for the first time a real idea of the soul as a substantial existence. This idea thus given, and spiritual bodies being described as perpetually surrounding us, it is but a step farther to think of them as exerting active influences upon material things.

Accordingly, when, nearly ten years ago, it was announced that the then familiar table-turning was a result of spiritual forces, and that spirits communicated with mankind through the agency of persons called "mediums," by making raps upon tables, there were thousands in the middle and upper classes, of the kind called "intelligent observers," who saw no difficulty at all in the matter. They knew of no reason why these things should not be; they were conscious of no broadly-marked distinction between spirit and matter; they saw no incongruity in the presumed action and reaction between them; they heard the raps, and took the spirits for granted. From this, the delusion prospered; and, having at first been little more than a new method of drawing-room fortune-telling, it now numbers, in the United States by millions, and in this country probably by thousands, adherents who consult their familiar for every principle of conduct in this life, and for every belief or hope with regard to the life to come. Of this sect, the mediums are the priests, and raps upon a table are the oracles.

The pretensions of the Spiritualists have steadily increased during late years; but their present claims are stated as follows, by a prominent brother of the order, who wishes to "present a brief general statement of the leading phenomenal phases in which, at the present day, Spiritualism is presented to us:"—

"Before doing so," writes this author (*Spiritual Magazine*, No. 2), "as a preliminary observation necessary to a right understanding of the matter, we would remark that there are persons in some way peculiarly constituted whose presence appears to furnish conditions requisite to enable spirits to act upon matter, or to manifest their agency in any way cognizable to men. In what this peculiarity consists, whether it be chemical, electrical, magnetic, odylie, or in some combination of these, or in what else, it would lead us too far from our present purpose to consider." (We break into the quotation at this point, in order to call attention to the effects of spiritual intercourse upon English composition.) "At present we would only point out the fact that the presence of one such person at least is necessary in every circle before any spiritual manifestations can be obtained. Such persons are now technically designated *mediums*."

The most common form of the manifestations, and that which is most easily obtained, is seen in—

"1. *The Rappings, Table-tippings, and other Sounds and Movements of Ponderable Bodies*.—The company assembled place their hands lightly

on a table, and, if a suitable medium is present, in a short time sounds, like raps or detonations are heard on the table, the chairs, the walls, or the floor, often varying in power and tone. . . . At other times, instead of sounds being heard, extraordinary movements of the table are seen, it rising and falling vertically or perpendicularly, and to different elevations off the floor, or sliding along the room first in one direction and then in another, or moving rapidly round it . . . . On more than one occasion we have seen the table rise from the floor without any contact . . . . no one being nearer than from two to three feet of it. Human beings also have frequently been raised off the floor and floated round the room in the presence of numerous persons."

2. *Spirit-writings and Spirit-drawings.*—The former of these modes of communication is not unfrequent. Usually, the medium holds a pencil in hand as for writing, and, sometimes immediately, sometimes after a few minutes, the hand goes into involuntary motion, forming letters, words, and sentences, making an intelligible communication or reply to some question, verbal or mental, that has been asked. . . . With some mediums the hand is simply used mechanically, the medium not having the slightest idea of what is being written; with others this is accompanied by impression as to the immediate word or sentence that is to be written, but no further. I know one medium who sees before him in the air, or upon the table, the word he has to write. . . . Cases of direct spirit writing, that is, not requiring the intervention of a mortal hand, are comparatively rare.

3. *Trance and Trance-speaking.* . . . .—In this state the trancee frequently speaks as from a spirit—sometimes in long and sustained discourse; and even at times in a foreign and (to the trancee) unknown tongue. We have scores of times heard persons of but little education discourse, when in this state, with an amplitude of knowledge which we are sure they did not in themselves possess, and with a logical coherence and power of expression of which in their normal state they were incapable. . . . This state is similar, if not identical, with that which in the same persons may be induced by mesmerism.

4. *Clairvoyance and Clairaudience.* . . . .

5. *Luminous Phenomena* are sometimes seen at spiritual *séances*. They are usually described as very brilliant; sometimes they appear as stars, or as balls of fire; at other times they shoot, meteor-like, through the apartment, or gleam over the walls, or appear as luminous currents circling round a particular centre, such as the hand of the medium, the pencil with which he is writing, or some object in the room.

6. *Spiritual Impersonation*, or the representation or reproduction in a medium of the actions and manner, gait, deportment, and other peculiarities which distinguished the actuating spirit in his earth-life.

7. *Spirit-music.*—A musical instrument, say a harp or an accordion, being held or suspended in the hand of the medium, or of some person near him, tunes are sometimes played on it by invisible agency, often in a very superior manner; sometimes it will be a known and familiar tune, at other times spirit-music will be thus improvised.

We know persons who often, when alone and unexpectedly, hear delightful music, apparently in the air, resembling, and yet unlike, any other they have heard. . . .

8. *Visible and Tactual Manifestations*, such as the appearance and touch of *spirit hands*. . . .

9. *Spirit Intercourse by means of the mirror, crystal, and vessel of water*. . . .

10. *Apparitions of the Departed*. . . .

11. *Visions and Pre-visions*. . . .

12. *Dreams*. . . .

13. *Presentiments*. . . .

14. *Spirit Influx*, by which ideas and sentiments are infused into the mind. . . .

15. *Involuntary Utterance*. . . .

16. *Possession*.—We believe that many persons treated as insane are only so in the same sense as the demoniacs of old. . . .

Our space has compelled us entirely to omit the explanation of some of these sixteen headings; but we trust that we have preserved enough to convey to the reader a clear notion of the phenomena that are said to occur. In the fifth number of the *Spiritual Magazine* we find a paper by William Howitt, entitled "The Threefold Development of Spiritualism," from which we learn that there are three distinct phases of mediumship. Of these, the first, or lowest, is concerned in the production of the physical phenomena, the second involves intellectual, and the third, spiritual illumination. The poems of Mr. Harris, said to be dictations from the spirits of Rousseau, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Pollok, &c., are quoted as illustrations of the intellectual phase, and the sermons of Mr. Harris as illustrations of the spiritual phase. To these compositions we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.

Mr. Harris himself defines modern spiritualism "as a series of actions on and in the human spirit and body, and on the objects of the natural world, produced by the more abundant descent of the Divine Spirit into Christendom and the world, for the purpose of unfolding the more interior and spiritual, as well as natural human faculties, into higher states of force, perception, and utility. It may be defined, in its counter movement, as the results produced in man and on nature by the opposite effort of infernal spirits, to take advantage of new openings, to invite to evils, and to destroy the faith."

We have in these various quotations a sufficient basis of information concerning the alleged facts of spiritualism to enable us to investigate their nature and causes. The three phases of Mr. Howitt's are too much for us; and we purpose to consider the whole matter under two heads—first, the physical phenomena of a *séance*; and, secondly, the results of spiritual dictation.

(To be continued.)



## ART. VIII.—STATISTICS OF INSANITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY RICHARD J. DUNGLISON, M.D.,

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STATISTICS of physical or mental infirmities interest the curious inquirer more often than they reward the zeal of the compiler. The reason is obvious; a few new facts of little consequence, or a few old ones with which he has been unfamiliar, become magnified as objects of importance in the eyes of the one, while the patience of the other receives but slight satisfaction in the paucity of useful materials separated from the confused mass of details. Matters of slight moment are dwelt upon, considered and reconsidered, while what is truly important is thrown aside, rejected as worthless, or left to the exploration of more careful observers. The latter must always, of course, in numerical strength, be the fewer, but the grand results so often obtained by patient investigation preserve the memories of their authors, when those who have devoted themselves to unimportant abstractions have been forgotten, and their results have passed away with them.

Perhaps statistics of infirmities of the organs of the senses furnish as striking an exemplification of this fact as any other sources of statistical information. The institutions devoted to the care and comfort of the blind, deaf-mute, and insane portions of the population, do not appear equally to appreciate the value of general information upon points on which professional and unprofessional are eager to acquire knowledge. How often are we told, as if they were almost the only points which could possess any interest to us, that the institution has expended so much in the course of the year for groceries and provisions, and has laid out its grounds in such a scientific and ornamental style of gardening as to excite the admiration of all beholders! To become truly useful sources of practical information, we need, rather than an advertisement of this kind, an enumeration of all the facts bearing upon the causes of predisposition to certain morbid affections of the senses, a personal history of the patient's condition, sex, and age, an account of the greater prevalence of mental disease in one district of country than another, the influence of marriage, sex, and constitution, on recovery or the reverse, and the numerous other channels through which lessons may be learned to guard us from the incursion of disease, or to assist us in relieving the infirmities to which we are subject.

If we could only bring home to our minds the consciousness of the fact that we are all exposed to most of the causes, of one kind or another, which predispose or excite to blindness, deaf-dumbness, or insanity, the world at large would be much less indifferent than it now is to considerations which seem at present to possess direct interest to compara-

\* From the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*. July, 1860.

tively a small proportion. It is not easy to impress this conviction upon the mind, and perhaps it may be as well that people generally should remain indifferent to it; the gloomy contemplation would assuredly not add much of happiness to the cares of every-day life. The truth is only mentioned to show how much wider the field of accurate statistical information might become, if more general interest were excited in such subjects of universal consequence.

We are, of course, dependent upon the accuracy and careful scrutiny of others for the mass of statistics through which we must search for the elimination of but few important details. If such authorities were unanimous in their mode of arrangement, and in their knowledge of what should be accepted as useful and what might be unhesitatingly rejected as worthless, if some uniform understanding of the wants of the professional and unprofessional could be arrived at, how greatly might the whole matter of statistics be simplified! It is by no means a grateful task, while aiming at unexceptionable accuracy, to discover how much disorder has been thrown into statistical records by the total carelessness, or only near approximation to accuracy, of those who should be the most worthy sources of information. If some system of classification were adopted which would furnish facilities for the collection of facts, and be uniformly applicable to every institution in which the blind, or the deaf-mute, or the insane are cared for, the slight additional trouble of registration would be amply compensated for by the grateful appreciation of those interested in human infirmities.

Insanity, in all its phases of mental and moral perversion, is fully described in works devoted to special and general pathology. The purpose of this article is to avoid all such points as refer to symptomatology, diagnosis, or treatment, and to adhere, as far as practicable, to facts which may be confirmed or established by the numerical records and the enlarged experience of those who have devoted special attention to the subject. A complete statistical history of insanity from European and American sources is almost impracticable. Continental authorities are often inaccessible, and from a few scattering details in countries whose language is unintelligible to the rest, we can make no inferences which are worth recording. Our own country is rich in the registered history of mental ailments, and from these channels it is proposed to make such deductions and collect such materials as may furnish a condensed history of insanity in the United States. As the reports of institutions for the insane are the most prolific records it is in our power to consult, we shall collect from them statistical information upon prominent points of interest connected with the insane, having previously considered such facts, meagre as they are, as have been furnished in the details of the United States Census of 1850. We may therefore appropriately touch first upon the statistics of the insane among the general population, and afterwards upon institutions devoted to their care. We shall refer merely to those cases of mental alienation which occur from perversion of intellectual and moral qualities, and exclude entirely all reference to congenital cases of defective mental development, embraced under the head of Idiocy.

## I. STATISTICS OF THE INSANE AMONG THE GENERAL POPULATION.

Information on the number, &c., of the insane in this country can only be obtained through the details of an imperfect census. How little or how much reliance can be placed upon it, we cannot now argue; but adopting as our standard the results which it has furnished, we are able to make certain estimates of the influence of race, of the proportionate numbers of this class of unfortunates in different states, and other points of interest which may have some value to statisticians, however accurate or inaccurate the figures may be. In referring to census details we become involuntarily disbelievers in the idea that figures are infallible, and we condemn the laxity with which facts are collected, although we employ them almost as freely as if they were the most accurate results that census-takers could accomplish. The few facts obtained from the census of 1850 are embraced in the following tables.

1. *Comparison of the Insane, Blind, Deaf, and Dumb, &c.*—The following table, in an aggregate of 50,994 cases of infirmities of sense or the senses, exhibits the proportion of insane to the other classes in the general population:—

Insane . . . .	15,610, or 1 to 1485 of general population.
Idiots . . . .	15,787, or 1 to 1469     "     "
Deaf-mutes . . .	9,803, or 1 to 2365     "     "
Blind . . . . .	9,794, or 1 to 2367     "     "

The blind approximate closely the number of the deaf and dumb, while the insane and idiotic classes are not widely apart from each other. The insane are more than 60 per cent. more numerous, if we can place reliance on these estimates, than either the blind or deaf-mutes.

*In every 100,000 of the Population (Census 1850) there are:—*

Insane . . . . .	67	Blind . . . . .	42
Idiots . . . . .	68	Deaf-mutes . . . .	42

2. In a previous article upon deaf-muteism,\* we referred to the greater prevalence of that infirmity among the native than among the foreign population. If we adopt a similar mode of classification with the insane, excluding slaves only, we shall find insanity far more prevalent among the foreign-born than among the native population.

## PROPORTION OF INSANE IN THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN POPULATION.

STATES.	Native Insane.	Native Population.	Proportion to Pop.	Foreign Insane.	Foreign Population.	Proportion to Pop.
New England....	3,375	2,423,223	1 : 718	412	299,340	1 : 726
New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.	3,667	4,884,356	1 : 1332	1,029	1,005,036	1 : 976
N. W. States and Territories.....	1,963	4,656,158	1 : 2372	340	638,784	1 : 1878
Slave States, etc.	3,860	5,534,813	1 : 1434	268	232,839	1 : 870
-	12,865	17,498,550	1 : 1360	2,049	2,175,999	1 : 1061

\* *Observations on the Deaf and Dumb*, reprinted from the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*. Philadelphia, 1858.



Change of mode of living, intemperance and dissipation, the frustration of fondly-indulged hopes of success, reverses of fortune, &c., are very often followed by insanity, and these, we imagine, operate powerfully among the foreign-born population. In the words of one of the New England Institutions: "Driven from their early homes by poverty, ignorance, and delusive hopes, they are thrown on our shores, and left to contend as they may with the new circumstances around them, until disappointment or sickness, or intemperance, or other form of vice, extinguishes the feeble light of reason, and consigns them to a lunatic hospital. They are unpromising patients. They do not recover in so large a proportion as others, and consequently contribute largely to swell the number of incurable cases which crowd the wards of our hospitals."\*

We do not offer any explanation why mental alienation should attack the foreign-born in so large a proportion in some States, nor why they should be attacked in a proportion in the New England States no greater than exists among the native born. Reasons doubtless exist, which must be apparent to those familiar with the intimate domestic arrangements, habits, and feelings of each class.

3. *Influence of Race.*—It will be seen, by the following table, that insanity is far more prevalent among the white and free coloured population of the United States than among the slaves. It would be natural to suppose that absence of care and freedom from anxiety as to the future would tranquillize the mind, and ward off disturbing elements. The condition of a happy slave, thinking only of the present, and not dreaming of want in the future, would appear to be that which should give rise very unfrequently to causes of insanity. Intemperance, so fruitful a source of misery and unhappiness to the white and free coloured, is comparatively unknown among the slave population, every slaveholder striving to prohibit the use of alcoholic liquors, and dreading the proximity of taverns or drinking-places, which can supply unlimited indulgence to his slave. Hence, intemperance itself does not exist as a cause of mental alienation, nor can the thousand evils it always brings in its train—disease, exposure, excesses, &c.—be worthy of consideration as causes of insanity. Anxiety would be a far more productive source of mental disease to the free coloured population, from the fact that they have to contend at a disadvantage with the whites in many of their occupations and modes of earning a livelihood. It would be interesting to pursue these inquiries further than they have already been carried, to determine what causes are mainly at work to produce insanity among the coloured race, and why in some portions of the country—New England and Delaware, for example—the proportion should be so large. It may be remarked, however, that in a small population—in Maine, for instance—the number of insane must be so small that no very reliable deductions can be founded upon such meagre statistics. Yet New England, which contains but about one-thirtieth of the free coloured population of the Union, had within her limits

\* Third Annual Report of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton, Massachusetts, 1858, p. 31.

nearly an eighth of the free coloured insane. Ohio, with a larger free coloured population than that of all the New England States, had, in 1850, but one-third as many insane; while Maryland and Virginia had but two and a-half times as large an insane free coloured population as New England, although having more than five times the number of free coloured in the general population.

*Influence of Race in the production of Insanity.*

(CENSUS OF 1850.)

	STATES.	White Insane.	Proportion to White Population.	Free Col. Insane.	Proportion to Free Col. Population.	Slave Insane.	Proportion to Slave Population.
6 New England States.	Maine . . . .	556	1 : 1046	5	1 : 271		
	New Hampshire.	378	1 : 839				
	Vermont . . . .	560	1 : 560				
	Massachusetts .	1661	1 : 593	19	1 : 477		
	Rhode Island . .	210	1 : 685	7	1 : 524		
	Connecticut . .	464	1 : 782	6	1 : 1282		
3 Middle States.	New York . . .	2487	1 : 1225	34	1 : 1443		
	New Jersey . .	370	1 : 1258	9	1 : 2634		
	Pennsylvania . .	1865	1 : 1210	49	1 : 1094		
15 Slave States and Dis. of Columb.	Delaware . . . .	48	1 : 1482	20	1 : 903		
	Maryland . . . .	477	1 : 876	44	1 : 1698	25	1 : 3,614
	Virginia . . . .	864	1 : 1035	47	1 : 1156	59	1 : 8,008
	North Carolina .	467	1 : 1184	10	1 : 2746	33	1 : 8,743
	South Carolina .	224	1 : 1225	4	1 : 2240	21	1 : 18,330
	Georgia . . . .	294	1 : 1774	2	1 : 1465	28	1 : 13,631
	Alabama . . . .	201	1 : 2122	2	1 : 1132	30	1 : 11,428
	Florida . . . .	9	1 : 5245			2	1 : 19,655
	Mississippi . . .	105	1 : 2816			24	1 : 12,911
	Louisiana . . .	144	1 : 1774	11	1 : 1587	45	1 : 5,440
	Texas . . . .	37	1 : 4163				
	Arkansas . . . .	60	1 : 2703			3	1 : 15,700
	Missouri . . . .	249	1 : 2377	2	1 : 1309	11	1 : 7,947
	Kentucky . . . .	502	1 : 1516	2	1 : 5005	23	1 : 9,173
	Tennessee . . .	380	1 : 1991	5	1 : 1284	22	1 : 10,884
	Dist. of Columbia	13	1 : 2918	9	1 : 1117	1	1 : 3,687
7 West'n States. and 4 Terri- tories.	Ohio . . . .	1303	1 : 1500	14	1 : 1805		
	Indiana . . . .	556	1 : 1757	7	1 : 1609		
	Illinois . . . .	236	1 : 3584	2	1 : 2718		
	Michigan . . . .	132	1 : 2992	1	1 : 2583		
	Iowa . . . .	42	1 : 4568				
	Wisconsin . . . .	54	1 : 5643				
	California . . . .	2	1 : 45817				
	Minnesota, New Mexico, Utah, and Oregon . .	22	1 : 4181				
	Total . . . .	14,972	1 : 1305	311	1 : 1397	327	1 : 9,799

In inserting the above table, which has been carefully prepared from the census of 1850, we desire to correct an erroneous conclusion which has crept into a valuable statistical work—*Boudin's Traité de Géographie et de Statistique Médicales, &c.*, Paris, 1857 (vol. ii. p. 143)

—in consequence of figures adduced by Dr. Nott, of Mobile, to show that the farther removed the negro may be from the tropics, the more liable will he become to mental alienation.\* M. Boudin asks: "Of what consequence is it, if the negro is able to succeed in living and even of perpetuating his race in a temperate zone, if it should be shown, as has been attempted, that he becomes insane there in an enormous proportion?" A reference to the table disproves this assertion, and answers M. Boudin's questions satisfactorily. The farther north we go, the less numerous do the slaves become, until at last we find all the coloured race free. It is then that causes of insanity become multiplied to them, while climate, which is not a powerful cause of perversion of the mental and moral faculties, would operate more actively as a predisposing cause of idiocy.

4. The question may arise, *Has insanity increased in the United States in a greater ratio than the population?* Discrepancies certainly exist between the censuses of 1840 and 1850 sufficient to warrant us in forming one of two hypotheses: either insanity has been on the increase, or the returns of the census upon this point are unreliable. We are more disposed to assume the latter position, for reasons which have already been stated. In the census of 1840 the idiotic and insane were not separated in the statistics, while in 1850 an independent enumeration of each class was made. We cannot more appropriately refer to questions arising out of the comparison of the two censuses, than by citing the remarks of Prof. George Tuckert† on the results obtained in each: "By this comparison it appears that of the insane and idiotic—

In the white population, the proportion in 1840 was as 1 in 977			
		1850	1 in 688
In the coloured	"	1840	1 in 978
"	"	1850	1 in 1929

The suspicions entertained against the accuracy of that part of the census of 1840 which respected the insane of the coloured population, have been justified by subsequent investigations; but, on the other hand, in correcting the error, the correspondent part of the seventh census (1850) seems hardly entitled to our entire confidence. We know that much sensibility was excited by the greater frequency of insanity among the coloured race which resulted from that census, and it is possible that the interest thus felt may, in more ways than one, have biased the judgment of the census-takers in placing individuals under this class. Though the census of 1840 unquestionably overrated the number of the coloured insane in the Northern States, yet when we saw the proportion gradually increase as we proceeded on the Atlantic coast from Georgia to Maine, and in the West from Louisiana to Michigan, it was not to be believed that the diversity was produced by a correspondent variety and gradation of errors; and, reasoning on probabilities, we were compelled to admit that there was some solid foundation for the difference exhibited, though it might be greatly

\* J. Nott, M.D.: *Two Lectures on the Natural History of the Caucasian and Negro Races*. Mobile, 1844.

† *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years*. Appendix, p. 24. 1856.



exaggerated. We may add, that there is intrinsic evidence in favour of the census of 1840 on this point, which that of 1850 does not possess. Nor is this all. That census itself affords grounds for questioning its accuracy. It shows that while in the white population the proportion of the insane and idiotic is as much as 1 in 668, in the coloured population it is only 1 in 1929; and though we cannot admit that, in New England, where the coloured population shows a small increase, the number of insane and idiotic has fallen from 383 to 45 [55?], as the census shows; neither can we readily believe that, contrary to all previous enumerations, the proportion of the white race thus afflicted is three times as great as that of the coloured. We must, then, look to future enumerations to decide whether the liability of the last-mentioned race to these mental maladies, which the census of 1840 has confessedly exaggerated in some States, has not been generally underrated by the census of 1850, and whether truth does not occupy a middle point between them." We cannot, therefore, decide whether insanity has increased generally, or whether the influence of race has been exhibited in either an increase or diminution of the tendency to mental alienation in the white or the coloured portions of our population.

## II.—STATISTICS OF THE INSANE, DERIVED FROM INSANE INSTITUTIONS.

The annals of the rise and progress of United States Institutions for the Insane may be briefly told. It is the history of philanthropic efforts to protect and relieve a numerous class of unfortunates, to shelter them from injurious influences, and to afford them a home, where, under the attentive care of those who would take an active interest in them, they might be placed under the best possible conditions for improvement or recovery. We cannot furnish a condensed historical account more appropriately than by adopting the brief statement which has already been published by one who has himself had such abundant opportunities of seeing

"That noble and most sovereign reason,  
Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh."

### 1. *Historical Sketch of Institutions for the Insane in the United States.\**

"If we take a retrospective glance over a period of less than half a century, we find that, in 1815, throughout the whole domain of the United States, the only separate independent public institution for the insane, was that at Williamsburg, Virginia. That establishment had undergone serious vicissitudes. It was opened during our colonial dependence upon Great Britain, and, in the course of the Revolution, its operations were suspended, and the buildings converted into military barracks.

"In the latter half of the decennium ending on the 31st of December, 1820, two new institutions were opened. These were, the asylum at Frankford, now Philadelphia, in 1817; and the McLean Asylum, in what is now Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1818.

\* Dr. Pliny Earle: Reports of American Institutions for the Insane, *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, April, 1857, pp. 442-3.

"In the course of the decennium terminating with the close of 1830, five establishments for the insane sprang into existence. The Bloomingdale Asylum went into operation in 1821; the Retreat at Hartford, Connecticut, and the asylum at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1824; and the asylums at Staunton, Virginia, and Columbia, South Carolina, in 1828.

"Earliest in the next succeeding period of ten years was the Massachusetts State Hospital, at Worcester, which was opened in 1833; the Vermont State Asylum, at Brattleboro', followed in 1836; the Ohio State Asylum, at Columbus, in 1838; the pauper institutions for the cities of Boston and New York, in 1839; and the Maine State Asylum, at Augusta, in 1840. It was during this period that the greatest impulse was given to the scheme for meliorating the condition of the insane in these United States. In the production of this impulse, no person exerted greater influence than the late Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, who was at that time superintendent at the hospital at Worcester. The zeal and hopefulness with which he ever pursued his occupation; the moral glow of sunlight which he disseminated all around him, over a sphere thitherto almost universally regarded, in the popular mind, as shrouded with clouds and involved in darkness; and the elaborate reports which, emanating from his pen, were scattered broadly throughout the country, all contributed to awaken an interest in the subject which had never been previously manifested.

"The decade from 1840 to 1850 exhibited the effect of this increased interest. The Pennsylvania hospital for the insane was opened in 1841. In 1841 or 1842, a separate building was erected for the pauper insane of King's County, New York. The New Hampshire State Asylum, at Concord, and the Mt. Hope Institution, at Baltimore, commenced operations in 1842; the asylum at Utica, New York, in 1843; the Butler Hospital, at Providence, R. I., in 1847; and the State Asylums at Trenton, N. J., Indianapolis, Ind., and Jackson, in Louisiana, 1848. About the middle of this decade, the Maryland Hospital, at Baltimore, theretofore devoted to the treatment of general diseases, was converted into an institution exclusively for the insane. No positive information upon the subject is now accessible to us; but it is our impression, relying upon memory, that the original asylum at Nashville, Tennessee, and the asylum at Milledgeville, Georgia, were opened in the early part of this decennium.

"Since 1850, several institutions have been brought into existence. The State Hospitals at Harrisburg, Pa., Fulton, Missouri, and Jacksonville, Illinois, were organized and first received patients in 1851. The new building of the Tennessee Hospital was so far completed as to be occupied in 1852. The State Asylum at Stockton, California, and the asylum for the county of Hamilton, Ohio, were opened in 1853; the State Institutions at Taunton, Mass., and Hopkinsville, Kentucky, in 1854; the United States Government Hospital, near Washington; the State Asylum at Jackson, Mississippi, and those at Newburg and Dayton, Ohio, in 1855; and the State Asylum at Raleigh, N. C., in 1856. The new building for the pauper insane of King's County, N. Y., was first occupied by patients in 1855.

"We know of but five private establishments for the treatment of the insane in the United States. The oldest of these is that of Dr. Cutter, at Pepperell, Massachusetts. The late Dr. James Macdonald established a private institute at Murray Hill, New York City, about the year 1837, and some years afterwards removed it to Flushing, Long Island, where it is still continued under the title of Sanford Hall, and in charge of the doctor's brother, General Allan Macdonald. It is one of the most complete and beautiful establishments of the kind in the world. Dr. Edward Jarvis has an establishment at Dorchester, Massachusetts; Dr. Edward Mead one near Cincinnati, Ohio; and Dr. George Cook one at Canandaigua, New York."



TABLE OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THE

	STATE.	Location.	Name of Institution.	Foundation.	Date of Opening.
1	Maine .....	Augusta.	Maine Insane Hospital.	State Inst.	Oct. 14, 1840.
2	New Hampshire..	Concord.	N. H. Asylum for the Insane.	"	Oct. 29, 1842.
3	Vermont.....	Brattleboro'.	Vermont Asylum for the Insane.	"	Dec. 12, 1836.
4	Massachusetts....	Worcester.	Mass. State Lunatic Hospital.	"	Jan. 18, 1833.
5	" .....	Taunton.	" " "	"	April 7, 1851.
6	" .....	Northampton.	" " "	"	Aug. 16, 1858.
7	" .....	Somerville.	McLean Asylum for the Insane.	Corporate Inst.	Oct. 6, 1818.
8	" .....	South Boston.	Boston City Lunatic Asylum.	Pauper	"
9	" .....	Pepperell.	"	Private	"
10	" .....	Dorchester.	Dr. Jarvis's Private Asylum.	"	1843.
11	Rhode Island.....	Providence.	Butler Hospital for the Insane.	Corporate	Dec. 1, 1847.
12	Connecticut.....	Hartford.	Retreat for the Insane.	"	Oct. 1, 1824.
13	" .....	Litchfield.	"	Private	Oct., 1853.
14	New York.....	Utica.	New York State Lunatic Asylum.	State	Jan. 16, 1843.
15	" .....	Blackwell's I., N. Y.	New York City Lunatic Asylum.	Pauper	June 10, 1839.
16	" .....	New York City.	Bloomington Asylum for the Insane.	"	"
17	" .....	Flatbush, L. I.	King's Co. Lunatic Asylum.	Corporate	June 10, 1821.
18	" .....	Flushing.	Sanford Hall.	Pauper	Nov. 1, 1855.
19	" .....	Canandaigua.	"	Private	May, 1846.
20	" .....	Auburn.	Brigham Hall.	"	Oct. 3, 1855.
21	New Jersey.....	Trenton.	N. Y. State Lun. As. for In. Conv.	State	Nov., 1858.
22	Pennsylvania.....	Philadelphia.	New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum.	"	May 15, 1843.
23	" .....	Harrisburg.	Penn'a Hospital for the Insane.	Corporate	Jan. 1, 1841.
24	" .....	Near Pittsburg.	State Lunatic Hospital of Penn'a.	State	Oct. 1, 1851.
25	" .....	Frankford, (Phil'a.)	Western Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.	Mixed	March 13, 1856.
26	" .....	Philadelphia.	Asylum for the Relief of Persons deprived of the use of their reason.	Corporate	May 15, 1817.
27	" .....	Delaware Co.	Insane Department of the Philadelphia Hospital.	Pauper	"
28	Maryland.....	Baltimore.	Clifton Hall.	Private	"
29	" .....	Near Baltimore.	Maryland Hospital for the Insane.	State	1860.
30	Dis. of Columbia.	Near Washington.	Mt. Hope Institution.	Mixed	Jan. 1, 1831.
31	Virginia .....	Staunton.	U. S. Government Hospital for the Insane.	"	1842.
32	" .....	Williamsburg.	Western Lunatic Asylum of Va.	U. S. State Inst.	Jan. 15, 1855.
33	North Carolina...	Raleigh.	Eastern	"	1823.
34	South Carolina...	Columbia.	Insane Asylum of North Carolina.	"	Feb. 22, 1856.
35	Georgia .....	Milledgeville.	State Lunatic Asylum of S. Ca.	"	Jan. 1, 1828.
36	Mississippi.....	Jackson.	"	"	"
37	Louisiana.....	Jackson.	Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum.	"	Jan. 8, 1855.
38	Texas .....	Austin.	Insane Asylum of the State of La.	"	Nov. 21, 1848.
39	Missouri.....	Fulton.	Texas State Lunatic Hospital.	"	"
40	Kentucky.....	Lexington.	State Lunatic Asylum of Mo.	"	Dec. 1, 1851.
41	" .....	Hopkinsville.	Kentucky Eastern Lunatic Asylum.	"	1824.
42	Tennessee.....	Near Nashville.	Western Lunatic Asylum of the State of Kentucky.	"	Sept. 18, 1854.
43	Ohio.....	Columbus.	Tennessee Hospital for the Insane.	"	March 1, 1852.
44	" .....	Newburg.	Central Ohio Lunatic Asylum.	"	Nov. 30, 1833.
45	" .....	Dayton.	Northern " "	"	March 5, 1855.
46	" .....	Mill Creek.	Southern " "	"	Sept. 1, 1855.
47	" .....	Near Cincinnati.	Hamilton Co. Lunatic Asylum.	Pauper Inst.	Nov. 7, 1853.
48	Indiana.....	Indianapolis.	Retreat for the Insane.	Private	"
49	Illinois.....	Jacksonville.	Indiana Hospital for the Insane.	State Inst.	Nov. 21, 1843.
50	Michigan (h).....	Kalamazoo.	Illinois State Hospital for the Insane.	"	Nov. 3, 1851.
51	California.....	Stockton.	State Insane Asylum of California.	"	May 14, 1852.

(a) The Institution commenced operations with the reception of 223 cases, principally chronic, 213 being from the other State institutions.

(b) Most of those admitted were females.

(c) Statistics from 1847 to 1859 only given.

(d) Ceased to receive State and County paupers in 1849.

(e) The average number in the Institution is here given.

(f) Statistics date from April 1, 1856.

(g) Statistics date from July 1, 1836.

(h) Its opening delayed by a disastrous fire.



## INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Admissions.	Recoveries.	Deaths.	Remaining at last accounts.			Date of Statistics.	Name of Superintendent or Physician.
			Males.	Females.	Total.		
2127	871	267	129	108	237	Nov. 30, 1859.	Dr. Henry M. Harlow.
1650	727	172	94	88	182	May 31, 1859.	Dr. Jesse P. Bancroft.
3025	1433		212	219	431	Aug. 1, 1859.	Dr. W. H. Rockwell.
5996	2747	696	152	165	317	Sept. 30, 1859.	Dr. Merrick Bemis.
1343	432	227	165	176	341	Sept. 30, 1859.	Dr. George C. S. Choate.
321	Not given (a)	19	98	135	233	Sept. 30, 1859.	Dr. Wm. Henry Prince.
4582	2130	546	85	90	175	Jan. 1, 1860.	Dr. John E. Tyler.
							Dr. Clement A. Walker.
about 100 (b)						March 5, 1860.	Dr. Edward Jarvis.
904	296	180	68	67	135	Dec. 31, 1859.	Dr. Isaac Ray.
3407	1643	347	105	110	215	March 31, 1859.	Dr. John S. Butler.
						June 16, 1860.	Dr. Henry W. Buel.
5528	2340	671			519	Dec. 1, 1859.	Dr. John P. Gray.
5836	2569	1492	287	424	711	Dec. 31, 1859. (c)	Dr. M. H. Ranney.
1923	802	274	68	84	152	Dec. 31, 1859. (d)	Dr. D. Tilden Brown.
			122	168	290	July 31, 1859.	Dr. Edward R. Chapin.
					34 (e)	March 9, 1860.	Dr. Benj. Ogden, Visiting Phy.
							Dr. J. W. Barstow, Resident Phy.
139	42	10			40	Feb. 18, 1860.	Drs. George Cook and John B. Chapin.
55	2				51	Sept. 1859.	Dr. Edward Hall.
1563	605	206	141	165	306	Dec. 31, 1859.	Dr. H. A. Buttolph.
3360	1656	363	147	122	269	May 25, 1860.	Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride.
1192	205	170	149	125	274	Dec. 31, 1859.	Dr. John Curwen.
332	119	33	61	39	100	Jan. 1, 1860. (f)	Dr. Joseph A. Reed.
1412	636	195	29	29	58	March 1, 1860.	Dr. Joshua H. Worthington.
						March 1, 1860.	Dr. S. W. Butler.
1615	664	231	54	52	106	Dec. 31, 1859.	Dr. Robert A. Given.
1963			71	106	177	Jan. 1, 1860.	Dr. John Fonerden.
							Dr. Wm. H. Stokes.
270	53	47			138	July 1, 1859.	Dr. Charles H. Nichols.
1576	640	381	219	153	372	Oct. 1, 1859. (g)	Dr. Francis T. Stribling.
			147	110	257	Oct. 1, 1857.	Dr. John M. Galt.
238	41	18	95	52	147	Nov. 1, 1858.	Dr. Edward C. Fisher.
1139	468	251	99	95	194	Nov. 5, 1859.	Dr. J. W. Parker.
							Dr. Thomas F. Green.
260	65	30	65	41	106	Oct. 1, 1859.	Dr. Robert Kells.
851	225	374	89	68	157	Dec. 31, 1859.	Dr. J. D. Barkdull.
						Nov. 27, 1857.	Dr. J. C. Perry.
426	133	79	97	74	171	Nov. 24, 1858.	Dr. T. R. H. Smith.
2389	882	926	130	98	228	Sept. 30, 1859.	Dr. W. S. Chipley.
443	111	91	107	97	204	Dec. 1, 1859.	Dr. Francis G. Montgomery.
390	109	45	96	62	158	Oct. 1, 1857.	Dr. W. A. Cheatham.
3480	1792	441	111	103	214	Nov. 1, 1859.	Dr. R. Hills.
426	179	19			148	Oct. 31, 1857.	Dr. R. C. Hopkins.
502		40	81	79	160	Nov. 1, 1858.	Dr. J. J. McIlhenny.
913	246	87	143	130	273	June 5, 1859.	Dr. Wm. Mount.
							Dr. Edward Mead.
1753	819	128	151	152	303	Oct. 1, 1859.	Dr. James S. Athon.
1018	430	92			229	Dec. 1, 1858.	Dr. Andrew McFarland.
							Dr. E. H. Van Deusen.
865	490	61			162	Dec. 31, 1855.	Dr. W. D. Aylett.

NOTE.—One or two changes may have occurred from death or resignation among the superintendents above mentioned, but we have given, as far as was in our power, those whose names appeared upon the latest reports. To those who kindly responded by letter or transmitted to us their reports in answer to our application for information, we desire to return our sincere thanks; and especially do we feel grateful to Dr. Kirkbride and Dr. Edward A. Smith, of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, for facilities extended to us in our endeavours to furnish accurate and reliable statistics.

Since that time, others have been founded; their names and their dates of opening are furnished in "The Table of Institutions for the Insane in the United States," on the preceding page. Their rapid increase in the last twenty years evinces a lively interest on the part of the people of the different States in one of the most numerous classes of infirmities.

The table has been carefully prepared, with a view of affording an opportunity of learning how much has been done in this country to ameliorate the condition of those suffering from mental alienation. Every institution in the United States, whose statistics were otherwise imperfectly obtainable, except that in California, has been applied to for information. Most of them have responded to our desire for accuracy, and we regret that the silence of others may, in a few instances, prevent us from making the record complete. Some of the institutions are supported by appropriations from State Legislatures, some are incorporated, others are pauper institutions connected with the system of city government. Insane inmates may be found in every almshouse, but it has not been deemed expedient to give such an arrangement any prominence, unless the portion devoted to the insane is a separate department under the charge of a superintendent or physician. The word "mixed" implies that the establishment is incorporated but has received aid from the State. The recoveries, deaths, etc., are not furnished as comparative tables of the results of treatment of different institutions, so widely scattered, and therefore so variously exposed to favourable or unfavourable circumstances of climate or locality, but as a sufficiently satisfactory method of condensing the history of each institution, and of exhibiting the number of insane who have received relief from their mental sufferings by recovery or death. Where no mention is made of the time from which the admissions are calculated, it may be inferred that the statistics date back to the opening of the institution.

A sketch has thus been briefly given of the means which have been afforded by humane sympathy for the care and protection of the insane. That the power of some States to furnish adequate comfort to them is limited, is to be greatly regretted; yet many of the younger institutions are still in their infancy, and have not attained their full development. As they progress in their usefulness, and as soon as the public realize by more accurate statistical details how numerous the unfortunate insane are in proportion to the number accommodated in insane institutions, fewer patients will remain at home to be a source of anxiety to their families, and the comforts of a home in which they can receive constant medical attention, and be removed from the causes of their malady, will be more fully appreciated.

Facts collected from the materials furnished by so many institutions would, if carefully tabulated, supply statistical information of importance to those of the medical profession who are interested in them. The scanty details from some of the institutions assist in making up a total, but the care with which some of the others have examined into facts connected with the insane, and collated them for the benefit of

the public, deserves especial commendation. So many points arise, however, in the consideration of such infirmities, which are of more interest to those connected with institutions than to the profession, that it is proposed to limit the field of our inquiries to questions of general importance which do not exclusively belong to the special province of institutions for the insane only.

Some of the points may be studied as part of the personal history of the patient previous to the attack of insanity, such as the age, sex, conjugal condition, occupation, etc., while others belong more properly to the history of the attack, such as the period of the year, the particular form which the disease may assume, the cause of death, etc. If the attack should not be the first from which he had suffered, we should naturally refer to the previous history of the disease, and learn something of the duration and number of former attacks. Therapeutically, we shall have nothing to say here; to discuss merely a few pathological and psychological points of interest which seem to accumulate upon us at every step, we feel to be a task promising to claim our utmost capacity of time and space. Several considerations would arise, that cannot be properly placed under any of the heads we have mentioned, such as the general liability to second attacks, &c. These, though perhaps indirectly connected with the history of the attack, may be arranged with more advantage under the history of the recurrence of insanity. Adopting the mode of classification of subjects above given, we shall refer first to

### III.—THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE PATIENT PREVIOUS TO THE ATTACK.

This is abundantly illustrated in the statistics of almost all our institutions.

*a. Sex.*—Of the numerous circumstances under which the female sex is placed by her physical nature, her temperament and sympathies, we might infer that many are favourable to the production of mental disorders, and that woman would, on this account, be more liable to insanity than the other sex. It has been truly said by Cabanis,\* that “by a severe necessity attached to the rôle which nature assigns to her, woman is subjected to many accidents and inconveniences; her life is nearly always a series of alternations of health and suffering; and too often the suffering predominates.” Yet her constitution resists shocks and trials under which the more robust nature of man would shrink, and her delicate organization seems often to acquire strength after one series of trials to be prepared for those which are to follow.

In viewing the relation of the sexes, in the liability to mental aberration, we must of course bear in mind the greater proportion of males or females in the general population. Erroneous conclusions have in many cases been drawn from the mere fact of the number of insane females being greater in certain portions of the country, to found a

\* Rapport du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme, tome i. p. 350. Paris, 1802.  
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theory that the male sex is less liable to insanity than the female. May not this deviation be owing, in some measure, to a difference of occupation or of the circumstances predisposing to mental disorder in the males or females of one part of the United States from those of another? For even if the number of insane females should preserve the same general ratio to the female population, the devotion of the other sex to a different class of occupations might alter the ratios very sensibly. It has been exhibited in the experience of several Transatlantic observers, that psychological affections are far more prevalent in manufacturing than in agricultural districts—a fact which might perhaps affect the male ratio of the insane more than the female. The mortality has also been found by statistics to be greater in the male sex than in the female, being estimated by one authority at 50 per cent. greater; while the female recovers more frequently from insanity than the male. We have to distinguish, therefore, between the number of either sex who have actually become insane and those who are found to be so, when mortality or recovery has exerted an influence to modify the ratio. And besides this, moral causes, such as grief, anxiety, etc., affect women more than men, and the chances of recovery being greater in moral causes than in physical, of course fewer women remain for any length of time insane.

The following details have been collected from the experience of more than forty of the institutions of this country, either during the last year of their recorded observations or throughout the whole course of their career:—

*Sex of the Insane in United States Institutions.*

	Males.	Females.	Total.
U. S. Government and State Institutions . . . . .	15,328	13,232	28,560
Corporate Institutions . . . . .	6,245	5,793	12,038
Mixed . . . . .	597	497	1,094
Pauper . . . . .	3,423	3,880	7,303
Total . . . . .	25,593	23,402	48,995

In June, 1850, Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, presented to the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, a paper on the “Comparative Liability of Males and Females to Insanity, and their comparative Curability and Mortality when Insane.” His statistics of twenty-one American hospitals represent the proportion of males insane to females as 121 to 100 in a total of 24,573 cases. Our own estimate is founded upon nearly 25,000 more cases than are embraced in the investigations of Dr. Jarvis, and we find a much less difference in the proportion of the sexes than that determined upon at that time: 100 females are found by our own estimates to be insane—judging merely from hospital records—to every 109 males. But the sexes are not represented in the institutions as they are in the general population. We shall hereafter find that the period of life embraced between the years of 20 and 50 is that in which mental disorder is of much more frequent occurrence than after or before those ages. We must, therefore, in order to

learn what ratio the sexes bear to each other on the question of insanity between the ages of 20 and 50, determine also their relative number in the general population. The census of 1850, which we may—with some hesitation, perhaps—take as a convenient guide, gives a proportion of 108 males to 100 females in the general population between the ages of 20 and 50. The number corresponds closely enough with that given in the general ratio of the sexes in insane institutions; but then we have to assume that those figures not only correspond with the proportion outside of the institution, but also that, taken without regard to age, they represent the proportion of the sexes under 20 and over 50 years of age—two difficulties which we do not attempt further to solve.

Dr. Thurnham,\* in examining this question, in reference especially to European institutions, assumes that the proportions of men and women *admitted* into public institutions during extensive periods, represent, as, on the whole, they probably do represent, the cases which *occur* for the first time, and remarks as follows:—"Having thus shown that in the principal hospitals for the insane in these kingdoms, the proportion of men admitted is nearly always higher, and, in many cases, much higher than that of women; and as we know that the proportion of men in the general population—particularly at those ages when insanity most usually occurs—is decidedly less than that of women, we can have no grounds for doubting that men are actually more liable to disorders of the mind than women." With Dr. Jarvis, we think that any statement in regard to peculiar liability of either sex "must vary with different nations, different periods of the world, and different habits of the people;" and we may add that the peculiar constitution of the American people, as native and foreign born, manufacturing and agricultural, may afford elements for variation, not only in the number of the sane of both sexes, but also in the proportionate relation of the insane.

Leaving this question still in doubtful confusion, we shall examine, under each head, into the influence which sex exerts in the causes and results of mental disorders.

*b. Age at which Insanity first appears.*—We are surprised to find such a scarcity of materials upon one of the most important and interesting points in the whole subject of our researches. We have been unable in many of the reports to find the least reference made to this inquiry; but as the information derived from other reports embraces a large number of cases, what we have obtained in this way may be made the basis of our calculations. Without any regard to sex, we find the ages of first appearance of mental disorders to be as follows, in thirteen institutions, bearing in mind always that we can never know certainly, from the accounts of family or friends, the exact time when eccentricity or morbid peculiarities of disposition first exhibited themselves.

\* On the Relative Liability of the Two Sexes to Insanity. *Quarterly Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, December, 1844.

*Age at which Insanity first appeared.*

(STATISTICS OF THIRTEEN UNITED STATES INSTITUTIONS.)

	No. of Cases.	Percentage for each period.
Under 20 years of age . . . .	1724	13·8
20 to 30 " " . . . .	4421	35·3
30 to 40 " " . . . .	3117	24·9
40 to 50 " " . . . .	1880	15·0
50 to 60 " " . . . .	861	6·9
60 to 70 " " . . . .	354	2·8
Over 70 " " . . . .	115	·9
Total . . . .	12,472	

It will thus be seen that more than 75 per cent. of the insane embraced in this analysis became so between 20 and 50 years of age. We are disposed to think that a larger number become insane between the ages of 20 and 25 than at any other period of five years, but we cannot assert this confidently. A table like that given above, although instructive in some respects, is not perfect, unless we examine into the proportion in the general population of those who are between the ages mentioned. Accepting the census of 1850, with all its imperfections, as our standard, we exhibit in the table the number at each age in the general population; to which the percentage of insane, considered as to the appearance of insanity at corresponding ages, may be added as a means of comparison.

	General Population.	Insane.
Under 20 years of age . . . .	52·4 per cent.	13·8
20 to 30 " " . . . .	18·4 "	35·3
30 to 40 " " . . . .	12·1 "	24·9
40 to 50 " " . . . .	7·9 "	15·0
50 to 60 " " . . . .	4·7 "	6·9
60 to 70 " " . . . .	2·6 "	2·8
Over 70 " " . . . .	1·5 "	·9

From this comparative table, we learn the interesting fact, which a simple reliance on the previous figures would have left undiscovered, that the ages between 30 and 40 are the most liable to insanity, and that the other periods of life are liable in the following order:—

From 30 to 40.	From 60 to 70.
" 20 to 30.	Over 70.
" 40 to 50.	Under 20.
" 50 to 60.	

Insanity attacks the two sexes at different periods. Thus, of 9951 cases of mental aberration comprised in the preceding statistics, of which 5211 were males and 4740 females, it is found by a comparison which we have made of the prevalence of insanity in either sex at particular ages, with the number of the general population at corresponding ages, that in many cases while one sex predominates in the general population, the other may be in a greater proportion among the insane. We of course assume that the figures taken from our asylum statistics may be taken as a fair standard of the relation of the insane of each sex outside, a mode of reasoning which we admit allows of many objections. We find as the result of these inquiries that—



Males are more liable under 20 years of age.

Females are rather more liable from 20 to 30 years of age.

No difference of liability exists between 30 and 40 years of age.

Females are decidedly more liable between 40 and 50 years of age.

Females are decidedly more liable between 50 and 60 years of age.

Males are decidedly more liable between 60 and 70 years of age.

Males are decidedly more liable over 70 years of age.

If, instead of basing our calculations as to the prevalence of insanity in each sex at particular periods upon the age of first appearance of insanity, we should take the *age of admission* into insane institutions as our guide, we might arrive at slightly different conclusions. But as that mode of classification is not a fair test of the period of life which is most subject to mental disorder, and as the information elicited is more interesting to those who devote themselves to the care of the insane than to the general reader, we shall only briefly allude to the ages at the time of admission, as follows, in statistics of 11,598 cases:—

More patients are admitted between 20 and 30 years of age; and then in the following order: 30 to 40, 40 to 50, 50 to 60, under 20, 60 to 70, and, lastly, over 70. We find by reference to the statistics of Dr. Earle,\* of 1710 admissions into Bloomingdale Asylum (N. Y.), that our conclusions coincide exactly with his.

It will be seen that some difference is observed here between the two modes of viewing the question of age; and it may be shown that, as far as the sexes are concerned, men are admitted in larger proportional numbers into the institutions from which we have quoted these statistics, between the ages of 30 and 40, 40 and 50, and 50 and 60; and that women occupy a similar pre-eminence at ages under 20, from 20 to 30, 60 to 70, and over 70.

*c. Single or Conjugal Condition.*—It is not our intention here to dwell upon domestic difficulties and ill-assorted matrimonial alliances as causes of mental aberration. However powerful they may be, we must not lose sight of the occasional probability of attacks of insanity occurring, and leading to the very results—painful distrusts and exhibitions of temper in the family circle—which are so often regarded as the causes instead of the effects. We touch lightly here upon such domestic calamities, and refer merely to the actual condition of celibacy, married life, or widowhood, preferring to mention only the fact that the patient was single or married, without inquiring whether he may not have remained single because he had exhibited some mental peculiarity. From the recorded statistics of twenty institutions—and we refer to none other than American institutions whenever we use the term—we have 25,721 cases placed in the category of single, married, widowed, and divorced, which we may classify, as follows:—

Single	.	.	.	.	.	12,462 or 48·4 per cent.
Married	.	.	.	.	.	11,150 or 43·3 „
Widowed	.	.	.	.	.	2,092 or 8·1 „
Divorced	.	.	.	.	.	17

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25,721

\* *History of the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane*, p. 65. New York, 1848.

We should naturally infer that married life would be less frequently a cause of insanity than celibacy, from its being generally a more settled condition of existence, and less liable to fluctuations of agitations and emotions of the mind; and yet the thousand sources of anxiety which a sensitive mind may feel for the happiness of those immediately around him may disturb the mental equilibrium of the married state, and induce morbid changes in his disposition and attachments:—

When we consider *the sexes in their relation to the married state*, we find the sex given in 20,281 instances of those mentioned above. These we may arrange as follows:—

*Males :*

Single	.	.	.	.	.	5,772 or 55·5 per cent.
Married	.	.	.	.	.	4,090 or 39·3 „
Widowers	.	.	.	.	.	537 or 5·1 „

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10,399

*Females :*

Single	.	.	.	.	.	4,233 or 42·9 per cent.
Married	.	.	.	.	.	4,311 or 43·6 „
Widows	.	.	.	.	.	1,338 or 13·5 „

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9,882

We thus see that a greater proportion of married females to the whole number of insane females exists than of married males to the whole number of insane males, while the single males are in a much greater proportion than the single females. The widows are far more numerous in proportion, according to this estimate, than the widowers. The experience of American institutions on the subject of marriage or celibacy, as a cause of mental aberration, may, therefore, be summed up as follows:—

Out of every 1000 cases of insanity, without regard to sex, 433·8 are married, 484·5 single, and 81·3 widowed; and of every 1000 cases of the male sex, 555 are single, 393 married, and 51 widowers; while of the same number of females, 429 are single, 436 married, and 135 widows.

*d. Occupations.*—We can draw no inferences as to the greater prevalence of mental disorder in particular trades or occupations from the mere statement of the fact that a certain number of persons who are engaged in them are insane, unless we also make some estimate of the proportion which occupations bear to each other in the general population. Such an estimate is possible, when we have such facilities for obtaining it as are furnished by the United States census returns. Although errors may exist in it, so also may mistakes creep into the statistics of occupations furnished by ignorant persons to insane institutions. It is, therefore, for ordinary purposes, sufficiently reliable as a means of comparison. For convenience sake, we may adopt a system of classification similar to that suggested originally in the census statistics of Great Britain, and modified so as to adapt it better to the peculiar circumstances of the United States. Any classification must

be difficult, but this is perhaps sufficiently simple. We give the percentage of each class in the general population, and of the insane of each class in 7329 cases, collected from the statistics of fourteen American institutions. The majority of our insane hospitals, probably believing the subject a matter of less importance than the minority are disposed to consider it, pass it by entirely without remark of any kind.

*Occupations of the Insane previous to the Attack.\**

	Percentage in gen. pop.	Percentage among Insane.
1. Commerce, trade manufactures, mechanic arts, and mining . . . . .	29·72	39·90
2. Agriculture . . . . .	44·69	29·10
3. Labour, not agricultural . . . . .	18·50	13·98
4. Army and navy . . . . .	·10	·70
5. Sea and river navigation . . . . .	2·17	3·50
6. Law, medicine, and divinity . . . . .	1·76	7·00
7. Other pursuits requiring education . . . . .	1·78	4·00
8. Government civil service . . . . .	·46	·34
9. Domestic servants . . . . .	·41	·54
10. Other occupations . . . . .	·41	·90

We thus see a disparity, which may be made much more manifest by an arrangement under separate heads of the principal occupations, which bear a greater ratio to the insane than to the general population, or the reverse. It will be seen, as might naturally be expected, that professional pursuits—and especially the learned professions—are more liable to insanity than those which are not characterized by great mental tension. Farmers, devoted to a quiet life of agricultural occupation, and removed from causes which distract the mind and harass the spirits of the busy commercial world, are able to live more regularly than the participants in active city life, and hence are found low down in the scale of liability to insanity. We should expect, in our political system, with changes going on perpetually, that government officials would rarely be attacked with mental disorder connected in any way with their occupation, because the system of rotation does not often allow them a political life of sufficient duration to disturb their mental equilibrium.

*Occupations which bear a greater ratio to the number of the Insane than to that of the General Population.*

The learned professions—medicine, divinity, and law.

Other pursuits requiring education.

Sea and river navigation.

Commerce, trade, manufactures, mechanic arts, and mining.

*Occupations which bear a greater ratio to the number of the General Population than to that of the Insane.*

Agricultural pursuits.

Government civil service.

\* This table, it may be remarked, embraces in the first column the employments of the white and free coloured only, while the other *may* (we do not know that it does) include also the slave population. The number of slaves insane is, however, insignificant.



It is scarcely worth while inquiring into the relative liability of particular trades, such as shoemaking, tailoring, etc., which are embraced in the main headings given above, although we may devote a moment's consideration to classes 6 and 7 in the previous table, both of which are connected in some way or other with mental development or education. Leaving out of view those illustrations of each which furnish so trifling a number of cases as to make their statistics comparatively worthless, it will be interesting to know how the learned professions, in which we include clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and students generally, compare as to liability to mental aberration; and how also pursuits requiring education, such as those of teachers, artists, druggists, engineers, etc., differ in their tendencies to insanity. The order seems to be as follows:—

## Law, Medicine, and Divinity.

Students.  
Lawyers.  
Physicians.  
Dentists.  
Clergymen.

## Pursuits requiring Education.

Artists.\*  
Druggists.  
Teachers.  
Musicians.  
Engineers, &c.

Comparing these two classes with one another, we have the educated classes, *par excellence*, liable to insanity in the following order:—

Artists.  
Druggists.  
Students.  
Teachers.  
Lawyers.

Physicians.  
Dentists.  
Clergymen.  
Musicians.  
Engineers.

No statistics have been furnished in the United States census returns of the number of females occupied in the different branches of industry, so that it would be impossible for us to make any comparative table of occupations of that sex, as predisposing to insanity. Domestic, seamstresses, and teachers seem to be in large numbers, and so also do the wives and daughters of farmers and labourers, whose occupations must be of a domestic nature; but all these classes are numerous also in the general female population, and we should therefore expect insanity to be prevalent among a large number in each.

*e. Hereditary Predisposition* doubtless exists in a far greater number of cases than is generally supposed. Few of our institutions, however, class the inheritance of mental alienation among the causes in their lists, and in only one or two instances is any mention made of it at all. We know from other sources of information, such as those supplied to us by European channels, that particular forms of insanity may be transmitted from parent to child, and that the eccentricities and disordered understanding peculiar to the one may, by hereditary predisposition, appear in all their force in the mental development and characteristics of the offspring. So much did Esquirol believe in the transmission of hereditary insanity, that he considered that six-sevenths

\* We do not doubt that we might assign to *authors* one of the highest places in the table, if we felt ourselves justified in using the meagre statistics we have at hand in regard to them.

of all his patients had been blighted by such a heritage. Believing that this predisposing cause of insanity is so imperfectly recognised, or, if recognised, so unsatisfactorily and unreliably recorded, that it assumes statistically but little importance in the reports of hospitals for the insane, it is deemed expedient to extract from Dr. Earle's *History of the Bloomingdale Asylum* (p. 80) a few remarks on hereditary predisposition in cases admitted into that institution. "Of 1841 patients, 323—of whom 187 were males, and 136 females—are recorded as having one relative or more insane; this is equivalent to  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The percentage in each sex, taken separately, is as follows: men, 17.16; women, 18.11. It is not to be presumed, however, that this is even a near approximation to the number actually having relatives of disordered mental powers.

"Of the men included in the foregoing table, 118 inherited the predisposition from direct ancestors, and 33 of these had other relatives insane. Of the remainder, 68 had collateral relatives insane, but no direct ancestors; and one had a child insane. Of the 52 who had insane parents, it was the father in 27 cases, and the mother in 25. In one of these, both father and mother had been deranged. It is also stated that two of those included under the term hereditary, had ancestors, both paternal and maternal, who were subject to the malady. Of the women, the predisposition was transmitted from direct ancestors in 89, of whom 67 had other relatives insane. In the remaining 42, the disease is stated to have appeared only in persons collaterally connected; and in 5 cases in their children alone. There are 18 cases in which it is mentioned that the father was insane. In 1 case, the father and mother were both deranged. In the case where it is asserted that the whole family were insane, it is said that all her father's family, which consisted of 12 children, had been deranged, and that their insanity did not, in a single instance, make its appearance before the age of 21 years. Two brothers were patients here in 7 instances, 3 brothers in 2, a brother and sister in 2, 2 sisters in 3, 2 sisters and 2 of their cousins in 1, mother and son in 3, father and son in 1, father, daughter, and her son in 1, mother and daughter in 3, and uncle and niece in 1. It is obvious that the foregoing statistics are not sufficiently full or definite to be adopted as accurate data from which to estimate the proportion of the insane in whom it is transmitted from the father's or the mother's side, or any of the other important questions involved in the subject."

Such are the main points of interest in relation to the subject of family predisposition; they embrace much more minute details than can be found elsewhere in American reports. We regret our inability to make them more copious. It is generally supposed that those cases of insanity which are transmitted in families do not respond to treatment as readily as others which are spontaneous in their origin.

f. While referring to the hereditary transmission of insanity, we may appropriately speak of the influence of *marriages of consanguinity* in the production of mental alienation. The vital statistics of marriage are not dwelt upon in any of the statistical records which it has been

our province to consult. Dr. Bemiss,\* of Louisville, Ky., has made quite extensive investigations into the claims of intermarriage of blood-relations to a place among the predisposing causes of disease in the offspring, to which we may refer those who are desirous of studying the subject more fully. Insanity results far less frequently than forms of imperfect development, such as give rise to idiocy, deaf-muteism, etc. The State Government of Ohio seems to have taken considerable trouble to collect details connected with this point; and although the report upon it is very imperfect, or totally deficient in some counties, Dr. Bemiss has been able to collect materials enough on which to base the following calculations: "If the same ratio be supposed to exist throughout the Union (as in the Ohio Report), there would be found, to the twenty millions of white inhabitants, six thousand three hundred and twenty-one marriages of cousins, giving birth to 3909 deaf and dumb, blind, idiotic, and insane children, distributed as follows:—

Deaf and dumb . . . . .	1116
Blind . . . . .	648
Idiotic . . . . .	1854
Insane . . . . .	299

Then, if the figures of the last United States census still applied to our population, there would now be found in the Union—

- 9,136 deaf and dumb, of whom 1116, or 12·8 per cent. are children of cousins.
- 7,978 blind, of whom 648, or 8·1 per cent. are children of cousins.
- 14,257 idiotic, of whom 1844, or 12·93 per cent. are children of cousins.
- 14,972 insane, of whom 299, or 1·9 per cent. are children of cousins.

Such are the calculations of probabilities founded upon the history of a large number of illustrations of infirmity in the United States, which have been connected in some way—we will not say positively dependent on—circumstances of relationship such as we have described. They form an interesting supplementary matter for investigation, after the remarks already made on hereditary predisposition.

*g. Education, Systems of Religion, etc.*, doubtless exert a powerful influence upon the mental development of the individual; but no accurate data are obtainable by which we may recognise how extensive that influence may be in a country like our own, so differently constituted from every other in its systems of education and its numerous forms of religious belief.

Education, when carried so far as to produce overstrained mental exertion, will frequently, doubtless, in the more delicately constituted organization of some children, prove occasionally mentally injurious, and sow the seeds of future perversion of the intellectual and moral faculties. How far this influence is exerted in this country we are unable to say.

#### IV.—HISTORY OF THE ATTACK.

Having studied the personal history of the patient previous to the attack, we have next to inquire into the statistics of the most interest-

\* Report on the Influence of Marriages of Consanguinity upon Offspring, by S. M. Bemiss, M.D., Louisville, Kentucky. *Transactions of the American Medical Association*, vol. xi. p. 319. 1858.



ing points connected with the history of the attack itself. Although many of the causes which excite to insanity might be said properly to belong to the general field of inquiry through which we have already travelled, yet the causes and results may be more appropriately studied in conjunction than in any other mode. Great difficulty must exist sometimes in defining the exact lines, where one subject begins to be perfectly distinct from another, and hence any method of classification must have its defects. We shall find, indeed, that the two divisions we have adopted will occasionally run into each other; as when we refer to the influence of sex or marriage, both of which belong to the personal history of the patient, upon mortality or recovery, subjects appropriately considered in relation to the history of the attack. It seems advisable, however, to adopt some classification of this kind, as a means of avoiding the confusion which would result from the clustering together of so many points of interest in a chaotic mass.

Included in this department of our subject are the exciting causes of insanity, whether moral or physical; the statistics of recovery and mortality; and the influence of sex, marriage, and other conditions upon each. The recorded statistics on some of these points are copiously illustrative, but many of the reports of institutions neglect them entirely for the sake of dwelling upon other matters of purely local interest.

*a. Causes of Insanity.* The Tables of Causes which are furnished must always be very imperfect. Many of them are imaginary, and were two sane members of the same family consulted as to the antecedents of the attack, it is exceedingly doubtful whether they would assign the same causes. Especially is this the case in hereditary insanity, to mention which is by some regarded as a slur upon the family escutcheon, the publication of a stain upon family good name, by those who have no right to intrude within the privacies of a home-circle. We have heard of cases in which the father of a family had positively denied the existence of hereditary insanity in the presence of a relative, who was more honest, and less disposed to embarrass the researches of the physician. Against all these sources of error, the incompetency of deciding as to the true cause, the unwillingness to expose family infirmities, the conjectural idea that some one cause may have been more potent than another, and the concealment of domestic troubles and difficulties, the physician has to contend in his attempts to study the subject intimately.

The effect is doubtless very often made to supply the place of the cause, and because a patient exhibits a tendency to certain forms of mental alienation, the form itself is assigned as the cause of the malady. For example, when we find, as we very often do, religion placed among the causes of insanity, on what strict premises can we infer that anxiety in regard to a future state has been the true moral cause? Insanity may have existed unsuspected, and when fully developed may have assumed the form of religious mania; but surely a thousand causes might have existed previously. The fallacies of the tables which occupy a large space in some of our reports are numerous, and yet the greatest refinement of divisions, down to the most trivial of probabilities, is practised

without any attempt at a classification which would throw light upon the often obscure etiology of the affection. Added, therefore, to the ignorance or concealment of friends of the patient, we have often the confusion of subjects and the deficiency of classification of those who have the ability to simplify. Between the two dilemmas, one is almost tempted to make the simplest division of causes; for instance, into those which produce insanity from the mere brooding over imaginary or real griefs, and of those which operate otherwise; in some general plan of this kind disposing thus of the whole subject. With the materials before us, however, we must extract, if possible, as much really useful statistical information as is practicable under the circumstances, even though the causes stated are often mistaken ones.

The general division of causes, which has been usually adopted, is into those which are *predisposing*, and those which are *exciting* or *productive* of insanity. Numerous circumstances of constitutional predisposition, of temperament, education, sex, and age, exist to induce a predisposition to insanity; while who can estimate the number of exciting cases enumerated as the active agents in its production?

*Exciting Causes, Moral and Physical.*—We may again subdivide the exciting causes into moral and physical; the latter class, it has been asserted, is more frequently met with among the lower ranks of society, while the former belongs to a higher class, whose intellects are more developed, and whose minds are subjected to more extensive influences. The passions and emotions, when viewed as causes of mental alienation, are referred to the class of moral causes. Physical causes include such agents as act by some influence exerted externally, and only secondarily affect the nervous system, while moral causes exert a decided influence on it from the very inception.

We have taken considerable care and trouble in classifying the moral and physical causes of insanity in 11,259 cases, furnished in the reports of a large number of institutions. With a mental reservation, that accuracy is not always perfectly attainable, we may gain a certain amount of intelligence of the early history of the attack. We may illustrate what we mean by moral and physical causes in the following examples:—

*Moral causes*, as domestic difficulties, religious anxiety, political excitement, intense mental application, etc. *Physical causes*: Intemperance, ill health, epilepsy, sensuality, etc.

The distinction is generally an obvious one, and the cases are readily arranged under one or the other heading. It will be seen by the following table that the physical causes predominate over the moral—a fact which is denied as probable, when applied to many of the European institutions, but yet which has been previously recognised as true in regard to the statistics of our own insane hospitals:—\*

\* Bucknill and Tuke, *Manual of Psychological Medicine*, p. 257. Philadelphia, 1858.

*Table of Moral and Physical Causes of Insanity (11,259 cases.)*

Moral Causes.		Physical Causes.	
Domestic troubles and griefs . . . . .	928	Ill-health and unclassified diseases . . . . .	2388
Religious anxiety . . . . .	792	Fevers . . . . .	199
Mental anxiety . . . . .	721	Epilepsy . . . . .	319
Financial difficulties, reverses of fortune, &c. . . . .	652	Cerebral disease . . . . .	117
Loss of friends . . . . .	585	Paralysis . . . . .	44
Disappointment in love, ambition, &c. . . . .	576	Intemperance and dissipation . . . . .	1202
Excessive study or application to business . . . . .	165	Conditions peculiar to women . . . . .	891
Fear and fright . . . . .	126	Vicious habits and indulgences . . . . .	514
Defective education . . . . .	37	Wounds and blows . . . . .	250
Uncontrollable temper . . . . .	32	Excessive use of opium, tobacco, &c. . . . .	129
Nostalgia. . . . .	29	Exposure and loss of sleep . . . . .	123
Political excitement . . . . .	22	Spiritualism . . . . .	94
Unclassified moral causes . . . . .	40	Exposure to sun or heat . . . . .	74
		Over-exertion . . . . .	62
		Old age . . . . .	32
		Unclassified physical causes . . . . .	172
Total . . . . .	4649	Total . . . . .	6610

One great difficulty in the perfect isolation of the physical causes is the condition, assigned most frequently as a cause, which, meaning nothing or everything according to the interpretation of the person who furnished it, is termed "Ill health." Whether it should be called a cause or an effect must often depend on circumstances of the history of the case which are beyond our powers of research to discover. But we place it where it generally has a position, among the physical causes of insanity, although it may sometimes include and conceal others, such as intemperance and dissipation, or sensuality. We cannot point out here the great defects of any such system of classification; we refer now merely to the fact that the moral causes constitute only two-fifths, and the physical causes three-fifths of the whole number of causes above given. A glance at the table shows the order in which causes, taken as a whole, and not as divided into moral and physical, are arranged as exciting to insanity, and exhibits that ill health and intemperance rank first, domestic troubles and griefs next in order, then the conditions peculiar to women, and so on.

*Sex* has an important influence in the distribution of moral and physical causes. The circumstances of exposure form so decided an element in the latter class, that we would naturally suppose man to be much more liable to them than woman; while the latter would suffer more from domestic troubles, and from loss of those cherished by her, from the fact that, in the absence of occupation, she would probably brood over her misfortunes. Thus, of 3118 moral causes included in our table, in which the sex was known, 1585, or 51 per cent., were females, and 1533, or 49 per cent., males. If we omit, for a moment, from the list of causes of insanity, financial difficulties, politics, and application to business, which are almost exclusively sources of insanity of males, we shall find, in the more delicate emotions and passions, that woman



becomes insane from moral causes in 57 cases out of every hundred, while man only suffers in 43 cases.

The reverse is true of physical causes, and *a fortiori*, if we exclude from consideration diseases peculiar to females. Including all the causes of this class in both sexes, the males are to the females as 53 to 47; excluding the diseases of women, a proportion exists of 66 males to 34 females.

Having thus accounted for the production of the attack of mental aberration, we may watch its progress until it becomes introduced to the care and attention of an institution devoted to its protection and relief. Several considerations are worthy of being studied from the time of the invasion of the disease up to its actual admission to an insane hospital. By that time it will have assumed a definite form, such as dementia, melancholia, etc., and have possessed some interest in its duration; its probable prognosis for recovery, or the reverse, being often influenced by the fact of its being an acute or a chronic case when admitted.

*b. The Special Forms of Insanity.*—It is not our province to suggest any system of classification different from those adopted by experienced authorities on this subject, and we therefore, for simplicity's sake, employ that followed in the Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane,\* embracing the division into mania, melancholia, monomania, dementia, and delirium, the last of which, being so very unfrequent, is scarcely worthy of being referred to here. In the words of the Report of the Bloomingdale Asylum: "The nosology of mental diseases is still so imperfect, that it is difficult to make an arrangement of cases which would be of any material value, either practical or theoretical. Indeed, there are scarcely two physicians who would classify a series of cases, such as are admitted into any institution, in precisely the same manner. A case called partial insanity by one person might be termed monomania by another. That which one records as monomania, another would place under the head of melancholia. There being no definite line between mania and dementia, a given case might be placed under the former by one physician, and under the latter by another. A perfect nomenclature of insanity is a great desideratum."†

Now that the terms are rather more intelligible than they seem to have been formerly, the degree of confusion is less marked, and we may arrange under a few heads almost all of the forms which insanity assumes. In 7322 cases, embracing the four forms, mania, melancholia, monomania, and dementia, the number of each is as follows:—

Mania	. . . . .	3789, or 51·7 per cent.
Melancholia	. . . . .	1366, or 18·7    "
Dementia	. . . . .	1265, or 17·3    "
Monomania	. . . . .	902, or 12·3     "

The influence of *sex* is visible in the distribution of the special forms of insanity in the same number of cases, including 4230 males and 3407 females, as follows:—

\* Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane for the year 1859, p. 45. By Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D. 1860.

† *History of the Bloomingdale Asylum.* New York, 1848.

Of the males, 2090, or 51·7 per cent. were attacked with mania.			
781, or 19·3	„	„	dementia.
648, or 16·0	„	„	melancholia.
520, or 12·9	„	„	monomania.
Of the females, 1699, or 51·7 per cent. were attacked with mania.			
718, or 21·8	„	„	melancholia.
484, or 14·7	„	„	dementia.
382, or 11·6	„	„	monomania.

While each sex, therefore, is attacked with mania in an equal proportion, men are more often the subjects of dementia than women, and the latter more often suffer from melancholia. This fact bears a decided influence upon the curability of the sexes, as we shall hereafter see.

We need not enter into a minute consideration of the various subdivisions of each form of insanity, such as that species of mania which is connected with the puerperal state, or that which assumes incendiary, homicidal, or suicidal tendencies. Interesting as they would be, viewed as collateral subjects of inquiry, it is scarcely appropriate that we should attempt any brief analysis of so much that may be found ably discussed in special treatises on these various forms of mental alienation. Puerperal insanity has been very fully investigated by numerous medical writers, and has lately undergone a careful statistical analysis in the pages of the *American Journal of Insanity*.\*

c. The *Influence of Season upon the Admissions* into institutions for the insane is sensibly apparent for both sexes combined, and for each sex separately. Thus we find in 21,072 cases the following results:—

*Influence of Season upon Admissions.*

		No. of Admissions.	Per cent.	
Winter months.	{ December . . . . .	1469	6·9	20·6 per cent.
	{ January . . . . .	1513	7·1	
	{ February . . . . .	1375	6·5	
Spring months.	{ March . . . . .	1665	7·9	26·6 per cent.
	{ April . . . . .	1845	8·7	
	{ May . . . . .	2109	10·0	
Summer months.	{ June . . . . .	2293	10·8	29·2 per cent.
	{ July . . . . .	2063	9·7	
	{ August . . . . .	1809	8·5	
Autumn months.	{ September . . . . .	1755	8·3	23·4 per cent.
	{ October . . . . .	1669	7·9	
	{ November . . . . .	1507	7·1	

It is thus exhibited that the summer months are those in which the greatest number of insane patients are admitted into our institutions. June seems to take the precedence, a fact which coincides with the opinion of M. Esquirol, and of MM. Aubenal and Thore,† as the result of their European investigations; but May ranks higher in the list of American monthly admissions than they are disposed to place it. The

\* *Observations upon Puerperal Insanity.* By Richard Grundy, M.D., Assistant-Physician to the Southern Ohio Lunatic Asylum. (Reprint.) Utica (N. Y.) State Lunatic Asylum, 1860. (An abstract of Dr. Grundy's paper will be found in the last number of this Journal, p. 414.)

† Bucknill and Tuke, *op. cit.* p. 249.

order of the seasons, derived from the above table, is summer, spring, autumn, and winter. The admissions do not of course represent the *occurring* cases of insanity, but only such as are admitted into institutions; some of them being chronic cases, while many of them are acute. The results for the sexes, individually, are as follows:—

	Per cent. Winter.	Per cent. Spring.	Per cent. Summer.	Per cent. Autumn.
Men . . . .	21·0	26·1	29·1	23·6
Women . . . .	19·16	27·0	29·7	23·5

The relative frequency of admission being very nearly the same in each sex during the summer and autumn, it will be seen that a greater proportion of the men are admitted during the winter, and of the women during the spring. It will be shown hereafter that season also influences the termination of insanity in recovery or death.

*d. Duration of Insanity previous to Admission.*—The details of 10,304 cases furnish the fact that 60 per cent. of the cases admitted into our American institutions have only been insane for a few months, the greater majority being less than 6, and a few ranging from 6 to 12 months; while more than a quarter of the cases, about 2600 in all, have been insane from 1 to 5 years. The result of such cases must, of course, vary according to the general duration of the attack, chronic cases being much more intractable than acute. But this branch of our inquiry belongs more appropriately to the consideration of the terminations of insanity.

#### V.—INSANITY CONSIDERED IN ITS RESULTS.

The experience of insane institutions throughout the world exhibits great diversity in the results of different modes of treatment, in the restoration to health, or in the tendency to relapse or death. So much depends upon other circumstances, too, than the mere routine of treatment, and so many more influences operate to produce a change in the condition of a patient in some parts of the country than in others, that the measures adopted for his restoration may prove less beneficial in one institution than in another. Climate is not one of the least important of these influences, and season exerts a decided effect upon the curability or non-curability of insanity. We need but consider three terminations of an attack of insanity, viz., restoration to good health, confirmed dementia, and death. And yet how difficult to decide in regard to a perfect restoration! Must we merely take the statistics as we find them, and consider the case cured, because at the time of departure from an institution it was regarded as “cured” or “recovered?” How much more perfect would be a history of the after-life of the individual during the first year, or two years afterwards, for instance, giving information of the permanency of the cure or the reverse! It is a fact that can scarcely admit of contradiction, that the friends of a patient who has been discharged “cured” from an institution, will, occasionally, when a relapse has occurred, have diminished confidence in the mode of treatment, and decline to send him back to that institution, or perhaps place him under the charge of some other. These are the cases which prevent statistics from being perfectly accurate; the early



history is incomplete, and his friends may, perhaps, conceal the fact of his previous residence in another institution. As this, however, may apply to all such cases and all such establishments, a certain amount of practical information may be derived from the statistical records of recoveries, relapses, and mortality. Death alone is certain; its statistics are invariably fixed; but the history of the progress of the case toward a fatal termination assumes a thousand varied phases.

It has been frequently asserted that insanity is a morbid condition upon which remedies may be employed in vain; that incurability is the rule, and recovery the exception. We need not appeal to European sources for a refutation of this fallacy; our own institutions afford abundant means of exhibiting how frequently the careful attention and skill of the physician are rewarded and his labours blessed with abundant sources of congratulation. Very few, however, have it in their power to watch the cases which leave them, improved, or removed sometimes too early, doubtless by the over-anxious interference of friends. Those who die while under the care of institutions afford only an approximative means of calculating the proportionate mortality; for we cannot tell how many may have left the institution to die at home. Another difficulty in the way of accuracy of details exists in the admixture of chronic cases, which present but slight prospects of recovery, with those acute or less chronic cases, of which hopeful anticipations may be indulged. The proper mode to estimate the proportionate number of recoveries and deaths is to compare them, wherever it is practicable, with the whole number of admissions; but the great majority of the institutions follow a different method, and base their calculations upon the discharges, instead of the admissions. We shall adopt that mode here, and at the same time, if practicable, compare the result with the number of admissions also.

1. *Recovery* must depend upon various circumstances of age, sex, season, &c. Restoration is the result in a very large number of cases, but the chances for a favourable result must be influenced largely by conditions that operate in all diseases, whether mental or physical. A general idea of the proportion of recoveries may be given, however, without specifying what were the extraneous influences at work to modify the nature of the termination of the attack. In 15,235 cases discharged from a number of American hospitals, the recoveries were 6549, or 42·9 per cent. of the whole number; while in 58,607 cases admitted into 33 hospitals, the number of recoveries was 24,937, or 42·5 per cent. It seems to make no material difference whether we calculate recoveries according to the discharges or the admissions, the percentage being very nearly the same. This percentage is higher than that given many years ago by Esquirol, as the result of the experience of the best English and French hospitals for the insane, the ratio of recoveries to admissions being at that time only 39 per cent. in nearly 22,000 cases.

a. The *sex* of 10,679 cases admitted into a number of hospitals, and examined in their proportion of restorations, gives the following ratio:—

2452 recoveries in 5699 male admissions, or 43·0 per cent.	
2230           "          4980 female           "          44·8           "	
<hr/> 4682	<hr/> 10,679
	43·8 per cent.

In 17,833 cases discharged from 23 institutions, the proportion of recoveries in each sex is as follows:—

4095 recoveries in 9200 males discharged, or 44·5 per cent.	
3947           "          8633 females           "          45·7           "	
<hr/> 8042	<hr/> 17,833
	45·0 per cent.

Recovery is, therefore, more probable among females than among males, a fact which has been often noticed by those interested in insane matters. This more favourable result in that sex depends on the form of the attack, etc., and sometimes on revolutions in her system which produce happy changes when the resources of medical art have been ineffectual. Women suffer much more from melancholia than men, while the latter are more subject to dementia. The latter being in the majority of cases incurable, as we shall presently see, some reason seems to exist in this fact why the female sex should recover more often from insanity than the male.

*b. Season*, too, slightly influences the period of recovery, but our statistics are too meagre for perfect reliance on any deductions. In the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, the recoveries have been as follows:—

Winter months	.	.	.	.	.	.	360
Spring       "	.	.	.	.	.	.	410
Summer      "	.	.	.	.	.	.	475
Autumn     "	.	.	.	.	.	.	411

But we have no satisfactory record of the experience of other institutions.

*c. The form* assumed by the attack modifies the prognosis as to the result. Thus in 6306 illustrations of four forms of insanity, discharged,—

3576 were cases of mania, of which 2620, or 73·2 per cent. had recovered.

1400 were cases of monomania, of which 829, or 59·2 per cent. had recovered.

819 were cases of melancholia, of which 457, or 55·8 per cent. had recovered.

511 were cases of dementia, of which 85, or 16·6 per cent. had recovered.

Mania is the form most curable, and dementia that which is least tractable to remedial or other influences.

*d. The duration of the attack*, of course, has much to do with the prospects of recovery; the acute cases being much more susceptible of relief than the chronic. Thus of 619 cases that were chronic when admitted into one of our institutions,\* only 130, or 21 per cent., recovered; while of 1134 that were recent, 688, or nearly 61 per cent., recovered. In another,† only 20·03 per cent. of cases that were of more than twelve months' duration, when admitted, recovered; while 67·08 per cent. of those of twelve months' duration or less, when ad-

\* Indiana Hospital for the Insane, 1859.

† Report of the W. Virginia Asylum, 1859.

mitted, were restored to health. In one institution,\* 80 per cent. of the recoveries during the year ending October, 1859, had taken place "in cases which had been less than three months insane; 87 per cent. in cases which had been less than six months insane; and 93 per cent. in cases which had been less than one year insane. At the same time it should be remembered that in certain exceptional cases recovery may take place after the lapse of many years." What volumes does this not speak for the early introduction of insane patients to the care and attention of insane institutions! Such has been the experience of every one who has devoted any attention to mental pathology. "If," says Dr. Jarvis, "insane persons are allowed to enjoy the means of healing in the early stages of their disorder, about 75 to 90 per cent. can be restored to health." Of 880 cases discharged from five institutions in one year, 726, or 82 per cent., were recent cases.

2. *Mortality of the Insane.* We can readily understand how life may be shortened by attacks of insanity which exhaust the vital forces and so seriously disturb the various functions. An eminent writer assigns, as one of the modes in which the insane may fatally terminate their attacks of insanity, the masking or concealing of dangerous affections by the mental disease, complaints of the patient being frequently overlooked and taken for delusions, and the true pathology not being detected until after death.† Undoubtedly this is frequently true, but whatever be the cause of death, there are certain points which can only be studied in relation to the general subject of mortality, independent of the cause, whatever it may be, that may have terminated life—such as the relative number of deaths to the number of admissions or discharges, and the influence of sex, &c., on mortality.

In thirty-three of the U. S. institutions, the number of deaths based upon 56,405 admissions was 8638, or 15·3 per cent.; while in 15,235 cases discharged from twenty-one hospitals for the insane, 3256 died, or 21·3 per cent. One reason of this disparity between the admissions and the discharges is obvious—a large number of those cases which have undergone no improvement remain in an asylum, and do not, therefore, swell the list of discharges. Compared with the recoveries, we have the following favourable or fatal results in a corresponding number of cases:—

	Per. cent. recovered.	Per cent. died.
Of those admitted . . . .	42·5	15·3
„ discharged . . . .	42·9	21·3

a. The sex is given in 3557 deaths, based upon 18,594 admissions, as follows:—

1957 deaths in 9760 male admissions, or 20 per cent.

1600 deaths in 8834 female admissions, or 18·1 per cent.

If we study the fatal results in proportion to the discharges of each sex, we have 11,857 cases on which to found an estimate, 2631 of which proved fatal:—

\* Sixth Annual Report of the State Lunatic Hospital at Taunton, Massachusetts, p. 28. 1859.

† Dr. Copland: *Dictionary of Practical Medicine*, vol. ii., p. 472. London, 1858.



1414 males died, or 22·5 per cent. of the males discharged.

1217 females died, or 21·7 per cent of the females discharged.

In each mode of viewing the question of mortality of the sexes, we find the males dying in a larger proportion than the females.

*b.* The *seasons* at which the mortality appears to be the greatest are summer and autumn, and afterwards spring and winter. But in a country like our own, which has so many different climates, the effect of season must vary materially according to the locality of the institution, and we are not therefore justified in drawing inferences for the whole country, from the greater tendency which seems to exist toward fatal terminations of insanity in any set of institutions situated in the North or the South. Conclusions arrived at from such premises are not worthy of being recorded.

*c.* We have but little information as to the fatal results of any of the *forms* of mental disorder; the experience of our own institution gives the following mortality of each :—

Mania,	156 deaths in	1569 cases admitted,	or 9·9 per cent.
Melancholia,	72	819	8·7
Monomania,	21	411	5·1
Dementia,	105	296	35·4
Delirium,	9	11	81·8

We need not here dilate upon the pathology of those forms of mental alienation which are so violent or so destructive in their nature as to afford but a slight chance of recovery, nor refer more particularly to the greater curability of certain other forms in which death is the great exception.

*d.* The *causes of death* among the insane are of course very numerous, being modified, however, according to location and season, according to influences similar to those which operate in the general population. Thus, at times when cholera was prevalent, the mortality of some of our institutions, especially those intended for the reception of pauper patients, was materially increased. This will partially account for the greater number of cases in which death was ascribed to diseases of the digestive apparatus in the following statistics. Although so prominent in the list, we are disposed to assign it a lower relative position from the influence which this disease may have exerted. Of nearly 2100 causes of death, gleaned from the records of our asylums for a series of years, 677, or nearly five-sixteenths, were affections of the nervous system, not including exhaustion, which would add a sixteenth more to that class of causes; more than two-eighths (613 cases) were diseases of the digestive apparatus, and the same proportionate number (604 cases) were morbid conditions of the respiratory apparatus, while fevers, accidents, suicides, etc. made up the balance. This result coincides pretty closely with that obtained by Esquirol in the post-mortem examination of more than 600 cases of insanity. He found that three-eighths had died of diseases of the abdomen, two-eighths of diseases of the chest, and three-eighths of alterations of the brain and membranes. Dr. Copland, in calling attention to these investigations of the distinguished psychologist, observes, "The proportion here assigned to the

first class of diseases is probably too high, and especially in respect of this country\* (England). The remark is applicable also to the mortuary statistics of the insane in the United States.

3. *History of the Recurrence of Insanity.* We have been baffled in a great measure in an attempt to discover what proportion of cases in our hospitals for the insane were not first attacks, but mere recurrences, probably after intervals of apparent sanity in many of the cases, by the little attention paid to this branch of the inquiry. It is exceedingly difficult, also, to trace the history of a patient who leaves one institution, after what seemed to be a perfect restoration to health, to enter another, in which the fact of previous attacks may be concealed or not carefully inquired into. Nor does the mere fact stated, that the patient is suffering from a first attack when admitted, prove that he may not have been intermittently or remittently insane or incurable for a series of years. But taking the classification as we find it in the records of three extensive institutions, we have 5370 admissions into institutions classified in the order of attack, as follows:—

<i>Number of the Attack.</i>						Number.	Percentage.
First attack	.	.	.	.	.	3790	70.5
Second attack	.	.	.	.	.	924	17.2
Third attack	.	.	.	.	.	309	5.7
Fourth attack	.	.	.	.	.	145	2.7
Fifth attack	.	.	.	.	.	75	1.4
Sixth attack	.	.	.	.	.	47	.9
Seventh attack	.	.	.	.	.	30	.5
Eighth attack	.	.	.	.	.	12	.2
Ninth attack	.	.	.	.	.	38	.7
						5370	

Thus, 1580, or 29.4 per cent. of the cases were other than first attacks. About 28 per cent. of the males were second and subsequent attacks, but the percentage of females was somewhat greater, being as much as 31 per cent. But all these statistics are liable to errors and difficulties such as we have already indicated, so that we cannot rely confidently on the accuracy of deductions from them. We need not here inquire into the number of those who are admitted more than once into the same hospital in a series of years, as our information is indefinite and inconsequential.

Such are the prominent topics which we have deemed worthy of investigation, in the recorded statistics of our American institutions for the insane. The omission of several important subjects, which would have added fulness to our remarks, without increasing their value as results of the observations and experience of hospitals in this country, has afforded us an opportunity of studying much more carefully points of general interest which are not matters of medical curiosity alone. It has not been our object to dilate on abstract questions of insanity, or

\* Copland, *op. cit.* vol. ii., p. 473.

to point out peculiarities in systems of treatment, or to devote any attention whatever to such considerations as can have attraction to psychologists only. Even some of the minor points of statistical interest have been passed over without remark, mainly because it has not been thought expedient to deduce general laws from meagre results, which have only been recorded in one or two institutions. A complete treatise on insanity would alone include all the complications of morbid phenomena which attend or are consequent upon attacks of mental disease, as well as a more full investigation of the post-mortem appearances observed in such cases. The phrenologist may interest himself in the form of the osseous prominences of the insane; the pathologist may watch the progress of the case from its inception to its close, and eagerly pursue his inquiries into the precise portion of the cerebral organs which has undergone a serious lesion, and hope to throw new light where all is darkness; and the therapist may strive in vain to procure the recovery of his patient while he allows him to remain exposed to the causes of his malady. It has been the purpose of this article to watch merely the results of the observations of each, and, discarding some of their conclusions as unreasonable and unreliable, to furnish some of those which exhibit most satisfactorily, although occasionally but imperfectly, what the United States has been able to accomplish for the unfortunate sufferers from mental disease who have been the recipients of her active sympathy and philanthropy.

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#### ART. IX.—RECENT LEGISLATION ON CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

AN Act of the last session (23 and 24 Vic., cap. 75) makes further provision for the custody and care of "Criminal Lunatics." The persons to whom it refers by this title are comprised in the following classes:—viz.: 1. Prisoners who on trial have been acquitted on the ground of insanity; 2, prisoners who upon arraignment have been found to be insane; 3, convicts in Pentonville or Millbank prison becoming or found insane during confinement, or any convict under sentence of penal servitude.

Section 1 provides that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to appoint that any asylum or place in England which Her Majesty may deem suitable for this purpose shall be an asylum for criminal lunatics, and that the provisions of the Act shall be applicable to every such asylum.

Section 2 provides that it shall be lawful for one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State to direct to be removed to and kept in any such asylum any person coming under either of the above-mentioned classes, including any person who under any previous order may have been placed in any county lunatic asylum, or other place of reception for lunatics: and that with every person removed under any such



order there shall be transmitted a certificate, as set forth in schedule A, duly filled up and authenticated, the contents of which certificate shall be transcribed into the general register to be kept in every such asylum.

Section 3 provides that nothing in the Act shall affect the authority of the Crown to make other provision for the custody of a criminal lunatic.

Section 4 empowers the Secretary of State to appoint any persons he may think fit, not being less than three in number, to be a council of supervision for any asylum under the Act; and also to appoint for the asylum a resident medical superintendent, a chaplain, and such other officers, assistants, and servants as he may deem necessary; and the Secretary of State, with the approval of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, is to fix the salaries to be paid to the superintendent, chaplain, officers, assistants, and servants of such asylum. From this latter provision, it would appear that the council of supervision is intended to be an unpaid board.

Section 5 empowers the Secretary of State to make rules for the government of the asylum; and section 6 directs that, subject to such rules, the council of supervision shall superintend the asylum.

Sections 7 and 8 relate to the removal and discharge of prisoners. Under the latter, convicts whose term of imprisonment or penal servitude has expired may be discharged, although not certified to have become of sound mind, to the intent that they may be placed in a county lunatic asylum, or otherwise subjected to the same care and treatment as lunatics not being criminals.

Section 9 enables the Secretary of State to permit any person confined in the asylum to be absent from such asylum upon such conditions, in all respects, as to the Secretary of State shall seem fit; and provides that any person absent after any such condition broken, may be retaken as in case of an escape.

Section 11 provides, in case of escape, for the recapture of lunatics by the superintendent, or any officer or servant of the asylum, or any person assisting them, or any person authorized in writing by the Secretary of State or the superintendent of the asylum.

Section 12 relates to the punishment of persons for rescue or for permitting escape.

Section 13 contains penalties for illtreating lunatics.

Section 14 directs the visitation of the asylums by the Commissioners in Lunacy; and section 15 directs them to report thereon to one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, in the month of March, every year.

## FOREIGN PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

OUR retrospect of Foreign Psychological Literature will embrace the following subjects :—

1. On Hybridity in Man, and the Plurality of Human Species.
2. On Private Asylums for the Insane.
3. On the Management of the Insane in Belgium.
4. Patronal Asylums.
5. On the Curability and Cost of Insanity.
6. On Pellagra in Italy, and more especially in the Lunatic Asylums of that country.
7. On Microcephalus and the characteristics of the Human Race.

1. *On Hybridity in Man, and the Plurality of Human Species.*  
By Dr. PAUL BROCA.

THE following are the results derived by Dr. Paul Broca from a series of valuable and highly interesting researches on human hybridity :—

1. Certain human crosses are perfectly eugenic.
2. Other crosses give results which appear to be notably inferior to those of eugenic hybridity.
3. Mongrels, *de premier sang*, issues of a cross between the Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) race and the African negro, appear to be inferior both in fecundity and longevity to individuals of a pure race.
4. It is at least doubtful whether these mongrels, in alliances among themselves, are capable of perpetuating their race indefinitely, and whether they are less fertile in their direct alliances than in their return crosses with the two mother races, as is observed in paragenetic hybridity.
5. The crosses of the Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) race with the Melanesian races (Australians and Tasmanians) are little fertile.
6. Mongrels, the issue of this cross, are too rare to enable us to form an opinion upon their viability and fecundity.
7. Many of the degrees of hybridity which have been demonstrated in the crosses of animals of different species appear to be reproduced in the divers crosses of men of different races.
8. The lowest degree of human hybridity, that in which the homœogenesis is so feeble as to render doubtful the fecundity of the first cross, is manifested when the greatest disparity in the cross occurs, to wit, between one of the most elevated races and the two lowest races of humanity.

Dr. Broca then proceeds :—

The many numerous and controverted questions which we have had to discuss before arriving at the end of our work have more than once broken the chain of the argument. It will therefore not be without profit to attempt to bring together its divers parts.

Zoologists have recognised in *each* of the natural groups which constitute genera *several* distinct types which they designate by the name of species.\*

The human group evidently constitutes one genus; if it contain but a single species it will be an unique exception in the creation. It is natural then to think that this genus, like all others, is composed of several species.

In a great number of genera, the species differ much less from one another than do certain of the human races. A naturalist who, without troubling himself as to the question of origin, would apply purely and simply to the human genus the general principles of zootaxy, would then be led to divide this genus into several species. It would only become necessary to renounce this view if observation demonstrated that all the differences of the human races have been the result of modifications impressed on the organization of man by the influence of surrounding circumstances.

Monogenists are called upon for this demonstration at the outset. They have not yet been able to arrive at it. Observation has, on the contrary, demonstrated that if the organization of man does sometimes undergo in the long run, and in the course of generations, some modifications under the influence of exterior conditions, these modifications, relatively very slight, have no relation to the typical differences of the human races. Man transplanted to a new climate, and submitted to a new kind of life, preserves and transmits to his posterity the essential characteristics of his race, and his descendants acquire no more than himself the characteristics of the indigenous race or races. *Cælum non corpus mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

Monogenists object that the era of far distant colonies is too recent; that the observations tending to establish the permanence of the human types date scarcely three or four centuries; that this lapse of time is insufficient for the operation of the transformation of races, and that this transformation was produced and gradually aggravated during the long course of ages which has elapsed, since the creation of man, according to some, since the deluge only, according to others.

But the study of Egyptian pictures has shown on the one hand that the principal types of the human genus already existed such as they are at the present day 2500 years at least before the Christian era; on the other hand, that the Jewish race, dispersed for more than eighteen centuries under the most various climates, is the same to-day in every country as it was in Egypt at the epoch of the Pharaohs.

The period of *positive* observation dates then from more than forty centuries, and not merely three or four.†

\* Some genera, which in the existing fauna only include a single species, are represented in anterior fauna by a certain number of species now extinct, and evidently different from the sole remaining species.

† There exists, at the present day in Southern Africa, and as far as the Sahara, a race of men with white hair, which some have wished to identify as the descendants of the Vandals. It is certain that no white race has established itself in that region since Genseric; that is to say, within fourteen centuries. It results from this, therefore, that fourteen centuries of sojourn on the African continent do not suffice to blacken the hair of white men. But Dumoulin, basing his statements on



No longer hoping to prove directly that the distinctive characters of the human races are born of the transformations of an unique primitive type, the monogenists have sought for indirect proofs. They have thought the discovery made in the fact, or rather in the assertion, that there is, if not a constant relation, at least a certain connexion between the characters of the human races and the centres in which they are found.

But, on closer examination, it could not fail to be acknowledged that this assertion is without foundation. Taking one by one the principal ethnological characteristics, and considering their distribution over the surface of the globe, we have shown to demonstration that there is no relation between these various characteristics and climateric, hygienic, or other conditions.

The monogenists have then had recourse to a still more indirect argument. They have asserted that there is, throughout the human race, a common fund of ideas, of belief, of knowledge, and of language attesting the common origin of all races. It might be objected, in the first instance, that this argument was entirely without value, considering that even very indirect communications between two peoples of different origin might be sufficient to convey from one to the other words, customs, and ideas. But we find, upon a more attentive study of the question, that certain nations have absolutely no notion of God, or of the soul; that their languages have absolutely no point of contact with ours, that they are totally unsocial, and that they differ from the Caucasian nations in their intellectual and moral even more than in their physical characteristics.

It did not even appear necessary to insist on the difficulty, or rather on the geographical impossibility, of the dispersion of so many races proceeding from a common origin, nor to remark that, before the distant and almost recent migrations of Europeans, each natural group of the human races occupied a region on our planet characterized by a special fauna; that no American animal was to be found in Australia, nor in the ancient continent, and that where we discovered men of a new type, we only met with animals belonging to species, often even to genera, and sometimes to zoological orders, without analogues in the other regions of the globe.

And while it was so easy to conceive that there had been several centres of creation for men as well as for other beings; while this doctrine, conforming itself to all the data of the natural sciences, caused all geographical obstacles to disappear; while it explained so well at once the analogies and the differences of the human types, and the distribution of each group of races; while, in a word, it rendered such an exact account of all known facts, the opposite doctrine struggled in a circle of contradictory suppositions, superposed hypotheses, of theories

the text of Procopius, had already demonstrated that the white race of Southern Africa had nothing in common with the Vandals; and I have recently discovered, in *Le Périple de la Méditerranée* of Scylax, a work anterior to Alexander the Great, a passage in which mention is made of a tribe of *white* Libyans, who occupied the littoral of little *Syrte*, not far from Mount *Aouess*, where reside at the present day one of the chief tribes of white Kabyles. *Vide Bulletins de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, Séance du 16 Fév. 1860.*

built upon a small number of facts soon overthrown by others, of imaginary influences belied by observation, of prehistoric romances annihilated by the discovery of old monuments of history, of lame explanations demolished by physiology, of nebulous sophisms repelled by logic—the whole in order to show, not that all races descend from a common origin, but that the thing, strictly speaking, may not be quite impossible!

Where have the monogenists gathered courage and perseverance to impose such continual sacrifices upon their reason, and to resist at once the testimony of observation, of science, and of history? When their system is analysed, we meet at every turn two fundamental axioms, which are to them as articles of faith, and the evidence of which appears to them sufficient to carry them over all difficulties. These two axioms stand as premises of a syllogism, in appearance irresistible.

1. *All animals capable of engendering an eugenetic posterity are of the same species.*

2. *All human crosses are eugenetic, therefore all men are of the same species.*

Believing themselves sure of the two premises of this syllogism, monogenists have considered their doctrine as rigorously and definitively established; thence they have defended it with that unlimited confidence which results from absolute conviction. Assailed by pressing objections, obliged to yield incessantly, and unable to make a step in advance without being compelled as speedily to retreat, they have always felt their strength renewed on returning to the cover of their syllogism, like Antæus on touching the earth. So long as this refuge shall remain, they will continue the struggle, if not with advantage, still with the ardour of faith; for if faith no longer removes mountains, it still leaves the belief that they are removed.

But are these fundamental propositions, these admitted axioms—are they the expression of the truth? This triumphant syllogism, of which they are the premises, does it still stand on its legs? Is it true that only animals of the same species can produce a fruitful posterity? Is it true that all human crosses are eugenetic?

It would suffice if the first of these questions were answered in the negative to destroy the monogenists' syllogism, and to deprive their system of all scientific support; it would again become what it was before being brought into contact with science, that is to say, a belief more or less respectable, based upon sentiment or dogma. But if the second question should also in its turn receive a negative reply, if it were demonstrated that all human crosses are not eugenetic, then, not merely the syllogism but the entire doctrine of the monogenists must crumble away. This doctrine would then be not merely extra-scientific, it would be anti-scientific; for it is sufficiently certain that two groups of animals different enough to be incapable of fusion by generation, do not belong to the same species. This is a truth uncontested as it is incontestable.

We have thus been led to examine successively the two fundamental propositions on which is based the Unitarian doctrine, and in order to this we have had to undertake two series of researches.



We have studied, in the first place, the results of certain crosses between animals of unquestionably different species, such as dogs and wolves, sheep and goats, camels and dromedaries, hares and rabbits, &c., and we have demonstrated that *these crosses produce eugenetic mongrels, that is to say, perfectly and indefinitely fruitful between themselves.*

It is therefore not true that all animals capable of producing eugenetic posterity are of the same species, and even should all human crosses be eugenetic, as generally believed, one cannot thence conclude anything relative to the question of the unity of the human species.

The monogenists are thus henceforward deprived of their principal and only scientific argument.

But it was required to know further, whether the vulgar axiom that all human crosses are eugenetic was a demonstrated truth, or an hypothesis lightly accepted without verification or control. Such has been the object of our second series of researches.

We noticed in the first place that monogenists, treating this axiom as self-evident, had not even sought to prove its truth, so that in strictness we might have been at liberty to discard it as not.

When we sought to establish, contrary to the opinion of many modern authors, that there are really eugenetic crosses amongst the human races, we found in the scientific writings on the subject nothing but assertion without proof, and we believe that our studies respecting the crossed populations of France have in this aspect the merit of novelty. We may be mistaken respecting the value of our demonstration, but we venture to assert that it is the first which has been attempted.

After having shown it to be, if not altogether certain, at least extremely probable, that *some* human crosses are eugenetic, it became our duty to ask if *all* human crosses possessed the same attribute.

Upon examination of this question, it followed from the documents we were able to collect, that certain human crosses appeared to give results notably inferior to those which constitute eugenetic hybridity in the case of animals. The sum total of known facts permits us to consider as very probable that certain of the human races taken two and two are less homœogenetic than are, for example, the species of dog and wolf. If we deem it our duty to make this assertion with some reserve, if we allow some appearance of doubt to rest upon this conclusion, it is because we should not feel justified in admitting without numerous verifications a fact which would definitively and for ever demonstrate the plurality of the human species, a fact in presence of which all others would become unimportant, and which would render all further discussion superfluous, a fact, indeed, the political and social consequences of which must be immense.

We feel we cannot too strongly insist upon the importance of drawing the attention of observers to this subject. But, whatever may be the result of ulterior researches relative to human hybridity, it is well proved that animals of different species can engender eugenetic mongrels, and that therefore we cannot draw from the fecundity of the most dissimilar of human crosses any physiological argument in favour



of the unity of the human species, even were this fecundity as certain as it is doubtful.

The great problem which we have discussed in this essay is one of those which have deeply interested mankind, one of those which it is most difficult to study with a mind free from all extra-scientific bias. Hitherto it has been mixed up with religion and politics. This was almost inevitable, but science must contrive to hold herself aloof from all that does not belong to her. There is no belief so respectable, there is no interest so legitimate, that it ought not to accommodate itself to the progress of human knowledge, and bow before the truth when the truth is demonstrated. It is therefore always unadvisable to interpose theological arguments into debates of this nature, and to stigmatize in the name of religion such and such scientific opinion, because if that opinion should sooner or later come to be established, one is open to the reproach of having uselessly compromised religion. The unlucky intervention of theologians in the questions of astronomy (rotation of the earth), of physiology (pre-existence of germs), of medicine (possessions), &c., has made more unbelievers than all the writings of philosophers. Why should men thus be put to their election between science and faith? And whilst so many celebrated examples have compelled theologians to acknowledge that revelation is not applicable to questions of science, why persist still in throwing the Bible under the wheels of progress? Some sincere Christians have already understood that the time has come to prepare a reconciliation between the doctrine of polygenists and the sacred text. They are disposed to admit that the narration of Moses does not apply to all the human race, but solely to the *Adamites*, the race from whence sprung the people of God; that there might be upon the earth other men, respecting whom the sacred writer did not concern himself; that it is nowhere stated that the sons of Adam contracted incestuous unions with their own sisters; that Cain, banished towards the East after the murder of his brother, was marked with a sign, "in order that whosoever found him might not kill him;" that besides the race of the children of God, there was the race of the children of men; that the origin of the children of men is not specified; that nothing authorizes us to consider them as the children of Adam; that these two races undoubtedly differed in their physical characters, because their union produced offspring denominated by the name of giants, "as if to indicate the physical and moral energy of the crossed races;" that in fact these diverse antediluvian races might have been able to survive the deluge in the persons of Noah's three daughters-in-law.\* We unite here the reflections of several authors; one of them, the Rev. Pye Smith, concludes by saying with satisfaction, that if, contrary to actual opinion, the multiplicity of human species should come to be demon-

\* J. Pye Smith, *Relations between the Holy Scripture and Geology*, 3rd ed., pp. 398—400. Passage textually reproduced by Morton in *A Letter to Rev. John Bachmann on Hybridity*, Charleston, 1850, 8vo, p. 15; Carpenter, article *Varieties of Mankind* in Todd's *Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. iv., p. 1317, Lond., 1852, 8vo; Eusebe de Salles, *Histoire générale des races humaines*, Paris, 1849, 12mo, p. 328.

strated, a thing he thought little probable, the authority of the Bible would remain intact, and that "the highest interests of man would not suffer by it." This is one mode of reconciliation already prepared in anticipation of the ulterior developments of science. More recently, a fervent Catholic, a physician, who during long voyages has attentively studied the human races, M. Sagot, has put forth an hypothesis which we think is quite new, and which will permit us still better than the preceding to reconcile the biblical narrative with anthropological science. After having pointed out with much force that the physical, intellectual, and moral characteristics of the human races establish the existence of profound differences between them, that these differences are quite indelible, that all the influences to which they have been attributed are absurd and imaginary, and that natural causes could not have produced such a diversity from primitive uniformity, M. Sagot supposes that the division of the human species into perfectly distinct races was, like their dispersion and methodical distribution over the surface of the globe, the result of a miraculous intervention of Providence. He thinks that this great fact was brought about at the period of the confusion of tongues, that is to say, after the rash enterprise of the Tower of Babel, and that God in dispersing the families gave to each a peculiar organization and aptitudes suited to the various climates he assigned to them.\* That the differences of the human races have been the consequence of distinct creations, or of miraculous transformations equivalent to new creations, this comes to the same thing, so far as concerns the doctrine of the polygenists. Their object is not to give themselves to theological discussions; they have only set foot on this ground because they were drawn there, and they will be enchanted to learn that their doctrine may henceforward develop itself without grieving any one.

The intervention of political and social considerations has not been less troublesome to the cause of anthropology than that of the religious element. When generous philanthropists called with indefatigable constancy for liberty to the black man, the partisans of the ancient order of things, menaced in their dearest interests, were glad to say that Negroes were not men, but only domestic animals more intelligent and productive than others. At this epoch the scientific question gave way to a question of sentiment, and whoever joined in vows for the abolition of slavery, believed himself obliged to admit that Negroes were Caucasians blackened and frizzled by the sun. Now that the two greatest civilized nations, France and England, have finally emancipated slaves, science may reclaim its rights without troubling itself about the sophisms of slaveholders.

Many good people imagine, however, that the time for speaking with all freedom has not yet arrived, because the battle of emancipation is far from being terminated in the United States of America, and that it is necessary to avoid furnishing arguments to the supporters of slavery. But, is it true that the polygenist doctrine, which scarcely

\* P. Sagot—*Opinion générale sur l'Origine et la Nature des Races humaines; Conciliation des Diversités indélébiles des Races avec l'Unité historique du Genre humain.* Paris, 1860; 8vo, 80 pages. (Arthur Bertrand).



dates a century back, can be in any degree responsible for a state of things which has existed from time immemorial, and which was developed and perpetuated during a long course of ages under the shadow of the doctrine, so long uncontested, of the monogenists? And does any one believe that slaveholders are at all embarrassed to find arguments in the Bible? The Rev. John Bachmann, a furious monogenist of South Carolina, has acquired great popularity in the southern States by demonstrating, with considerable unction, that slavery is a divine institution.\* It is not from the writings of polygenists, but from the Bible that the representatives of the Slave States have drawn their arguments; and Mr. Bachman tells us that the abolitionists of Congress stood silent before this irrefragable authority. Let us then cease to think that there is the slightest connexion between the scientific and the political question. The difference of origin in no way implies the subordination of races. It implies, on the contrary, that each race of men has had its rise in a predetermined region; that it has been, as it were, the crown to the fauna of that region. And if it be permitted to assign an intention to nature, we might well believe that she wished to grant a distinct appanage to each, because, notwithstanding all that has been said about the cosmopolitanism of man, the inviolability of the domain of certain races is insured to them by their climate.

Let us compare, now, this mode of viewing the question and that of the monogenists, and let us ask which of the two is best suited to please the partisans of slavery? If all men descend from a single couple—if the inequality of races is the result of a curse more or less deserved—or, again, if these have degraded themselves, and have allowed the primitive spark of intelligence to become extinct, whilst those have kept intact the precious gifts of the Creator—in other terms, if there are races under a blessing, as others are under a curse,—races which have responded to the aspirations of nature, and races which have contemned them—then the Rev. John Bachmann is right in saying that slavery exists by divine right; it is a providential punishment, and it is just, up to a certain point, that the races which have degraded them-

\* It may be permitted to us to reproduce a few passages from a dissertation by this pious slaveholder. We extract them from the *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, Sept., 1854, vol. ix., pp. 657—659. "All the races of men, Negroes included, are of the same species and the same origin. The Negro is a striking and now permanent variety, similar to numerous varieties of domestic animals . . . The Negro will remain what he is unless his form be changed by a cross, the mere idea of which is revolting to us. His intelligence, although too much defamed, is greatly inferior to that of the Caucasians, and he is therefore, from all that we know, incapable of self-government. He has been placed under our *protection*. The defence of slavery is contained in Holy Writ. The Bible teaches the rights and the duties of masters, that slaves be ruled with justice and kindness, and it enjoins obedience to the slave . . . The Bible furnishes us the best arms we can make use of. It shows us that the ancient Israelites possessed slaves. It determines the duties of masters and slaves; and St. Paul wrote an Epistle to Philemon praying him to take back a runaway slave. Our representatives in Congress have made use of arguments drawn from Holy Scripture, and their adversaries have not dared to say that the historical parts of the Bible (and all that relates to slavery is historical) are false and uninspired." The Rev. John Bachmann adds, a little further on, "We can effectually defend our institutions from the WORD OF GOD."



selves should be placed under the *protection* of others—borrowing an ingenious euphemism from the language of slaveholders. But, if the Ethiopian is King of Soudan, by the same title that the Caucasian is King of Europe, by what right shall this one impose his laws on that, excluding the right of force? In the first case, slavery presents itself with a certain appearance of legitimacy which may render it excusable in the eyes of some theorists; in the second, it is a deed of pure violence against which all protest who do not profit by it.

From another point of view it may also be said that the doctrine of the polygenist assigns to the inferior races of humanity a more honourable position than the opposite. To be inferior to another, be it in intelligence, in vigour, or in beauty, is not a humiliating condition. One must blush, however, for having undergone a physical or moral degradation, at having descended in the scale of beings, and at having lost rank in creation.—(*Journal de la Physiologie de l'Homme et des Animaux*, Avril, 1860).

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## 2. *On Private Asylums for the Insane.* By Dr. ED. JARVIS, Dorchester, Massachusetts, U.S.

The subsequent observations of Dr. Jarvis form portion of a paper read by him before the last meeting of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane. The opinions of this distinguished American alienist physician possess considerable interest for the English reader :

“In this country (America) there is a very common notion, that the mere personal influence of a physician, or of any other individual, in a private house, is insufficient for the control and the management of the insane; and this has made our people look to institutions endowed with large facilities and power, with authority and means of securing the unwilling, coercing the refractory, and of amusing and occupying all, in their various moods of excitement and depression. These advantages are to be found only in establishments which are beyond the means of individuals, and not by any probability, perhaps not by any possibility, within their reach. Hence our people look to the body politic, the great aggregation of the common wealth and power, to unite and produce such an establishment as seems to be needed.

“It is supposed by some that the insane in the United States are more maniacal, wilful, and excitable, and consequently need a firmer government, and often more restraint, than those of Great Britain. This, whether true or not, tends to corroborate the first opinion, and induces the more general desire not only to build hospitals with the means at least for keeping such patients, but also to place their own friends in such places as seem to them to be prepared to meet all the emergencies of insanity. Hence all classes here have sent their friends to the public asylums, and having once tried the experiment, they have found good reason to repeat it on any future occasion. A second consequence is, that there has been but very little call, and very little provision made and offered, for the private treatment of the insane.

“The question now arises, What are the peculiar advantages of public, and what of private asylums for the insane? The great majority of cases are better provided for in the public than in private institutions. The wild, the violent, are more secure, with the strong walls, and doors, the guarded windows, and other means of preventing injury or escape. The large corps of attendants,

and constant presence of officers, give more moral and personal authority to restraint. If there be need of force, mechanical or other means of restraint, if outbreaks of violence are to be overcome, and injury prevented, or food or medicine to be forcibly administered, the means, both material and personal, for effecting these purposes, can be furnished better in a public establishment than in a private house. The suicidal patients, who seem to have an almost superhuman skill and perseverance in baffling the vigilance of guardians, need all the architectural securities of the buildings, yards, &c., of the best institutions that are designed and built for the insane, and all the combined watchfulness of a trained corps of attendants, to save them from self-destruction. The wilful, perverse, opinionated patients, in whom self-esteem is, by nature or by disease, largely developed, bear opposition to their plans, contradiction to their opinions, and interference and restraint upon their conduct from men in authority, clothed with official power; and when it seems to be the law of the institution which many others recognise and obey, better than when it comes from an individual who has nothing but his personal and professional character to rest upon, and no other law than his own private judgment, however well founded or wisely established.

"But there are some classes of patients, who, from their peculiarity of feelings, or temperament, or disease, would do as well, and some would do better, in a private than in a public asylum. One class inseparably associate the idea and the name of an asylum or of a hospital with disgrace, which they think attaches ever afterwards to those who have resided in them as patients. They think this will be a mark upon them, to lower their claims on the world for respect and confidence in social and commercial life, and lessen their influence in society and business circles. It is not many years since people generally considered insanity as a stigma upon character, and depreciation of mental power, even after perfect recovery, and that however fully the mental health may be restored, nothing would or could restore the broken reputation. This class even now try to conceal their cases of this disease, and avoid for themselves and for their deranged friends all publicity, especially those places of healing on which public attention is concentrated, and desire to avail themselves of less conspicuous means of regaining their health. Some are very sensitive as to their disorder. They are conscious that they have difficulty in the head, and trouble in the mind, and fear that it may grow worse, and they are willing to confess so much. But they are unwilling to admit that they are insane, and are pained or irritated when they are supposed to be so; and even when the subject of insanity is mentioned in connexion with them, they are disturbed. The proposal to remove them to an asylum for the insane, known and recognised as such, confirms their fears that their dreaded enemy is believed by their friends to be upon them. Even after their entrance into the wards of the hospital, carrying the same conviction, some still rebel against the admission of their lunacy, and are disturbed and pained by their associates whom they know to be insane. They are offended with the strange manner and conversation, the excitements and depressions, the laughing and the weeping, the singular opinions and senseless jargons which are about them. They are consequently unreconciled to their position, unwilling to submit to the necessary requirements and restraints of the institution. They do not co-operate readily with the officers and attendants in their endeavours to heal them, nor lend the aid of self-discipline in removing their delusion. For those insane patients who can be managed under personal influences and in proper circumstances, there are some advantages and privileges which can be enjoyed in a higher degree in private and discreetly-managed houses than in public establishments. Insanity does not usually affect all the powers of human nature. It is rare that a patient is unsound in all his mental and emotional elements. Commonly only a part of them are disturbed, while the others are left in health. Some have only a single



delusion, while on all other matters they think and talk rationally. Some have too much excitement, others too much depression. Some are excited only in a certain line of ideas, only in connexion with certain subjects, while in connexion with others they are calm. In some, certain appetites are morbidly active, and in others different appetites are wrong, while the rest are healthy. The moral affections have a similar variation of health and disease, of acquiescence and disturbance in the same patients.

"In all healing of disease, whether of body or mind, it is considered both philosophical and necessary, not only to interfere as little as possible with all the parts of the constitution that are sound, but to encourage and sustain them in carrying on their natural processes and discharging their healthy functions, and thereby obtain through them as much strength as possible for the constitution, and enable it to throw off the load that is imposed upon the others. Therefore a discreet physician or surgeon, in treating the disease of any organ or function, administers his remedies in such manner as not to disturb or impede the operations of the others. In treating disease of the lungs, he is careful not to impair digestion. In healing a local abscess, he cautiously sustains the nutritive powers, and thus he holds all the healthy functions as his allies, to aid in subduing the special disorder. On the same principle, the wise manager of the insane carefully analyzes the condition of his patients, and ascertains what elements are diseased and what are sound. Having determined this, he cautiously respects and avoids all interference with every power and faculty, every principle, opinion, emotion, taste, or desire, that is in good health, and applies his influence only to such as are not in good condition, and this he does in such a way as not to disturb the others. He therefore, so far as is consistent with the patient's recovery or best progress, applies no restraint, opposes no purpose, denies no indulgence, contradicts no opinions that are not disordered and do not minister to the disease. Thus he sustains as great an amount of healthy mental and moral constitution as possible, by means of which he hopes to overcome the disturbance in those which are diseased.

"Although most patients need the restraints which can be found only in public establishments, and cannot therefore be safely and properly treated elsewhere, yet there are some to whom all the peculiarities of such an institution are not necessary. Some need none of the restraints which the architectural arrangements of the building and the surrounding enclosures afford, nor the usual and necessary vigilance of attendants of the hospital, to prevent their doing harm to others or to themselves, or to retain them within the bounds appointed for them. On the contrary, the presence of these means of security is painful to some. There are a few trustworthy patients, some with and some without attendants. They can be allowed a wider range of motion, they can have freer walks, rides, and other means and opportunities of various exercise and change of scene, not only without detriment, but with advantage. Some are not offensive to ordinary and domestic social life, nor are they disturbed by its circumstances, occurrences, and interests. They can live in judicious families, eat at the table, and sit in the parlour with the household, and enjoy much of their company and friends. They may not always contribute to the enjoyment or the harmony, nor aid in the smooth flow of the domestic current; some do this very little, yet they derive great comfort from such relations to the ordinary family circle. Some can bear to be even more in the world, and engage to some extent in the general social life. They can visit and be visited with profit to themselves. Some can attend places of amusement, church, and other general gatherings, and receive no injury but rather benefit from this intercourse with the world. Of course such patients should be under the constant supervision of a suitable, discreet, and intelligent physician, who understands mental disorders and their origin, and who is willing to give himself, heart, soul, and mind, to this work. He must exercise an unrelenting watch-



fulness over those entrusted to his care, noting all their variations of thought and feeling, of temper and propensity. He must arrange and control all the circumstances that surround them, and regulate all the influences that may bear upon them. The company, the conversation, the suggestions, the objects of interest, the scenery, their exercise and occupation at home and abroad, their diet, their sleeping, everything concerning them, must be under his unremitting watchfulness. These and all interferences and indulgences must be shaped, directed, and applied in each particular case, and at each particular occasion, according to the then present condition of the patient, and to the probable effect on his health, in the judgment of the physician. The same discretion and reliability, and a good degree of intelligence and fitness for his position, is necessary in the attendant. As he is to be the constant companion of the patient, he should resemble him as nearly as possible in character, education, and general culture, so that he may be an agreeable, not a wearisome associate, a pleasant and influential guide, not a mere servant to obey his commands, or yield to his caprices.

"The hospital is necessarily more inelastic than the private family. The rules are made to cover over the average of cases, but they must include the worst, so that nothing wrong may happen. They cannot be varied, either in the enactment or in the application, to suit the varieties of character or taste. But in the administration of a family there is no need of a written or printed code. The general laws of right and propriety are admitted, and such other directions may be given from time to time as may be needed for the insane inmates, as easily as such regulations may be made and altered in reference to a patient sick with any other malady. Hence each day's domestic administration may be made to suit exactly the condition of the lunatic at the time, and the cautions, restraints, and indulgences, varied as his good may require. As every influence that bears upon the patient may affect him for good or for evil, none should be allowed to reach him but such as are of themselves true, sane, and favourable. Not only the physician, his family, and the attendants, but all that come in contact with him—his associates, the visitors, the servants that wait upon him, the people whom he visits—should all be persons of well-balanced minds, and discreet bearing and habits; so that no insane ideas may be suggested, no wrong emotions excited, but every influence from without tend to keep his mind and feelings in a serene and cheerful state, and increase his power to think, feel, and act sanely.

"There is still a smaller class of patients, who need even less restraint and vigilant guardianship, but still must be separated from the familiar scenes of home and friends. It is not necessary for these to reside in the family of a physician, yet they need his supervision and guidance, and should therefore be in his neighbourhood, where he can know of their condition and movements, and visit them as often as they may need. They may be boarded in discreet families, and enjoy most of the common privileges of the household, and the ordinary attentions and comforts of domestic life. Being under proper medical supervision, all the healing influences of both physical and moral nature that they require may be secured for them, and their health re-established if recoverable, or they may be cared for and protected without suffering any needless privation of comfort.

"The views herein given refer only to that class of mild patients who are manageable in a private house, and who need not the efficient government and the restraints that are found in large institutions. The class referred to is not large, and some of them may be as well and as comfortably managed, and regain their health as certainly, as in an hospital. This of course does not include all the private institutions, for some of them are large, and have as many patients as the public establishments. I have only described one class, such as is most familiar to me.

"The proper function of private asylums or homes for the insane seems to be, not to compete with the public institutions in matters of cheapness ; but to provide liberally for all the proper wants of their inmates, and charge all for material, time, attention, and responsibility, and receive a corresponding reward.

"Not to receive and treat the violent, the maniacal, the suicidal ; but the mild, quiet, and manageable by personal influence.

"And principally to provide and offer to such patients as can properly enjoy and profit by them, an opportunity of using more of their faculties that are sane, a freer range of occupation and action, more of domestic and social life, more intercourse with the world, and a condition resembling more nearly that of their own homes than can be offered and enjoyed in the public hospitals."—(*American Journal of Insanity*, July, 1860.)

### 3.—*On the Management of the Insane in Belgium.* By Dr. J. PARIGOT.

The success or not of establishments instituted for the relief of the insane may be said chiefly to depend upon one principle, to wit, the ratio of approximation existing between the administrative and medical departments of the establishment. In proportion as these are in antagonism, we shall find the condition of the insane more or less unsatisfactory ; in proportion as they approximate in object and in action, we shall find the state of the lunatic more or less ameliorated. The great aim of medicine is to make every asylum a hospital for the cure, not a prison for the detention, of the insane ; and that asylum is the most perfect one which could rightly have inscribed in great letters above its gates, the legend borne aloft by Dr. Parigot,—"*ici l'on guérit pour en sortir au plus vite :*" Quick to cure, reluctant to detain.

In a report\* made by Dr. Parigot to the Brussels Society of Medical and Natural Sciences, we have a critical sketch of the present condition of the establishments for the insane in Belgium. We shall not follow the author's observations in detail, because, whatever shortcomings or successes are at the present time to be noted in the different Belgian asylums, they, as in this country, may be referred to the principle we have already laid down. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to Dr. Parigot's general conclusions as to the requisites necessary for the further amelioration of the condition of the insane in Belgium, and to his remarks on the lunatic colony at Gheel.

And of the latter first. There has been of late a growing belief in England that the success of Gheel, as a lunatic establishment, was not such as might have been anticipated from the seemingly admirable principles on which it is now founded. Dr. Parigot admits the justice of the belief, but at the same time he advances an explanation why Gheel has latterly deteriorated, which is not a little instructive. His statement is briefly this :—

Before the law of the 18th June, 1850, came into operation, Gheel was a species of *port franc* for madmen. The entrance was easy, but

\* "Observations sur le Régime des Aliénés en Belgique" apropos d'un livre de M. Duceptiaux, intitulé : *Notice sur les Etablissements d'Aliénés des Pays-Bas.* Par le Dr. J. Parigot. Bruxelles. 1859.



the exit was difficult. The communal administration, as well as certain contractors, regarded Gheel as a warehouse for storing lunatics, and they sought here and there for the insane in regular trade fashion, extolling the advantages Gheel offered in an economical point of view. The lunatics transmitted there were regarded as so much goods, and commonly finished their days under the charge of those who received them. These were the peasants (the fosterers) who were charged with the charitable work of tending upon the unfortunates, and who obtained *this favour* by paying a higher rate for their commodities and lands. Since 1803 another, a third element, became operative in Gheel. The principal communes which had patients there sent to Gheel a representative, whose duty it was to overlook the lunatics who were lodged and clad by the commune he represented. Brussels elected Dr. Parigot to perform this function for its lunatics. At the time of these appointments, Dr. Parigot tells us that the administration of the colony was in the saddest confusion, and that the position of the lunatics was perhaps even more cruel than that of the negroes he had seen in South America. The only check to unbounded neglect rested in the individual kindness of the keepers, but this was sufficiently sound in character and abundant in amount to effect great improvements. When backed by the support and aid of the representatives of the different communes, Gheel improved visibly after the appointment of these representatives, and everything bid fair for a thorough reform. But a difficulty arose which put a stop to further progress, and under the influence of which Gheel is gradually deteriorating to its original state. The interest of the principal communes was solely that of their patients; the interest of the executive of Gheel was that of the commune in an economical point of view. The one looked at the patients from a medical and charitable point of view: the other from a commercial. When, therefore, the disturbing element of inspection by the different communes was introduced, and when, subsequently, the central government interfered, and by the appointment of a committee of direction and inspection sought to amend matters at Gheel, the council of that commune at once entered into fiercest opposition. It held that *its rights* (*!*) had been invaded, and so successfully has it maintained its opposition, that the interference of the central government has been rendered of none effect, and the communal council is now free from any serious control. Moreover, the inspectors of the different communes have been withdrawn, and unless some check be again interposed, Gheel will revert to its ancient state. Dr. Parigot suggests a "very simple remedy" to this state of things. He proposes:—

1. To confine the duties of the local committee, as well as of all the committees of the kingdom charged with that task, exclusively to inspection.

2. To appoint a director responsible to the minister, or his representative, as well for the legal duties concerning collocations, as for the material and financial administration of the establishment.

3. To appoint the physician-inspector responsible director of all that relates to the moral, hygienic, and sanitary state of the establishment. This comprehends necessarily the classing of the keepers, the allocation



or removal of the insane. A special register which could be consulted by those whom it might concern, and which would show the reasons which govern the classification, and the ordinary mode of distribution, of the insane among the fosterers. This register would be open to protests.

4. To appoint an assistant physician-inspector, to aid in the infirmary, to keep the medical register, to perform autopsies, &c., and who would be librarian of the establishment, and would help the inspector with the annual report.

5. A new and single statute would be required. Experience shows that regulations by royal or ministerial decree fail practically.

6. The committee, the director, and physician-inspector, &c., should correspond directly with the Minister of Justice; the two employés, nevertheless, would do this only in exceptional cases, when, for the good of the service, it is found that the hierarchical way will not suffice.

With respect to the further improvement of lunacy administration in Belgium, the conclusions which Dr. Parigot has arrived at, and which were adopted by the Society of Medical and Natural Sciences, were as follows:—

1. It is essential to organize in Belgium, either in the universities or in the great asylums, that branch of medical instruction which treats of psychiatry, in order to furnish a medico-psychological clinique.

2. It is requisite to organize the medical service of the asylums by making the staff of physicians proportional to the number of patients, so that in the curative arrangements no physician shall have charge of more than fifty cases.

3. It is necessary that this service be in every way similar to that of ordinary hospitals, in which the curative methods employed by the heads of the staff can be controlled by the visitors.

4. The posts of clinical assistants, and even of assistant-physician, should be placed *au concours* among the young medical men leaving universities. While waiting for a vacancy the elected should be sent to certain foreign hospitals.

5. A medico-psychological clinical establishment, containing fifty beds, is alone to be recommended in provinces where there is not yet an asylum; this establishment ought to be situated at a little distance from the chief town.

6. The older closed asylums, or the free, as Gheel, should always have a medico-psychological clinique.

It would appear from this highly-interesting pamphlet of Dr. Parigot's, that there are at the present time fifty-one lunatic establishments of all kinds in Belgium; and that while the number of insane in 1853 amounted to 4054, since that time (within five years) it has increased to 4508.

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#### 4.—*Patronal Asylums.* By Dr. MUNDY.

IN a brilliant article published in the Brussels *Journal of Medicine* (August, 1860), Dr Mundy contends that Gheel is neither a colony

nor an establishment for the insane (Gheel n'est pas une colonie, moins encore un établissement d'aliénés), and he suggests that in future Gheel should be designated as a Patronal asylum (*Asile patronale*). This term was originally proposed by Dr. Bulckens, in a letter to Dr. Mundy. "Gheel," wrote the former gentleman, "so judiciously entitled by M. Jules Duval, the *paradise, the kingdom of madmen, is still considered by many as a hell, a colony of wretches*, objects of traffic and of profitable farming.

"This has led me to seek for a more fitting and significant appellation for Gheel, and I propose to substitute for the term *lunatic colony* (colonie d'aliénés) the term *patronal asylum* (asile patronal d'aliénés à Gheel).

"[Patronal, qui appartient au patron.—Patronus—Advocatus. Patron se dit d'un homme sous la protection de qui l'on se met pour avoir de l'appui, et d'un homme dont on obtient le secours dans une affaire, dans une circonstance difficile. (*Dict. de l'Acad.*)]

"This denomination expresses exactly the character and charitable practice of Gheel, *which far from being a colony, is a place of surety, a family refuge* (refuge de famille), *where the insensate find among the inhabitants patrons who protect them.*

"On examining very attentively the mode of treatment to which the patients are submitted in this '*patronal asylum*,' we think that henceforth it may be termed the *patronal regimen* (régime patronal).

"For ourselves, the *patronal regimen* indicates the cares, the protection, the defence, the liberty, the equality, that the fosterer, *as patron*, accords to *his boarder*, who lives with him in full liberty, and shares his labours and his harvests. The fosterer, in receiving and assimilating the insensate with the members of his family, *delivers him from a state of neglect, of abjection, of brutishness, in which he had probably lived until then, and becomes rightfully, by so doing, his patron.*

"Such a regimen embraces in itself free-air, family-life, and work. In adapting, therefore, any proposition to this system, we ought in future to say, —*Patronal asylum for the insane* (asile patronal pour les aliénés), *patronal regimen of insanity* (régime patronal de la folie),—substituting these terms for those at present in use, to wit, *colony of lunatics; free-air and family-life treatment, &c.* (colonie d'aliénés; traitement à l'air libre et la vie de famille, &c.)"

Dr. Bulckens promises presently to give to the world his observations and opinions upon the patronal regimen followed at Gheel; and Dr. Mundy announces that he is preparing for the press a work on phrenopathic medicine. This work, judging from the table of contents, will prove to be of considerable importance. We shall look for the promised publications with great interest.

### 5.—On the Curability and Cost of Insanity. By Dr. JOSEPH A. REED.

INSANITY should be regarded as symptomatic of disease of the brain, and should be treated with the same promptitude with which pneumonia, fevers, or other severe diseases, are met and subdued; and if thus met, the probabilities of recovery will approach very near to a certainty, but if neglected the disorder will fix itself permanently, the curable stage will rapidly pass away, and hope will have but little left to rest upon.

The following, taken from the Report of Dr. Butler, of the Hartford



Retreat, is so applicable, that we quote it entire:—"When common-sense views of insanity shall prevail—when this shall be treated like other diseases, with a fairness and decision corresponding to the gravity of the disease, and the importance of the organs implicated by it, the proportion of incurable cases in the community will be correspondingly diminished. I know of no disease which so imperatively demands that it be met on the part of friends with frankness and decision toward the sufferer, and with a reasonable confidence and patience toward those to whose skill and experience the sufferer is intrusted. It is a reasonable claim, the justice of which should never be overlooked, that one who is willing to accept the grave responsibility of treating a case of insanity, should ever find both his feelings and opinions treated with respect and deference."

The following, from a foreign periodical, is to the point:—"How is it that, in pestilence, fever, or any other scourge of the human race, the physician is sent for without disguise, and the case at once committed to a professional hand? But in the dread and mysterious mental disease, where, in the first stage, time lost is far more precious than jewels; where medical treatment is valuable almost in proportion as it is early; where the most unreserved confidence to the medical man is dictated by prudence, and the utmost candour of friends and relatives is essential to his forming a correct diagnosis; then a fatal repugnance often exists to making the necessary statements, and a childish irresolution in submitting to the appropriate remedies."

Of 100 patients in the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, at the date of the last report, 70 had been insane before admission for a longer period than six months, and were considered incurable. Of 332 admitted since 1855, 173 had been insane for periods varying from six months to 20 years, and of this number only 28 had recovered; the balance remain monuments of neglect—a burden to themselves and their friends, or the community, and the source of ceaseless care and anxiety. On whom, then, should rest the responsibility of perpetuating the bondage of this terrible disease, if not on those who, having charge of the helpless sufferer, neglected to give him the advantages of proper treatment in due season?

The Massachusetts Commission on Lunacy for 1854, report, "that it is reasonable to suppose that four-fifths of 840 who have never been in hospitals in that State, might have been restored with proper means. Without doubt, an equally large portion of those who were sent to a hospital, but not until their day of cure was past, might have been restored if they had been sent in time."

Dr. Earle, in the report of Bloomingdale Asylum, gives it as his opinion that one of the chief obstacles to a more general recovery of the patients admitted into public institutions, and one of the principal causes of the great accumulation of deranged people in the community, is the neglect of removing them to an asylum as soon as possible after the commencement of the disease.

Dr. Kirkbride has repeatedly expressed the opinion that insanity in its earliest stages is generally curable, and that every week it is left without treatment goes to diminish the prospect of restoration. Dr.



L. V. Bell expresses the following opinion:—"In regard to the curability of insanity, there can be no general rule better established than that this is directly in the ratio of the duration of the symptoms." Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Dorchester, says: "If insane persons are allowed to enjoy the means of healing in the early stages of their disorder, about 75 to 90 per cent. can be restored to health."

These opinions are not the result of a theoretical knowledge of insanity, but are founded on a long experience in the treatment of the insane, and are amply sustained by the statistics of all insane hospitals.

From the Reports of the New York State Asylum, we find that of 511 discharged restored, 421 had been insane for a period less than one year.

In the twenty-sixth Report of the Hartford Retreat, we find that of 226 recent cases, 186 recovered; while of 203 old cases, only twenty-five recovered.

The New Hampshire Asylum, in 1858, discharged thirty-one restored; of these, twenty-seven were recent cases.

In 1837 and 1838 the M'Lean Asylum, Boston, discharged 146 restored; of these, 117 were recent cases.

In 1858, the Southern Ohio Asylum discharged seventy-three restored; of these, sixty were insane less than one year.

The Mount Hope Asylum reports in 1855 and 1857 ninety-six recent cases under treatment, of whom fifty-two recovered; and of ninety old cases, only seven recovered.

The Massachusetts State Hospital at Worcester reports from 72 to 93 per cent. of recent cases, and only from 15 to 31 per cent. of old cases restored per year, during a period of twenty-four years.

The Columbus Asylum record shows that during twenty years 73 per cent. of recent and only 25 per cent. of old cases were restored each year.

The Edinburgh Royal Asylum reports 218 recovered, and of these, 174 were recent cases.

The Glasgow Royal Asylum reports in 1853 116 recoveries; of these, ninety-one were recent cases.

Of 119 discharged from this hospital recovered, 101 were recent cases, and were under treatment for periods varying from one to twelve months. From a table prepared by Dr. Jarvis, of Massachusetts, embracing 4800 cases, we find the average time required for their recovery, under hospital treatment, was six months and sixteen days. In contrast with this, the duration of life of the uncured insane should cause every one in charge of recent cases to act at once in their behalf. From a table prepared by the actuary of the Albion Life Assurance Company, London, we learn that the average length of life of persons incurably insane, if attacked at twenty years of age, is twenty-one years; if attacked at thirty, it will be twenty years; if attacked at forty years of age, the probabilities are that the patient will live seventeen years.

There can be no question, then, we presume, about the curability of recent cases, and the necessity and humanity of subjecting them, at the earliest possible moment, to proper remedial measures; and the

only doubt that can exist, is in regard to the expense of their treatment, or their support through a lifetime of lunacy. On this point we again refer to the records of other institutions.

Dr. Kirkbride, in his report for 1842, says: "By referring to the register of this institution, I find that the actual average cost of supporting the first twenty successive cases that were discharged cured, from the time of their admission, was only \$52.50, while in the first twenty incurable cases that were received in the house, at the same rate of expense, from the time of the commencement of the disease till 1841, the average cost of each of their friends was \$3,045."

In the Massachusetts State Hospital, up to 1843, twenty-five old cases had cost the sum of \$54,157, while the same number of recent cases, until restored, had cost \$1,461.30.

In the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, in 1842, twenty-five old cases had cost \$35,464, while twenty-five recent cases, until recovered, had cost \$1,608.

In the Maine Lunatic Hospital, in 1842, twelve old cases had cost \$25,300, while the same number of recent cases had cost only \$426.

In the hospital at Staunton, Virginia, twenty old cases had cost \$41,633, and the whole expense of twenty recent cases, until restored, was only \$1,265.

Certainly no one should hesitate in deciding between the expense of a few months' treatment, or that of a lifetime of insanity. Humanity and economy unite in their appeal for timely and judicious care of the insane.—*Report of the Managers of the Western Pennsylvanian Hospital for 1859.*

6.—*On Pellagra in Italy, and more particularly in the Lunatic Asylums of that Country.* By Dr. E. BILLOD.

Dr. E. BILLOD was commissioned, in January, 1859, by his Excellency the Minister of the Interior, to visit Italy, and report upon the pellagra, of that country in its relations with mental alienation. In the report which, in accordance with his instructions, he has recently presented to the Minister, he records not only the results of his researches in Italy in 1859, but also the results of previous researches which he had made in that country in 1846. The object of Dr. Billod's researches was a comparative study of the true pellagra, considered as a type, and of the affection incident to mental alienation admitted as a variety; to seek the degree of analogy existing between these two morbid species, and to decide, if possible, upon their identity of character.

The results of Dr. Billod's researches, and the conclusions that he has formed, are thus summed up:—

1. Pellagra is endemic, in different degrees, in the provinces of Perugia, Urbino, and Pesaro, in the States of the Church; in part of Tuscany (Tuscan Romagna and Mugello), in the Romagna, in Emilia, in the Milanais, and in part of Piedmont; and other parts of Italy seem to have, in this respect, a certain immunity.

2. In the countries where pellagra is endemic, it constitutes one of



the most frequent causes of mental alienation among individuals admitted into lunatic asylums.

3. Mental alienation shows itself most frequently in the latter periods of pellagra, and most commonly assumes the melancholic form; but it is also observed at the commencement and in a maniacal form.

4. The disposition to commit suicide does not perhaps accompany the mental alienation of the pellagra-stricken so often as is imagined; and death by submersion is not commonly, as has been asserted, the form of death which is commonly chosen by the insane pellagra-stricken who manifest a suicidal tendency.

5. The opinion advanced by Dr. Billod that the cachexy which he has described as being peculiar to the insane, is of a pellagrous character, is confirmed by the observations made by him in many establishments, and particularly in those of Florence, Astino, and Turin.

6. Alimentation by maize, with or without modification by *verdet*, according to the general opinion of the Italian physicians, so competent in a question to decide which they are not reduced, as the majority of French physicians, to views purely theoretical, is one of the principal causes of pellagra, but *it is far from being the sole and exclusive one*.

7. The cause of pellagra is, according to the same physicians, complex and variable; that is to say, it results from a combination of many hygienic conditions, of which the use of maize forms but one.

8. Softening of the spinal cord, which Dr. Billod had noted as the most ordinary *post-mortem* appearance of the peculiar cachexy of the insane, especially in the pellagrous form, is also observed in patients who have suffered from true pellagra, as was demonstrated by Dr. Brierre de Boismont in four autopsies made by him at the Milan Hospital. The pathological change is not, however, peculiar to pellagra, for it is observed occasionally in various conditions of mental alienation, more or less independent of pellagra.

7.—*On Microcephalus considered in its relations with the Characteristics of the Human Race.* By Dr. P. GRATIOLET. (Read before the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*).

I PROPOSE to communicate to the society some observations on microcephalus, dwelling on certain characteristics supplied by the study of arrests of development exclusively proper to the human group.

The microcephalics which I have studied belong to the category of dwarfs, often very elegant in their forms, which have of late been submitted to the public curiosity perhaps somewhat too freely. As they have nothing at first sight monstrous in their appearance, they have been sometimes put forward as specimens of certain pigmy races hitherto completely unknown. Thus five or six years ago there were exhibited in London and Paris, under the name of Aztecs, from the



United States, some small microcephalous dwarfs, evidently the issue of a cross between Negroes and Indians; for their curved nose, their tint at once copper-coloured and fuliginous, and finally, their crisped hair, revealed a double relationship with the American race and with some black race. Microcephalics, although preserving all the principal characteristics of their race, present, in some respects, a common physiognomy. Their figure is dégagé and well proportioned, but their forms are not those of puberty; they recall that of a child of ten or eleven years. Their face is very prominent; their eyes and teeth are relatively enormous; the forehead is extremely retreating, whilst the occiput is, on the contrary, globulous. Be this as it may, however, the skull, which is singularly reduced in the cerebral, would appear deformed if it were not disguised by a covering of hair much thicker than usual, the mass of hair originally designed for a normal head being concentrated on a smaller space.

These little creatures are all, without exception, of extreme vivacity. They move, according to the simultaneous expression of all observers, with the lightness of a bird. This perfect co-ordination of their movements is astonishing if compared with the feebleness of their intellect. Generally very gay, capable of affectionate sentiment, but excessively capricious, they appear to be entirely deprived of the faculty of attention, and completely personify the idea which the Latins attached to the word *fatuus*. Several of them speak a truly articulate language, not rich, it is true, but really human in all its characteristics.

Thanks to the kindness of MM. Baillarger and Giraldès, I had a fortunate opportunity of studying the brain of three of these singular beings. One of them belonged to a Negro race; the other two were white, and were born in France.

The skulls of these three dwarfs were very small, a little less than that of the chimpanzee or the ourang. This excessive reduction was confined to the superior portion of the cranium—its base being but slightly ossified. In these three subjects the basi-occipital was separated by a cartilaginous disc from the basi-sphenoid, although one of the children was fourteen years of age. These bones were themselves almost entirely cartilaginous, although at the same time sufficiently voluminous. The petrous portion of the temporal and the ethmoid, far from having undergone any reduction, appeared to have acquired a greater development than in the normal state.

Whilst on the one hand the ossification of the base of the skull was imperfect, that of the vault was extremely advanced. The frontal, parietal, and occipital bones were dense and very thick. All the sutures which persisted were very simple, and but slightly undulated; the medio-frontal was absolutely effaced; the sagittal had left an apparent trace, but its obliteration was complete, and the transverse was beginning to disappear. A single suture then persisted; that is to say, the lambdoidal, which again was very slightly complicated.

Altogether, the skull-cap presented a very singular form. Its vault was not an elliptic arch, like that of young children, but a somewhat pointed ogee. Besides its general diminution, the cerebral fossa presented an excessive reduction in the frontal and epaetal regions.

The parietal also, besides being much reduced, encroached evidently on the other two.

Regard being had to the smallness of the skull, the cerebellar fossa was of enormous dimensions. It projected behind and at the sides beyond the posterior extremity of the cerebral fossa, which was much restricted. It was much dilated above, terminated conically, and presented, as a whole, that form of a funnel, which M. Retzius has pointed out as peculiar to the occiput of the young fœtus.

The facts just indicated had had a very curious influence on the development of the different parts of the face. The superior arcs of the cranial vertebra being in some degree atrophied, their inferior arcs had acquired an excessive development. The pterygoid bones, the bones of the palate, and the intermaxillaries, had, in developing themselves, drawn into their movement the upper maxillaries, and the entire upper jaw offered a marked projection; the lower jaw, on the contrary, independent, as we all know, of the vertebral series, had retained its normal form and proportions; the result was inevitable. The development of the two jaws taking place unequally, they no longer corresponded in front, and the upper incisives no longer met the lower.

This deformity often accompanies foolishness, and then it gives the face an expression of characteristic silliness; it is so closely connected with the diminution of the frontal arc, that it is met with in the heads of Caribs and Aymaras, who have a custom of flattening or deforming the forehead. The skulls in the collection of the museum show this. We might also refer to those figured by Morton in his fine work *Crania Americana*; and looking at the jaws of *Botocudo*, which he has represented in his fifteenth plate, one might imagine that this very short head had been artificially deformed. However this may be, this deformity appears to be an inevitable consequence of microcephalus. It existed in the observation of microcephalus published by Gall. The three microcephalics which I have studied also exhibited it; it was most highly marked in the case of the pretended Aztecs, as any one may convince himself by an examination of the very accurate portraits made by M. Barwell in London, by the desire of M. H. de Saussure; and it was more especially evident in the boy, who was more microcephalous than the girl; it was also exhibited in the case of the pretended Earthmen. It gave, to the advantage of those poor little creatures, the birdlike physiognomy which is so striking in the drawings of M. Barwell.

This imperfect and monstrous proclivity of the face differs from the natural proclivity which constitutes prognathism; in the case of the Makuos, a race of Southern Africa, whose prominent muzzle immediately recalls the physiognomy of the gorillas and cynocephalous papions, the lower jaw invariably corresponds perfectly with the upper, which proves that in this case the proclivity is normal, and does not depend upon an accidental degradation. I think that this fact furnishes an additional argument to the partisans of the plurality of species in the human genus.

The study of the brain of microcephalics has provided me with other elements, by the aid of which the absolute distinction of man is



evidently and anatomically proved. In comparing attentively the brain of monkeys with that of men, I have found that, in adult age, the arrangement of cerebral folds is the same in one group as in the other; and were we to stop here, there would not be sufficient ground for separating man from animals in general; but the study of development calls for an absolute distinction. In fact, the temporo-sphenoidal convolutions appear first in the brain of monkeys, and are completed by the frontal lobe, whilst precisely the inverse order takes place in man: the frontal convolutions appear first, the temporo-sphenoidal show themselves last; thus the same series is repeated in the one case from  $\alpha$  to  $\omega$ , in the other from  $\omega$  to  $\alpha$ . From this fact, rigorously verified, a necessary consequence follows: no arrest in the progress of development could possibly render the human brain more similar to that of monkeys than it is at the adult age: far from that, it would differ the more the less it were developed. This consequence is completely borne out in the brain of the microcephalic; in the first instance, it might be taken for the brain of some new and unknown monkey, but the slightest attention would suffice to enable us to avoid this error. In a monkey the parallel fissure would be long and deep; the sphenoidal lobe would be charged with complicated incisures. In a microcephalic, on the contrary, the parallel fissure is always imperfect, and sometimes absent, and the sphenoidal lobe is almost perfectly smooth.

This is not all; in the case of microcephalics, the second fold of the passage between the parietal and occipital lobes is always superficial, which is a characteristic absolutely proper to man. In the brain of *pitheca*, on the contrary, this fold is constantly hidden under the operculum of the occipital lobe. Thus, in the midst of their degradation, the brain of microcephalics presents human characteristics. Though often less voluminous and less involved than that of the *ourang-outang*, or the chimpanzee, it does not become like theirs. The microcephalic, however reduced, is not a beast; he is a dwarfed man.

I have examined whether microcephalus preceded or not the birth. I find incontestable evidence that it does. In one of the microcephalics that I studied, the general form of the brain and the fissure of Sylvius showed that the deformity was at least contemporaneous with the fifth month. It seems probable that this state depends upon some initial cause. Under the influence of a primordial astheniogeny, forms are produced which differ from all normal conditions; but in a normal new-born infant, the system of cerebral folds is complete in all its parts.\* If microcephalus appeared after birth, all the folds would remain, and the volume only of the brain would be diminished; but it is not thus. The movement has languished from its origin, its curve is shortened, it has finished prematurely, and far short of its normal end.

Perhaps I ought here to direct attention to the enormous development of the cerebellum, for these beings never attain puberty. This fact is little favourable to the theory of Gall, but is much more so to

\* It is the same with all animals that are born with their eyes open; in the case of those born with closed eyes, the convolutions are only perfected at the moment when the eyelids separate.



that of M. Flourens. The normal microcephalics move about with perfect rapidity, ease, and harmony. A very large relative development of the medulla spinalis and oblongata no doubt contributes to their agility.

Thus the reduction takes place more especially, and almost exclusively, in the cerebral hemispheres. The external organs of sense are large and well developed. The nerves leading to them exhibit a development surpassing the dimensions of the normal state.

Having attempted to demonstrate that the microcephalics preserve the material or zoological characters of man, I would remark that they also retain man's proper intellectual aptitudes. Most of them have an intelligible language, poor, it is true, but articulate and abstract. Their brain, inferior in appearance to that of an orang or a gorilla, is nevertheless that of a *speaking mind*. This innate, and so to speak, ineffaceable virtuality, is certainly man's noblest and most brilliant characteristic. This strikes us especially within sight of the partial attenuation and ruin of the intellectual organs. Disease and astheniogeny may dwarf man, but they do not make him a monkey.

These microcephalics, deprived of convolutions, are all very small dwarfs. This recalls to mind the relation supposed to have been discovered some years ago between the development of convolutions and that of figure. It is true that all large animals possess cerebral convolutions, and that a great number of small animals do not. But this relation appears to me to have been ill appreciated. It is, on the contrary, the development of convolutions which announces that of figure, always preceding it, *not alone in the individual, but in each zoological group as a whole*. Thus, in the natural groups which contain gigantic animals, the smallest species have convolutions, whatever in other respects the exiguity of their figure. Such are the weasel amongst the carnivorous plantigrades or palmigrades, the *Antelope hemprichiana* (Ehr.) and the *Spinigera* (Temm.) amongst the ruminants.

Among human races, the Bosjemann has convolutions very little complicated. The frontal lobe especially presents a degree of simplicity which is never met with in white races, except in some cases of congenital idiocy. This is a race whose figure is very small; at the same time the Bosjemanns are neither microcephalous nor idiots. This sufficiency of an imperfect cerebral form proves that it is normal, and in some sort specific; and that, if the Bosjemanns are men, anthropologically inferior, they cannot with any reason be considered as degraded. Their race is fruitful. This is proved by its duration in the midst of the destructive causes which necessarily surround it. It is therefore not degenerate; for all modern observations agree in demonstrating that all degeneracy has a fatal termination in proximate sterility.

I think I may conclude, from the preceding observations, that man is absolutely distinguished from the highest orders of animals, no less by his organization than by his intelligence. He alone has an essential language, by reason of the faculty of abstraction, which is proper to him alone. Animals, the orang, and the chimpanzee, without doubt, have ideas of external objects; their incontestable memory proves it,

but the idea is essentially tied to that of its object. Man alone is capable of the idea of an idea; so that the intelligence of a beast is as a simple number, but that of man is as a power, the exponent of which is higher or lower according to the degree of perfection of individuals and of races.—(*Journal de la Physiologie de l'Homme et des Animaux*. Janvier, 1860.)

### GHEEL.—LETTER FROM DR. WILLERS JESSEN.

(To the Editor of the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*.)

SIR,—In the last number of your Journal, of which I have been a reader for several years, I find an article directed partly against myself, partly, with regard to my quotations, against my English co-thinkers. I pass in silence the offensive personalities addressed to myself as being without justification, and consequently proving nothing but bad taste. Neither do I think proper to oppose assertions consisting only in vague phrases, unsupported by any arguments. If Dr. Parigot calls the medical officers of asylums dreamers, psychologists, and mad doctors, and praises St. Dymphna, if he represents the asylums as prisons, and speaks of liberty and non-restraint in Gheel, where the sick people are put in “fettters, chains, and irons,” he will no doubt produce the most disadvantageous impression upon your countrymen, who have established the best asylums of the world, and who are the last to be deceived by sophisms.

I therefore shall only blame the great want of exactness with which he repeats my expressions. My best argument is, he says, that “Gheel ought to be a practical criticism upon asylums;” but I never have made use of such a phrase. I have tried to prove by facts that no organization answering to the purpose could be given to lunatic colonies; I have insisted that no such colonies ought to be founded, before a possibility could be shown to avoid the improprieties Dr. Parigot himself has often indicated. If he had afforded this proof, I should gratefully have accepted his reply; as he has not even tried to do so, I must believe that he is incapable of it.

In the same incorrect way he says: “Following an article by Dr. W. Jessen, we find that Dr. Bucknill compares Gheel to the small English asylums, which he calls, with reason, squalid asylums.” As to the last expression, Dr. Bucknill has only used it of Gheel, and has asserted on the contrary that the same reasons would be *justly* applied to Gheel, that have “so *unjustly* been urged” against private lunatic asylums. I have translated Dr. Bucknill word for word, and have given no occasion to Dr. Parigot’s spiteful remarks on the English private establishments.

Finally, he writes: “In a paper which is quoted by the *Allgemeine Zeitschrift*, Dr. Stevens asserts that my honourable successor, Dr. Bulckens, told him that he did not possess any means of controlling the exorcisms practised in the chapel of St. Dymphna; that if it was in his power to put a stop to them, he should not think it prudent to do so, because what constitutes the colony is not medical science, but faith in St. Dymphna; and that if the saint disappeared, or was neglected, *Gheel would have no more cause to exist*.” “Unfortunately, however,” he adds soon after, “Dr. Bulckens affirms, and we have no difficulty in believing him, that he said nothing of the kind. Dr. Stevens, doubtless from want of familiarity with the French language, has evidently

misunderstood what was said to him, and even what he saw." To my translation I had added the following passage of the original text in English: "As reverence for Dymphna, the presiding saint, and no faith in medicine, ruled the colony, and he thought that, Dymphna once ignored or slighted, *but little of Gheel, as a means of harbouring the insane, would remain.*" But now, Dr. Parigot has addressed to Dr. Droste in Osnabruck a letter, part of which the latter has put in print. In a journal edited by himself, *Medicinische Aehrenlese*, (January, 1860, No. 1,) there is to be read as follows: "J'ai lu l'article indignant (?) de M. Willers Jessen dans le cahier d'Octobre de l'*Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, &c., de 1859. M. Bulckens a dit à MM. Bucknill et Stevens: Si l'on n'adorait plus Sainte Dymphna, Gheel n'aurait plus de raison d'être." After this, Dr. Parigot, in his quotation, has thus changed the original text of Dr. Stevens, that at the conclusion he agrees literally with the expression, which, according to his letter, Dr. Bulckens has actually made. It is incomprehensible how he can affirm, notwithstanding, that the latter has said "nothing of the kind;" but I will not decide against Dr. Parigot's trustworthiness, till he has given himself an explanation of this most striking contradiction.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

DR. WILLERS JESSEN.

Hornhiem, near Kiel,

July the 23rd, 1860.

#### MEDICO-PSYCHOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS—PRIZE ESSAY ON CRETINISM.

THE Medico-Psychological Society of Paris has decided that the prize of 500fr. founded by M. Ferrus, augmented with 500fr. by M. Belhomme, and to which a member, who wishes that his name should not be known, has also added another sum of 50fr., shall be given to the author of the best essay upon "The Nature and Causes of Cretinism."

The following are the regulations which have been issued by the Society for the guidance of competitors:—

"La Société médico-psychologique demande des documents scientifiques originaux recueillis aux sources mêmes de l'observation. Ces documents devront comprendre principalement :

"1. Des topographies comparées des localités frappées et non frappées de l'endémie crétinique, soit dans la même vallée, soit dans des vallées différentes.

"Chaque topographie devra fournir des notions positives et scientifiques sur :

"1° L'altitude de la localité ;

"2° La nature, la configuration, et l'exposition du sol ;

"3° La nature des eaux, la composition et l'état hygrométrique de l'air atmosphérique ;

"4° Le nombre, la disposition, et l'état des habitations et de leurs dépendances ;

"5° L'état de l'agglomération d'habitations en tout ce qui se rapporte à l'hygiène publique ;

"6° Les habitudes de la population en ce qui concerne l'hygiène privée, alimentation, vêtements, etc., etc. ;

"7° La nature des occupations et de taux les salaires ;

"8° La nature des relations avec les agglomérations voisines ;

"9° Les coutumes en ce qui touche les mariages et l'éducation des enfants ;

"10° L'état de l'instruction et la nature des institutions destinées à le développer ;

"11° L'indication exacte pour chaque agglomération du nombre des habitants et des familles, et du nombre des crétins et des familles de crétins, en s'abstenant soigneusement de confondre avec les crétins les individus atteints d'idiotie simple, et



en rapportant les crétins à trois groupes, suivant qu'ils sont complètement privés, plus ou moins faiblement en possession, et notablement doués de l'intelligence et de la parole ;

" 12° Des renseignements aussi exacts que possible sur l'histoire du développement du crétinisme dans la localité.—Le crétinisme y a-t-il existé de temps immémorial ? S'y est-il manifesté pour la première fois à une époque certaine, et dans quelles conditions, par immigration de famille de crétins, par mariages ?—Y a-t-il diminué et s'y est-il éteint, et sous l'influence de quelles causes, émigrations, ouvertures de routes, développement du commerce, de l'industrie, etc. ?

" II. Des observations développées de familles de crétins.

" On indiquera les divers degrés de crétinisme dont chaque membre se sera trouvé atteint, et les faits d'immunité individuelle dans le plus grand nombre possible de générations.

" L'histoire de ces générations, dans leurs alliances par mariage et dans les autres conditions de leur vie, lieu d'habitation, profession, instruction, etc., devra être exposée pour le plus grand nombre possible d'individus.

" On cherchera à éclaircir, au moyen de ces observations, les points principaux de l'histoire du crétinisme, notamment ceux qui se rapportent à l'époque de l'invasion du crétinisme, soit avant, soit après la naissance ; aux affinités, connexions ou dissemblances qui existent entre le développement du goître et le développement du crétinisme ; à l'éducabilité, à la faculté génératrice chez les crétins, à la prophylaxie et à la cure du crétinisme.

" III. Des observations individuelles de crétins, complétées par l'autopsie cadavérique, qui devra comprendre non-seulement une étude approfondie de tout ce qui se rapporte au volume, à la forme du crâne et de la colonne vertébrale, et à l'état de l'encéphale et de la moelle épinière, en recourant, pour donner de la précision aux faits, à la méthode de la mensuration et des pesées, mais encore des données détaillées sur l'état de tous les viscères intérieurs et de l'organisme en général.

" Les mémoires seront écrits en langue française, italienne, allemande, anglaise, espagnole ou latine.

" Ils devront porter une épigraphe qui sera reproduite dans un billet cacheté, indiquant le nom et la demeure de l'auteur.

" Les mémoires devront être adressés à la Société médico-psychologique avant le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1862, terme de rigueur.

" Le prix consistera en une médaille de la valeur de 1500f."

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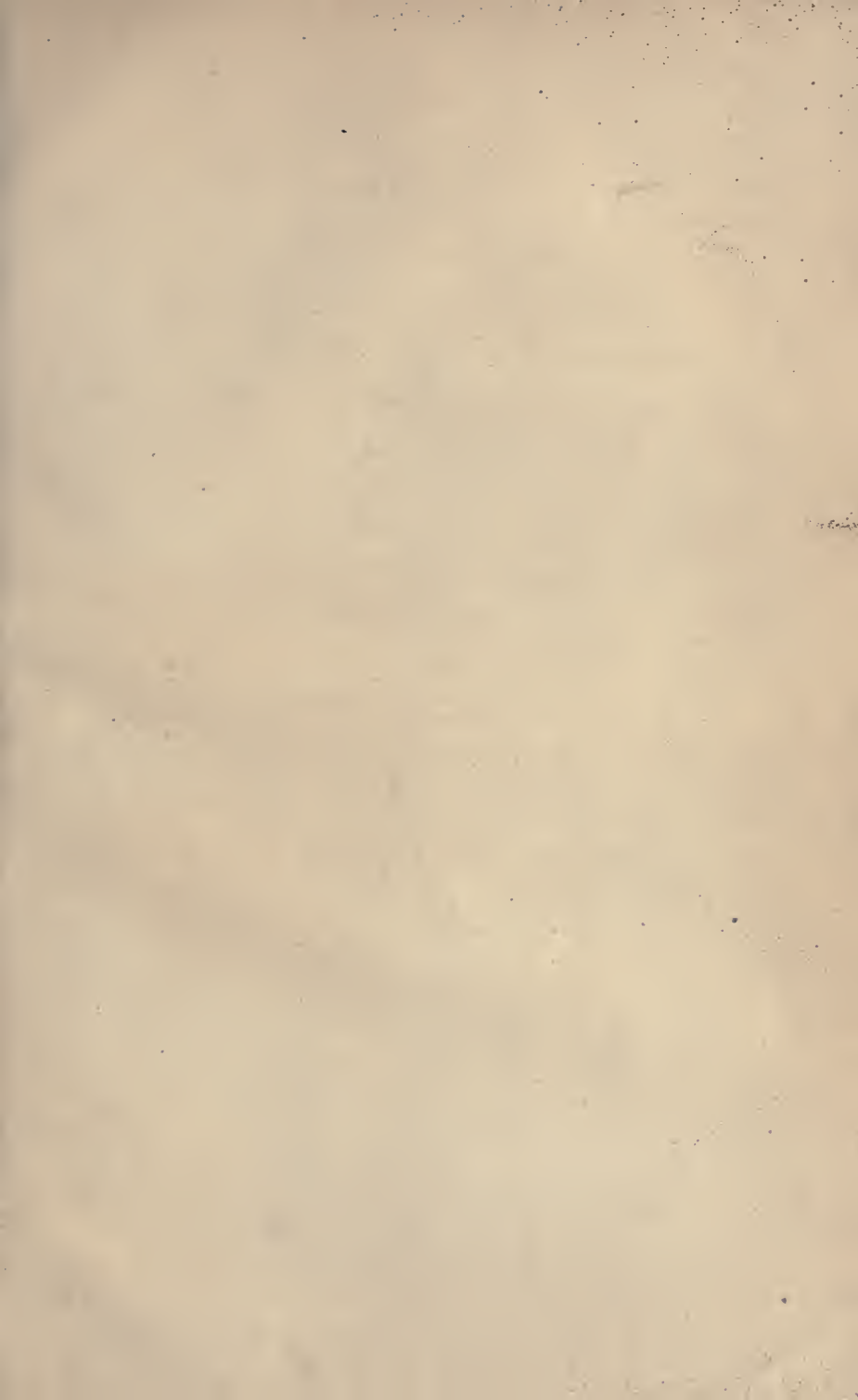
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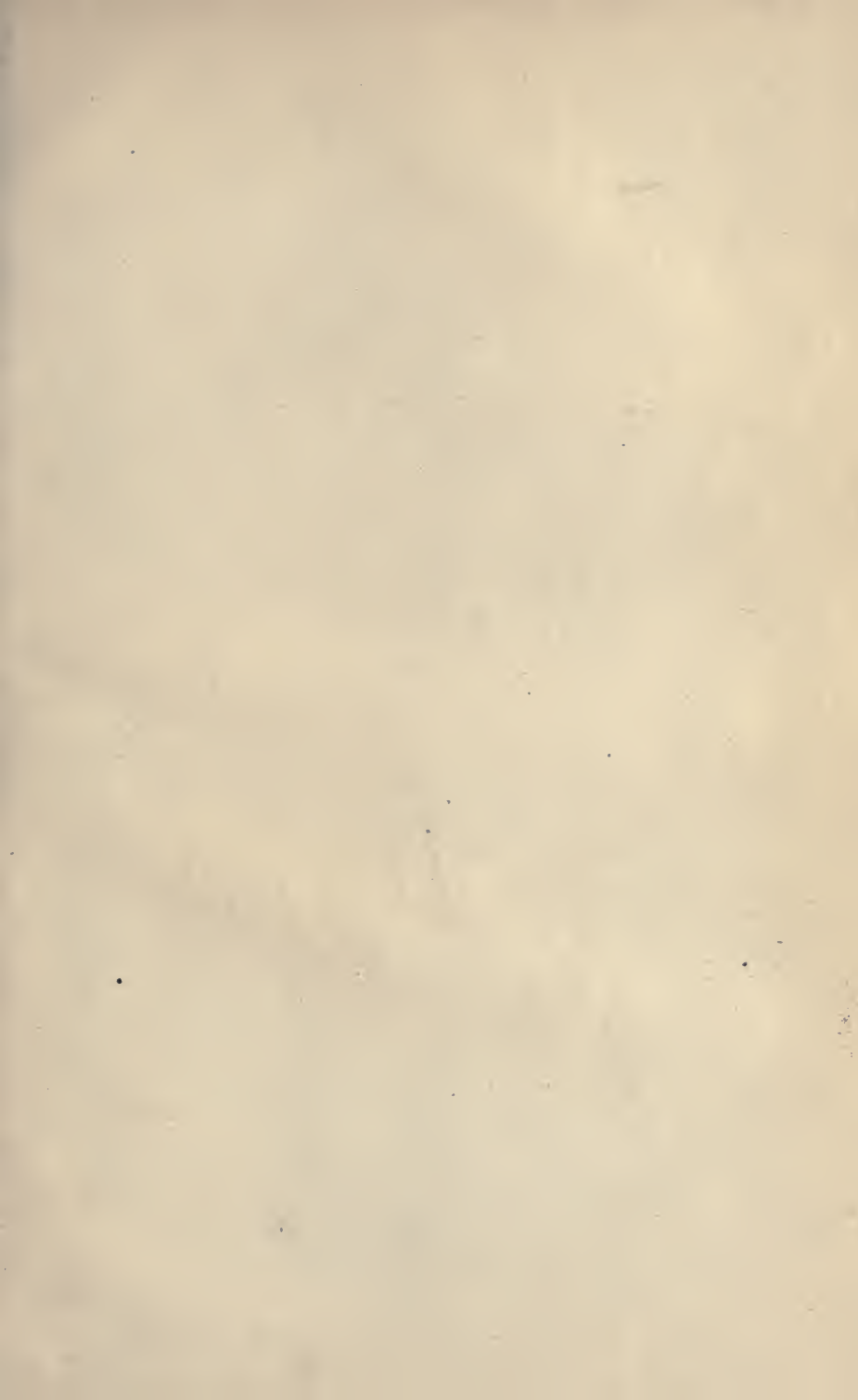
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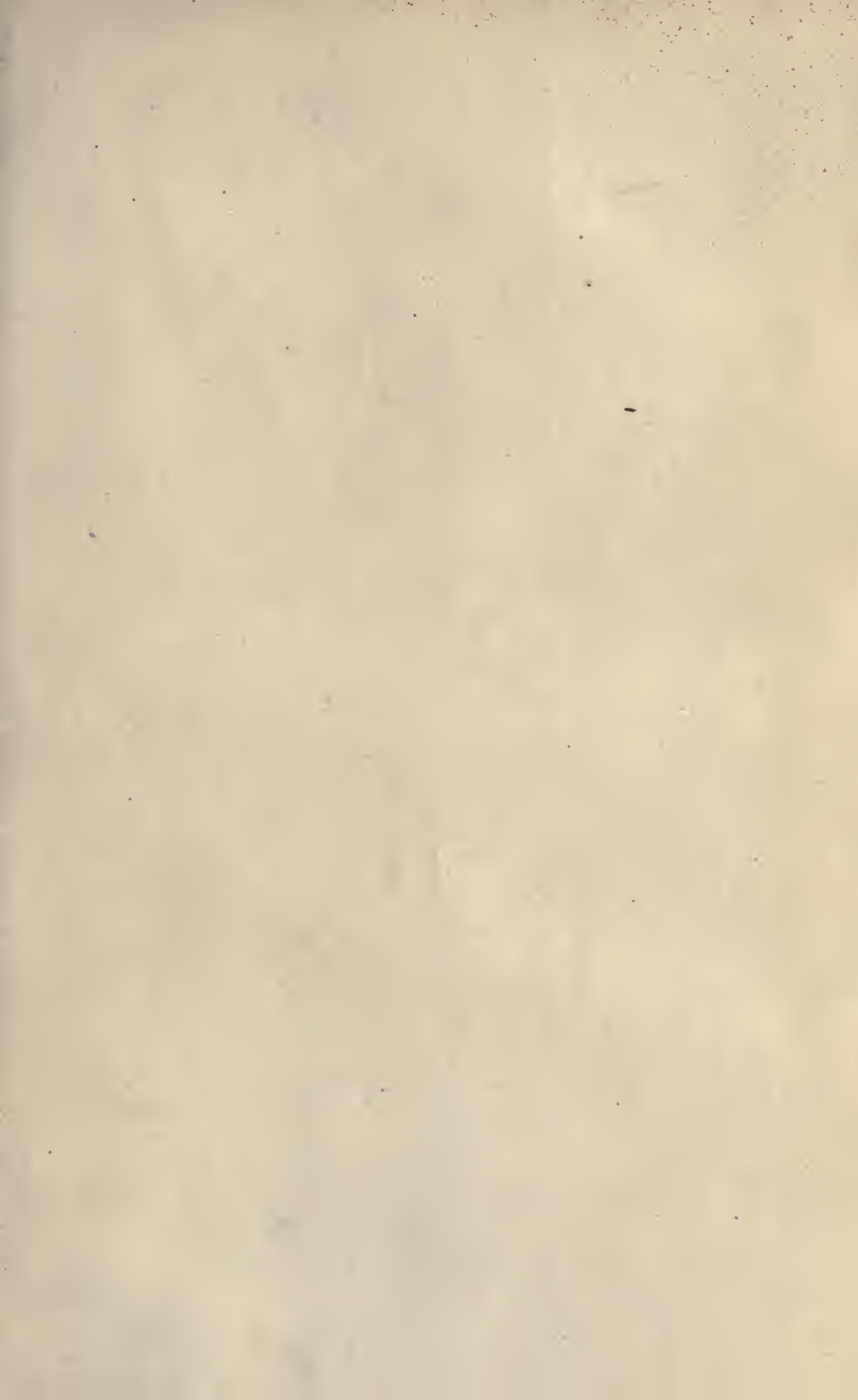














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